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THE

# ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

OF

# DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS,

Tranſlated into ENGLISH;

81483

WITH

NOTES and DISSERTATIONS.

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BY

EDWARD SPELMAN, Eſq.

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VOL. I.

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# PREFACE.

*I HAVE often wondered that the hiſtory, which I now take the liberty of offering to the public, and which is perpetually quoted by every author, who has written upon the conſtitution of the Romans, as the ſource of all their learning, and an authority, to which all men have agreed to ſubmit, ſhould never have appeared in our language. Whether the length of the work, or the difficulty of explaining the original conſtitution of the Romans, and particularly of aſcertaining the differences between the three ſorts of comitia, upon which the exerciſe of that conſtitution, in a great meaſure, depended; whether theſe, or any other motives diſcouraged our men of learning from attempting a tranſlation of this hiſtory, I cannot ſay: But this I will venture to affirm, that the analogy between the regal conſtitution of the Romans, and our own, and a more ſurpriſing analogy, I mean That between the Greek, and Engliſh*

 *languages,*

*languages, might very well have encouraged them to tranſlate it, and to recommend it to their countrymen, as a poſſeſſion they were, in a particular manner, intitled to. Whether my tranſlation of this hiſtory will anſwer the deſign of ſuch a recommendation, muſt be left to the voice of the public, upon whoſe deciſion, the fate of all productions of this kind muſt neceſſarily depend: And the only hope I can entertain that their determination may not be in my disfavor, is derived from the pains I have beſtowed upon this tranſlation, rather than from the effect of thoſe pains.*

*Every reader has a natural curioſity to be informed of the birth, the private life, and character, and of all other particulars relating to the author of any work he peruſes: I am ſorry it is not in my power to ſatisfy this reaſonable curioſity any otherwiſe, than by referring my readers to what our author ſays of himſelf in the preface to this hiſtory: There they will find, among other things, that Dionyſius lived at Rome in the Auguſtan age, an age celebrated above all others in the Roman hiſtory both for the great writers it produced, and for the diſtinguiſhing encouragement given by Auguſtus to thoſe writers. He was cotemporary, and, probably, acquainted with Livy, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and many other learned, and polite authors, with whom that remarkable age was adorned, and was himſelf a conſpicuous ſtar in that bright conſtellation.*

*I need*

*I need not acquaint the learned reader that our author, beſides his hiſtory, compoſed many other works, all tending to the improvement of oratorial, and hiſtorical writing, ſome of which are loſt; but much the greateſt part is preſerved, and contains the beſt precepts to form an orator, and an hiſtorian, and to enable others to judge of both. It has been a doubt among the men of learning, whether he publiſhed theſe critical works before, or after his Roman hiſtory:* [1] *Dodwell has embraced the former opinion; for which he gives this very good reaſon, that, in his critical works, he never makes any mention of his hiſtory, though he often takes notice of the other writings he had before publiſhed. Dodwell alſo thinks that the Cn. Pompeius, to whom he dedicates his criticiſm upon the Greek hiſtorians, was the ſame perſon, who was ſubſtituted conſul* (conſul ſuffectus) *in the month of October in the Varronian year 723. By this, and many other arguments, it appears that this Cn. Pompeius could not have been the great Pompey, who was ſlain in Ægypt in 706, though M.***, in his preface, has thought fit to eſtabliſh a friendſhip between that great man, and our author; and to make the former deſire his judgement concerning the Greek hiſtorians: This I conclude from his mentioning* Pompey *without any diſtinction; which manner of ſpeaking is, both in his, and in all other languages, applicable only to the per-*

[1] Diſſert. de Ætat. Dionyſ. c. vii. & viii.

*ſon, who has rendered his name ſo famous both by his ſucceſſes, and his misfortunes.*

*We know by Photius, who lived in the middle of the ninth century, and by many other authors, that this hiſtory contained twenty books, and that Dionyſius himſelf made, what Photius calls, a ſynopſis of it in five books. So that, the nine laſt books muſt have been loſt ſince the middle of the ninth century; but how long ſince we know not. Henry Glarean, profeſſor at Freiburg, ſays, at the end of his chronological tables dedicated in 1532 to Ferdinand, then king of the Romans, that theſe nine books were at that time in being, and concealed by ſome men of learning: The reaſon he gives for this aſſertion is, that Conſtantine Laſcaris, a modern author, cites him in Greek. This, indeed, leaves us ſome room to hope that they may one day ſee the light.*

*I come now to my brother labourers, the tranſlators of Dionyſius. The firſt was Lapus Biragus, a Florentine, who tranſlated the eleven books now remaining into Latin from two old manuſcripts, and dedicated his tranſlation to pope Paul the ſecond. It was firſt printed at Treviſo, a town in the territories of the Venetians, in 1480.* [a] *Voſſius very juſtly cenſures both his fidelity, and his ſtyle. The next was That of Geleniius, printed at Baſil in 1549. He writes better Latin than Lapus; but the liberties he has taken in mangling the periods*

[a] De Hiſt. Lat. B. iii. c. 10.

*of*

*of the Greek text, and of altering many places, which he did not underſtand, have condemned his tranſlation to be never read: Particularly, after That of Sylburgius appeared in* 1586, *printed at Frankfort, with the Greek text, which had not been printed with the former Latin tranſlations: Sylburgius had alſo the aſſiſtance of the Venetian, and Roman manuſcripts, which his predeceſſors wanted. Not long after, appeared another Latin tranſlation, viz. in* 1590, *by Æmilius Portus, which Hudſon has printed with the Greek text in* 1704. *The latter ſays indeed, in his preface, that he has corrected the tranſlation of Portus, where he thought it neceſſary: I wiſh he had oftener thought it neceſſary; becauſe he has ſuffered many errors of Portus to ſtand unmoleſted. However, this edition of Hudſon is by much the beſt; as the Greek text is throughout illuſtrated with the notes of Sylburgius, Caſaubon, Portus, and ſome others; all which I have occaſionally made uſe of, and always acknowledged. But the greateſt advantage, which this edition has over all the others, is derived from two Vatican manuſcripts, one* 700 *years old for the firſt ten books, and the other not quite ſo old for the eleventh book; the readings of both which are ſet down at the foot of every page; and, in every page, theſe manuſcripts, particularly the firſt, illuſtrate the Greek text where it is obſcure, explain it where doubtful, and ſupply it where it is defective. The*

*great*

*great advantages, ariſing from theſe two manuſcripts, ought, moſt certainly, to have induced Hudſon to print his Greek text from them, rather than from the edition of Sylburgius, the defects of which theſe manuſcrips ſufficiently ſhew.*

*I have now brought down the hiſtory of the tranſlations of Dionyſius to the year* 1722, *when a comet appeared in the literary world, portending no leſs than the extinction of all former tranſlations, and the downfall of their authors: I mean the French tranſlation of the reverend father le Jay, a Jeſuit, who had prepared himſelf for this undertaking by teaching rhetoric in Clermont college at Paris, as he ſays, for above twenty years; and exhauſted the whole ſtock of his learning, which he had been ſo long collecting, in poliſhing, adorning, and rendering his tranſlation more correct and elegant, than any that had ever before appeared in any age, in any country, or in any language.* But his brother Jeſuits, *in their journal of Trevoux for the month of January* 1723, *uſher this tranſlation into the world with ſo much pomp, that I think myſelf obliged to give their character of it in Engliſh, in order to ſhew, not what his tranſlation is, but what all tranſlations ought to be.* Denys d'Halicarnaſſe, *diſent les journaliſtes,* s'aſſure par lui-même, une conſtante ſuperiorité de réputation parmi les doctes de profonde litterature; et cette preéminence ne tombera qu'avec eux: la chute s'avance: pour reſſource, il eſt un monde entier d'autres perſonnes, dont l'eſtime n'hono-

n'honoreroit pas moins la memoire de Denys d'Halicarnaſſe, et l'auroit lui-même flatté d'avantage : Ce ſont une infinité d'honnêtes gens ſans Grec, connoiſſeurs neanmoins par genie, lecteurs par goût, ſtudieux ſans beſoin, et ſçavans ſans le ſçavoir : ils ne connoiſſent que de nom Denys d'Halicarnaſſe ; ſon Grec le leur rend inacceſſible : aujourd'hui l'on produit Denys d' Halicarnaſſe dans ce nouveau monde. Un interprete également bienfacteur et du public et de l'auteur, acquiert tout à coup à celui-ci un nombre innombrable d'honorables admirateurs, qui l'eſtimeront par tout ſon merite perſonnel d'hiſtorien et d'écrivain, tandis que les ſçavans de metier s'acharneront à ſon Grec . . . C'eſt à regret que nous nommons verſion, ou traduction cet ovrage : ce n'eſt point un langage Grec rendu en langage François ; c'eſt l'expreſſion immediate des penſées de Denys d'Halicarnaſſe ; *la conformité du François avec le Grec, n'eſt point celle d'une copie à l'original, mais celle d'une copie avec l'autre copie.* On prend plus aiſément un auteur, quand on tient de ſon genie et de ſon caractere ; et d'imitateur fidelle, on devient avec moins d'effort un fidelle interprete. Sur ce pied, Denys d'Halicarnaſſe, homme ſolide et vrai, ſage et judicieux, laborieux et infatigable, éxact et appliqué, vif et éloquent, amateur des lettres, a trouvé ſon veritable traducteur ; et il n'eſt pas étonnant qu'il l'ait ſi long-tems attendu.

tendu. . . On peut juger de la religion du traducteur à peſer ſcrupuleuſement les termes de ſon auteur, par la reflexion ſubtile qu'il fait faire ſur le mot ισοψηφια ; ſçavoir que l'égalité des ſuffrages ſignifiée par ce nom, ſe trouve quelquefois dans un nombre de voix inégal ; puiſque Denys avance que Coriolan, qui devint et une voix en avoit douze contre lui, eût été abſous par le benefice de la loi touchant l'égalité des ſuffrages, ſi deux voix ſe fuſſent jointes aux neuf qui lui étoient favorables ; c'eſt-à-dire, s'il eût eu pour lui onze voix contre douze ; c'eſt qu'en matiere criminelle, une voix de plus ne ſuffiſoit pas pour condamner ; c'étoit le même effet que ſi le nombre des voix eût été égal de part et d'autre. . . . .

" *Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus*, ſay theſe journaliſts, *has aſ-*
" *ſured to himſelf a conſtant ſuperiority of reputation among*
" *the men of profound learning* ; *and this preeminence cannot*
" *fall but with them : The fall approaches : To prevent which,*
" *there is a whole world of other people, whoſe eſteem would not*
" *do leſs honor to the memory of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, and*
" *would have flattered him more : Theſe are an infinite number*
" *of men of diſtinction without Greek, but connoiſſeurs by their*
" *genius, readers through taſte, ſtudious without neceſſity, and*
" *learned without knowing it : Theſe are acquainted with Dio-*
" *nyſius of Halicarnaſſus only by name : His Greek renders him*



" *inacceſſible*

" *inacceſſible to them: Into this new world is Dionyſius now*
" *produced: An interpreter, equally a benefactor both to the*
" *public, and to the author, acquires, at once, to the latter a*
" *numberleſs number of honourable admirers, who will eſteem*
" *him for his whole merit of an hiſtorian, and a writer, while*
" *the learned by profeſſion will exerciſe their keenneſs upon his*
" *Greek... We are ſorry to call this work a verſion, or a tranſ-*
" *lation: It is not the Greek language rendered in French; it is*
" *the immediate expreſſion of the thoughts of Dionyſius*; the con-
" formity of the French with the Greek is not That of a copy
" with the original, but That of one copy with another copy.
" *Every one takes an author with eaſe, when he reſembles him*
" *in his genius and character; and, from being a faithful*
" *imitator, he becomes, with the leſs effort, a faithful interpre-*
" *ter. Upon this foot, Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, a man ſolid*
" *and true, wiſe and judicious, laborious and indefatigable, ex-*
" *act and intent, lively and eloquent, a lover of letters, has*
" *found his true tranſlator; and we are not to wonder that he*
" *has ſo long waited for him... We may judge of the religion of*
" *the tranſlator in weighing ſcrupulouſly the terms of his author,*
" *by the ſubtil reflexion he makes upon the word*[3] ισοψηφια; *which*
" *is, that the equality of ſuffrages, ſignified by this word, is*
" *ſometimes found in an unequal number of voices; ſince Dio-*

[3] See the twentyſixth annotation on the viith book.

" *nyſius aſſerts that Coriolanus, who, out of* 21 *voices,* " *had* " 12 *againſt him, would have been acquitted by the benefit of* " *the law concerning the equality of ſuffrages, if two voices* " *had joined the nine that were for him; that is to ſay, if he* " *had had* 11 *voices againſt* 12; *becauſe, in criminal caſes,* " *a majority of one voice was not ſufficient for a condemnation;* " *the effect of it being the ſame, as if the number of voices had* " *been equal on both ſides.*" *This will ſuffice (for I omit ſeveral other panegyrical flights) to ſhew what opinion theſe journaliſts entertained, or had a mind the world ſhould entertain, of this famous tranſlation: And yet, methinks, amidſt all the praiſes they have laviſhed upon it, they ſeem, by one expreſſion, to have left to themſelves an opening for an eſcape,* une échappatoire, *if they ſhould ever be heartily puſhed upon this ſubject: The expreſſion I mean, is this,* that the conformity of the French with the Greek, is not That of a copy with the original, but That of one copy with another copy. *I may venture to pronounce, ſince I have ſhewn it ſufficiently in my notes, that this tranſlation of le Jay is neither more nor leſs, than a literal, and not always an exact, tranſlation of the Latin tranſlation of Portus. It cannot, therefore, be thought too great a refinement, particularly to thoſe, who are acquainted with the diſingenuous ſubtilty of this order of men, and what they are capable of, when the intereſt, or reputation of their body*

*is*

*is concerned, to ſuſpect they deſigned to conceal their real opinion of this tranſlation under a cloud of praiſes; and, at the ſame time, to let ſome ſparks of that opinion break out: But, if thoſe praiſes were ſincere, and they really thought this tranſlation had all that tranſcendent merit they have aſcribed to it, I may ſafely affirm that, had they not among them greater politicians, than tranſlators, or critics, they would never have acquired both in Europe, and America, the great power, and wealth they are now poſſeſſed of; neither would they have had the direction of what they call the conſciences, but mean the government, of all the princes of their own communion. If any of his fraternity have a mind to doubt whether the tranſlation of their brother Jeſuit is a tranſlation of the Greek, or the Latin, let them open his book where they will, and confront it with the Greek text; and, if they find in it the leaſt pretence to a tranſlation of the latter, I deſire that my own tranſlation may be alſo thought a tranſlation of Portus, or, what is worſe, of le Jay himſelf. But there is another diſingenuouſneſs, that he has been guilty of, which ſhews his heart to have been as bad as his head: His notes throughout are ſcarce any thing elſe but literal tranſlations of the notes of Sylburgius, Caſaubon, and others, all contained in Hudſon's edition under their reſpective names: Theſe names he has concealed, and impoſed their notes upon the world for his own.*

*I am tired with the invidious taſk of cenſuring; and wiſh I could ſay that the other French tranſlation, which appeared the year after, under the name of M.* * *, is a tranſlation of Dionyſius: But the love of truth compels me to declare what, I think, I have ſhewn too in my notes, that, as le Jay tranſlated from Portus, this gentleman has tranſlated from Sylburgius. He has, indeed, avoided many abſurdities, which the other was led into by too ſervile an adherence to his original, even to the faults of the impreſſion; his ſtyle, by being more diffuſe, is more perſpicuous; and, if he paraphraſes, as he often does, he ſeldom fails to give the ſenſe of his own original at leaſt, which comes nearer to the Greek, that That of le Jay: His notes are often his own; and, when he borrows Thoſe of others, he often pays them a proper acknowledgement: I wiſh he had informed his readers that his chronological table was copied literally from That of Dodwell.*

*So much has been ſaid both by the ancients, and the moderns in praiſe of the advantages reſulting from the ſtudy of hiſtory, particularly by Diodorus Siculus, among the former, in the noble preface to his hiſtorical collections; and by the late Lord Bolingbroke, among the moderns, in his admirable letter upon that ſubject, that I am aſtoniſhed no treatiſe has ever yet appeared in any age, or any language profeſſedly written to preſcribe rules for writing hiſtory; a work*

*allowed*

*allowed to be of the greateſt advantage of all others to mankind, the repoſitory of truth fraught with leſſons both of public, and private virtue, and inforced by ſtronger motives, than precepts, by examples. Rules for poetry, and rhetoric have been written by many authors both ancient, and modern, as if delight and eloquence were of greater conſequence than inſtruction: However, rhetoric was a part of hiſtory, as treated by the ancients; not the principal part indeed, but ſubſervient to the principal; and calculated to apply the facts exhibited by the narration. I know it may be ſaid that many ancient hiſtories are ſtill preſerved, and that theſe models are ſufficient guides for modern hiſtorians without particular rules: So had the Greeks poets of all denominations in their hands, and yet Ariſtotle thought it neceſſary to preſcribe particular rules to his countrymen for applying thoſe examples to every branch of poetry: I wiſh he had done the ſame in hiſtory; if he had, it is very probable that his precepts would have rendered the beſt of our modern hiſtories more perfect, and the worſt, leſs abominable. Since the reſurrection of letters, the want of ſuch a guide has been complained of by many authors, and particularly by Rapin in the preface to his hiſtory of England. This want I think it not impoſſible to ſupply in ſome degree, not by any thing of my own growth, but by extracting, and*

*con-*

*connecting what has been written upon this ſubject by Dionyſius himſelf, the author of this hiſtory; who, in his criticiſms upon the Greek hiſtorians, and particularly in his parallel between Herodotus and Thucydides, has indirectly laid down rules for attaining all the perfections, and avoiding all the faults, of writing hiſtory. I know that Lucian has written a treatiſe upon this ſubject, great part of which he has employed in rallying the hiſtorians of his own time, in a manner peculiar to himſelf, with great ſpirit and elegance of expreſſion; but, at the end of this treatiſe, he aſſumes another character, and treats the ſubject with great gravity and judgement. I alſo know that Cicero has laid down ſome directions for the conduct of an hiſtorian; the firſt of which Lord Clarendon has made choice of for the Latin motto of his hiſtory: Theſe directions, though conceived with all the power of thought, and expreſſed with all the power of language, ſhew what diſpoſition of mind is required in an hiſtorian, rather than what rules he ought to purſue; and beſides, they are ſo general, and ſo ſhort, that I chuſe rather to refer the reader to that part of Cicero's works, or to a very good tranſlation of them by Dr. Middleton in the preface to his life, than to inſert them here.*

*Before I preſent the reader with the compariſon between Herodotus, and Thucydides, it will be neceſſary to premiſe that Dionyſius divides hiſtory into two parts, that is, into the pragmatic*

*matic part, as he calls it, and the language: The former comprehends, 1ſt, the choice of the ſubject; 2dly, the knowledge whence to begin, and where to end; 3dly, the diſcernment between ſuch events, as are to be related, and ſuch as are to be omitted; 4thly, the placing every event in its proper order; and 5thly, the heart of the hiſtorian:* [4] *The language he divides into ſimple elementary words, or atoms of ſpeech, and the compoſition of thoſe words; both which are ſuſceptible either of a proper, or a figurative, ſenſe: Concerning the laſt of theſe, I mean the compoſition of words, our author has written a treatiſe, ſtill extant,* [5] *in which he promiſes another concerning the choice of words; but this, if ever publiſhed, is loſt. In the firſt treatiſe, which has always been deſervedly admired,* [6] *he gives the preference, with great reaſon, to the compoſition of words, and lays down ſuch rules for this compoſition, ſupported throughout by examples drawn from the beſt Greek writers, both poets, and hiſtorians, that any man, by obſerving them, may acquire a ſmooth, and harmonious ſtyle: And, notwithſtanding theſe rules ſeem calculated for the Greek language only, their influence will, upon a cloſe examination, appear to be univerſal, and to govern every other language, both ancient and modern.*

[4] περὶ τῶν Θουκυδ. χαρακτ. c. xxii. [5] περὶ συνθ. ονομαστ. c. i. [6] Ib. c. ii.

*Dionyſius,*

*Dionyſius, therefore,* [7] *in his compariſon of Herodotus with Thucydides, ſays that the firſt duty, and poſſibly the moſt neceſſary of all, in an hiſtorian, is to make choice of a grand ſubject, and ſuch a one, as will be agreeable to the reader: In this, he ſays, Herodotus has the advantage of Thucydides; becauſe his hiſtory comprehends the actions both of the Greeks, and Barbarians; and the deſign of it is to prevent thoſe actions from being buried in oblivion. On the other ſide, Thucydides writes the hiſtory of a ſingle war, and that neither juſtifiable, nor fortunate; a war, which ought never to have been undertaken; or, if that could not be, to have been delivered up to ſilence, and ſhade, and unknown to poſterity: And, that he had choſen a bad ſubject, he himſelf makes manifeſt in the preface to his hiſtory: For he there ſays that "many Greek cities had been deſolated through this war, "ſome by the Barbarians, and others by the Greeks themſelves; that more baniſhments, and ſlaughters had happened by that means, than had ever been known before; "together with earthquakes, droughts, diſtempers, and many "other calamities." So that, the readers, by his preface, are alienated from a ſubject fraught with the misfortunes of Greece. By as much, therefore, as a hiſtory, which relates the wonderful actions of the Greeks, and Barbarians, is preferable to one, that diſplays the miſerable, and dreadful*

[7] πρὸς Γναι. Πομπηι. Epiſt.

*calamities*

*calamities of the Greeks, by ſo much is Herodotus more judicious in the choice of his ſubject, than Thucydides. Neither can it be ſaid, that the latter was compelled to this choice, and knew the other to be more beautiful, but reſolved not to treat the ſame ſubject with other writers: On the contrary, Thucydides, in his preface, traduces the earlier actions of the Greeks, and ſays Thoſe of his own time were the greateſt, and the moſt wonderful: Which ſhews that he voluntarily made choice of theſe. The conduct of Herodotus was different; and, though Hellanicus, and Charon had treated the ſame ſubject before him, he was not diſcouraged, but thought he could write ſomething more perfect; in which he ſucceeded.*

*The ſecond duty relating to the pragmatic part of hiſtory, is to know whence to begin, and where to end. In this alſo, Herodotus ſeems much more judicious than Thucydides: For he begins by relating the motives, that firſt induced the Barbarians to injure the Greeks; and, going on, ends in the puniſhment of the former, and in the revenge taken on them for thoſe injuries. On the other ſide, Thucydides begins from the time, when the fortune of Greece began to* [8] de-

[8] The reader will obſerve, that I read κακως here, inſtead of καλως, as it ſtands in all the editions; but the context ſhews that it muſt be κακως.

cline; *which, as a Greek, and an Athenian, he ought not to have done; particularly, ſince he was not a man of ſmall repute, but a perſon diſtinguiſhed by the Athenians, who had conferred on him the command of their armies, and other honors: Neither ought he openly to have laid the blame of the war upon his country, when he might have charged it on many other cauſes: Nor to have begun his narration with the affairs of Corcyra; but with the moſt renowned actions of his country, which ſhe performed immediately after the Perſian war; and which he afterwards mentions, indeed,* [9] but not in their proper place, *and that ſlightly, and curſorily: And, after he had related theſe actions with great complacency, like a lover of his country, he ought to have added that the Lacedæmonians, from their envy, and dread of theſe, but from other pretences, entered upon the war: And then to have mentioned the affairs of Corcyra, the vote againſt the megarenſes, and whatever elſe he thought fit. As for the end of his hiſtory, it is ſtill more defective: For, though he ſays he lived during the whole courſe of the war; and promiſes to relate all the events of it, he concludes with the naval ingagement between the Athenians, and Peloponneſians off Cynoſſema, which happened in the twenty ſecond year of that war. But he would have*

9 Here, again, I read ουκ εν επιτηδειῳ τοπῳ, inſtead of και εν, etc. which is the reading of all the editions, and renders this ſentence inconſiſtent with That, which immediately precedes it.

*done*

*done better, if, after he had related all the tranſactions of of it, he had concluded his hiſtory in a manner, of all others, the moſt wonderful, and the moſt agreeable to his readers; I mean, with the return of the baniſhed men from Phyle, from which time his country began to recover her liberty.*

*The third duty of an hiſtorian is to diſtinguiſh between thoſe things, that are to be related, and Thoſe, that are to be omitted. In this alſo, Thucydides ſeems inferior to Herodotus: For the latter, being ſenſible that all narrations, conſiſting of long diſcourſes, when they have certain reſting places, affect the minds of the readers with pleaſure; but, if they dwell always upon the ſame things, however they may ſucceed in the deſcription of them, they offend the ear with ſatiety, he reſolved, in imitation of Homer, to vary his ſubject: For which reaſon, if we take up his book, we admire it even to the laſt ſyllable, and always wiſh for more: Whereas Thucydides deſcribes one war; and, without breathing, accumulates battles upon battles, preparations upon preparations, and ſpeeches upon ſpeeches; which tire the minds of his readers: For, as Pindar ſays, we may be ſated both with honey, and women. I am alſo of opinion that a change, and a variety in writing are delightful things in hiſtory; which Thucydides has made uſe of in two, or three places, I mean, where he accounts for the encreaſe of the power of the Odryſæ, and deſcribes the cities of Sicily.*

*After this, it is the duty of an hiſtorian to diſtribute, and place every event in its proper order. How, therefore, does each of theſe hiſtorians diſtribute, and order his narration? Thucydides purſues the periods of time; and Herodotus the ſucceſſion of events: By this means, Thucydides is obſcure, and hard to be followed: For, as many tranſactions muſt have happened in different places during the ſame ſummer, and winter, he is obliged to leave the firſt half finiſhed, and touch upon others, that were in agitation during the ſame ſummer, or winter: We wander, therefore, as may well be ſuppoſed; and, our minds being confuſed, we follow his narration with difficulty. Whereas Herodotus, beginning with the kingdom of the Lydians, comes down to That of Crœſus; from whence he preſently makes a tranſition to Cyrus, who put an end to the kingdom of Crœſus; after which, he enters upon the relation of the affairs of the Ægyptians, Scythians, and Libyans: Some of which he introduces as conſequential to the former, and others, with a deſign to render his narration more agreeable: And, in deſcribing the actions of the Greeks, and Barbarians, which happened during the courſe of two hundred and twenty years, in the three continents, and adding the flight of Xerxes, he has not mangled his hiſtory: But it has happened to Thucydides, who choſe a ſingle ſubject, to divide one body into many parts; and to Herodotus, who made*

*choice*

*choice of many ſubjects, in no degree reſembling one another, to make one concordant body.*

*I ſhall mention one branch more of the pragmatic part, which we require in all hiſtories, no leſs than any of thoſe already mentioned, I mean the heart of the hiſtorian, and the diſpoſition of it with regard to the facts he relates. That of Herodotus, which is humane in all things, congratulates the happy, and condoles with the unfortunate: Whereas the diſpoſition of Thucydides is ſevere, and harſh, and full of reſentment againſt his country for his baniſhment: For he enumerates all her defeats with the greateſt exactneſs, but takes no notice of her ſucceſſes; or when he does, he ſeems to be forced to it. For theſe reaſons, Thucydides is inferior to Herodotus in the pragmatic part. As to the language, he is in ſome parts inferior; in others, ſuperior; and, in others, equal. Concerning which alſo, I ſhall deliver my opinion.*

*There is a merit in writing, which may be called the firſt, and, without which, all others are uſeleſs. What is that? A ſtyle, pure in the choice of words, and preſerving the true character of the Greek language. In this they are both very exact; Herodotus being the ſtandard of the Ionic, and Thucydides*

*cydides of the Attic, language. Conciſeneſs has the* [10] *third place, In this, Thucydides ſeems to have the advantage of Herodotus. However, it may be ſaid that, when conciſeneſs is attended with perſpicuity, it is pleaſing; but, when it wants that, it is harſh. But let not this conſideration ſtop us. After theſe, illuſtration has the firſt place among the adventitious merits: In this, the ſucceſs of both is ſufficiently conſpicuous. After this merit, is placed the imitation both of the manners, and the paſſions: This merit the two hiſtorians have divided between them: For Thucydides has the advantage of expreſſing the paſſions; and Herodotus That of repreſenting the manners. After theſe come the merits, that ſhew the great, and wonderful art of the compoſition. In theſe alſo, the hiſtorians are equal. Then follow Thoſe, that comprehend the ſtrength, vehemence, and ſuch like powers of eloquence: In theſe Thucydides is ſuperior to Herodotus; but the latter carries pleaſure, perſuaſion, delight, and all merits of that kind to a much greater height than Thucydides. The phraſeology of Herodotus is natural; and That of Thucydides vehement; who is*

[10] The ſecond merit in language is unfortunately left out in all the editions, and manuſcripts. Sylburgius refers us to two paſſages in our author's judgement of Lyſias, and to one in That of Iſocrates: I have conſulted them all; but none of them will ſupply this hiatus.

*always*

*always uniform in his language. But the principal merit of all others is to characterize every thing: In this, Herodotus is more exact than Thucydides: For the latter is uniform in all things, and more ſo in his ſpeeches than in his narration. However, I am of opinion that Demoſthenes has particularly adopted his ſentences. Upon the whole, the poetical pieces of both are fine (for I am not afraid of giving them that name) but the greateſt difference between them, is this: The beauty of Herodotus is chearful; and That of Thucydides, terrible.*"

*Theſe are the rules laid down by Dionyſius for writing hiſtory; and, by theſe rules, he has examined the hiſtories of Herodotus, and Thucydides, of Xenophon, Philiſtus, and Theopompus. Nothing, therefore, can be more juſt than to examine his own hiſtory by his own rules; and to inquire how far his practice has been conſiſtent with his theory.*

*The choice of the ſubject is the firſt thing we are to conſider: Of this he has ſaid ſo much in his preface, that no man can refuſe him the merit of having choſen the nobleſt ſubject, that hiſtory can treat of: The riſe and progreſs, the original, and improved conſtitution of a ſtate, which in time conquered, and governed the greateſt part of the then known world, muſt be allowed to open a ſcene, in which hiſtory, and philoſophy*

*have*

*have an opportunity of diſplaying all their powers for the information, inſtruction, and improvement of mankind.*

*It is not without reaſon, that our author dates the beginning of his hiſtory from the infant ſtate of the Roman commonwealth: For, though it may generally be true that the origin of a people, as containing mean incidents, and ſomething of Barbariſm in it, ſeldom draws the attention of the reader; yet the origin of ſo conſiderable a people as the Romans will always be intereſting; and the world will be curious to inquire into the ſource of a river ſo large, and ſo awful in its courſe, and, though ſometimes apt to overflow its banks, yet always carrying with it greater fertility, than deſolation. It is impoſſible to ſpeak of the beginning of our author's hiſtory, without mentioning his preface, which makes ſo great a figure in his own language, whatever it may do in mine: This preface, which is not like That of Salluſt, applicable to any other hiſtory, or to any other kind of writing, is adapted to his ſubject, and to that alone. In that part of it, in which he compares the empire of the Romans with other empires, he ſeems to have imitated Polybius, who, in his preface alſo, compares the power of the Romans with That of the Lacedæmonians, the Perſians, and the Macedonians; and, like our author, gives the preference to the power of the Romans: But every one, who reads the two prefaces, will find this ſubject treated in a much greater extent,*

*and*

*and with greater beauty both of thought, and language by Dionyſius, than by Polybius: To whom, however, the former has paid a tacit compliment, in ending his hiſtory where Polybius begins his; that is, at the firſt Punic war. This, indeed, ſhews either his deſpair of ſurpaſſing him in treating the ſame ſubject; or his modeſty in not attempting it.*

*Let us now examine in what manner our author has acquitted himſelf of the third duty incumbent upon an hiſtorian, which, he ſays, is That of knowing what to relate, and what to omit. Under this head, he blames Thucydides, as we have ſeen, for dwelling too long upon the ſame ſubject; which he himſelf has with great judgement avoided. With this view, he has introduced the digreſſion concerning Ariſtodemus in the beginning of the ſeventh book, in order to relieve his readers from the long conteſts, which preceded the eſtabliſhment of the tribunes of the people, and had taken up the greateſt part of the ſixth book. And, in the ſeventh book alſo, the long political debates in the affair of Coriolanus are ſucceeded by an entertaining relation of proceſſions, and games. Among the meritorious omiſſions of our author, I muſt place That of a horrid, and incredible incident related by* [11] *Livy, who makes Mucius*

[11] Book ii. Chap. 12.

*Scævola roaſt his hand in the fire, in order to ſhew Porſena how much thoſe, who aimed at a great name, deſpiſed their perſons.*

*The order, in which the events are to be placed, is the next point he recommends. In this, he has followed the ſucceſſion of events, without breaking his narration by the intervention of ſummers, and winters. A remarkable inſtance of this appears in the ſixth book, where, the election of the conſuls coming on during the ſeceſſion of the people, he does not interrupt the narration of the events, with which the ſeceſſion was attended; but, having juſt given the names of the new conſuls, and mentioned the Olympiad, in which they were choſen, he haſtens to the ſenate, and gives the ſpeeches, that were made there for, and againſt the return of the people.*

*It is with pleaſure that I now enter upon that part of our author's writing, which relates to him more as a man, than as an hiſtorian. It is impoſſible to read his hiſtory without diſcovering in the author, a mind fraught with all the elements of humanity, a ſincere, a mild, and an honeſt heart; an unaffected love of virtue; and, what is more amiable than a deteſtation of vice, a compaſſion for it; he congratulates indeed the happy, and condoles with the miſerable, but without inſulting even thoſe, who deſerve*

*their*

*their misery: He is never ſatisfied with celebrating the bravery, the patriotiſm, the frugality, and contempt of riches in the old Romans; nor with lamenting the degeneracy of Thoſe of his own time: Upon the whole, he teaches by precept what his, and every other hiſtory, will teach by examples, that the proſperity of every nation is owing to their public, and private virtue, and their adverſity to the want of both. His love of liberty is no leſs conſpicuous than his love of virtue: He never loſes an opportunity of aſcribing the greatneſs of thoſe old Romans to their liberty, and their liberty to their virtue; and is alarmed at the leaſt appearance of danger, which threatens them with the loſs of either. What prince can read the characters given by him of Numa, and the laſt Tarquin, without a wiſh that his memory may be as much revered by poſterity as That of Numa, or without a dread of being delivered down to the lateſt ages, as a tyrant, and a criminal of the firſt magnitude, like Tarquin? Hiſtory is the tribunal, before which all princes muſt one day appear, and derive their laſting glory, or diſhonour from her deciſions. When they themſelves are no more; when the mercenary ſcribblers of their time are as much forgotten as their works, then hiſtory takes her ſeat; and, like juſtice with her ballance, but with eagle's eyes, weighs*

*every action, and explores the actor's heart; ſtrips ambition of her vain diſguiſe, and treats a conqueror like a ſucceſsful robber: Then will juſt praiſe be given to the prince, who made the happineſs of his people his only care, and their law his only guide; whoſe only errors, if they were errors, proceeded from an exceſs of goodneſs miſapplied, and are almoſt transformed to virtues by the dignity of the principle, from whence they flowed: Such a prince will hiſtory paint in her faireſt colors, and decorate him for nations yet unborn to love, and for princes yet unborn to imitate.*

*I ſhould now, to follow our author's progreſſion, examine his ſtyle; but, if I was to enter into particulars, this examination would lead me a great way, not to mention the many Greek quotations, of which it muſt conſiſt: I ſhall, therefore, ſay in general, that his language is Attic, perfectly pure and elegant: When I call it Attic, I do not mean ſuch trifles as writing a ξ for a σ; but I mean an Attic diction; ſuch a one as Thucydides, and Xenophon, and, before them, Herodotus, were celebrated for: Since the latter, though he writ in the Ionic dialect, has many Attic phraſes, whether originally natives of Athens, or afterwards made free of that city, I cannot ſay; and it is upon his ſmooth, and flowing ſtyle chiefly, that Dionyſius*

*nyſius ſeems to have formed his own: This, I think, I have proved in ſeveral of my notes. For this reaſon, I could never underſtand what* [12] *Photius meaned, when he ſaid our author was* την λεξιν καινοπρεπης, that he had a becoming novelty in his ſtyle. *Dionyſius is certainly no innovator either in the choice, or in the compoſition, of his words; but it is well known that Photius was patriarch of Conſtantinople in the ninth century; and, though a man of learning, lived in an ignorant age, when the delicacy of the Greek language was much declined. I think the character Cicero has given of the ſtyle of Herodotus may well be applied to That of our author*; ſine ullis ſalebris, quaſi ſedatus amnis, fluit. *This is very different from the ſtyle of ſome admired Latin authors, and more different yet from the ſhort unrelative ſtyle, that now prevails among the French writers; whoſe conciſe, acuminated, unconnected periods are like ſo many proverbs, and follow, rather than ſucceed, one another. Among the many beauties of our author's ſtyle, I muſt not omit one, which is more or leſs to be found in all good writers in all languages, and never fails to charm the reader; I mean his poetical expreſſions: With theſe he has animated his ſtyle, particularly in his ſpeeches, which, by this means, become elevated and pathetic,*

[12] Cod. 86.

*and*

*and inſenſibly perſuade, while they ſeem intended only to pleaſe: To this the compoſition alone of his words does not a little contribute; and to the harmony of his compoſition I ſhall apply what he himſelf ſays of his favourite orator Demoſthenes, that* [13] *his ſtyle comprehends numbers, ſome complete and perfect, others, incomplete; but ſo connected together, and compounded, that it is impoſſible to diſcover them to be numbers: By which means his ſtyle is poetical, not poetry; and melodious, not melody.*

*The reader may very well expect that I ſhould give a reaſon for my not having accented the Greek in my notes: This will naturally lead to a queſtion, which has been, long ſince, diſcuſſed by men of great learning both in our own nation, and in others. Moſt of them I have read, and chuſe rather to refer my readers to them, than to repeat what they have ſaid; to avoid which, I ſhall lay before the reader only two arguments, which I have not met with in any of thoſe authors, and which convince me, though I myſelf was taught otherwiſe, that Greek proſe ought to be read, like verſe, according to the quantity, without any regard to the accents. It is left to thoſe, who do me the honor to read this, to determine whether my conviction is well or ill founded. The firſt of theſe arguments will,*

[13] περι της λεξεως. Δημοσθ. δεινοτης. c. 50.

*I think,*

*I think, shew that the design of accents was not to transform long syllables into short, and short syllables into long; and consequently, as I said, that we ought to read Greek prose according to the quantity, without suffering this to be destroyed by the accents.*

*I could prove the proposition I have advanced by many passages taken from our author's treatise, concerning the composition of words; but I shall content myself with one of them, which, by its simplicity, will be intelligible, and consequently conclusive: The passage I mean is quoted by him from* [14] *Plato to shew what kind of composition constitutes dignity, and from what feet, or metre, it is derived: This passage is taken from his* επιταφιος λογος, *and is as follows;* Εργῳ μεν ἡμιν οἱδ' εχουσι τα προσηκοντα σφισιν αυτοις· ὧν τυχοντες, πορευονται την ἑιμαρμενην πορειαν. *I shall only make use of the last member of this period; which, I believe, will be sufficient to prove all that I propose. If we read this according to the accents, it must be pronounced thus* ὧν τυχόντες πορεύονται τὴν εἱμαρμένην πορείαν· *Here the penultima of* πορεύονται, *from being long, is by the accent made short; and the penultima of* εἱμαρμένην, *from being short, is made long: But I shall now shew that the*

[14] περι συνθεσ. ονοματ. c. 18.

*the first ought to be read, as it is, long; and the last, as it is, short. Dionysius, in scanning this member of the period, says that the first and second feet of it,* ὧν̄ τῠχόν̄τ̄ες πŏρεῡ, *are cretic; that the two following* ōνταῑ τῆν ἑῑ, *are spondees; then another cretic,* μᾱρμĕνῆν; *and the last a hypobacchius,* πŏρε̄ιᾱν· *Now it is plain that, if we read this according to the accents, the first of the two spondees will be an iambic,* ŏντᾱι; *and* μᾱρμε̄́νῆν *will not be a cretic, but a molossus. This confusion of long, and short syllables will be avoided, if we can but persuade ourselves that Dionysius knew how to pronounce his own language.*

*The patrons of accents do, indeed, allow that we must read verse according to the quantity: But, if it happens that there are verses intermixed with prose,* [15] *as our author has shewn there are many in Demosthenes of several sorts, which, he says, were the effect of choice, not of accident, and designed to render his style melodious; how are we to read these verses? Are we to read them, like the context, according to the accents? In that case, they will cease to be verses: Or must we not read both them, and the context according to the quantity, which alone can prevent these verses from distinguishing themselves too much,*

[15] Ib. c. 25.

*and*

*and from interrupting that harmony of ſtyle, which they were deſigned to promote?*

*The other argument is this:* [16] *Ariſtotle ſays that iambic verſe is the very language of the vulgar; for which reaſon, they made uſe of iambics more than of any other verſes in talking;* ὁ δε ιαμβος αυτη εστιν ἡ λεξις ἡ των πολλων· διο μαλιστα παντων των μετρων ιαμβεια φθεγγονται λεγοντες. *If iambics were the language of the vulgar, the language of the vulgar muſt be pronounced like iambics: But the patrons of accents allow that iambics muſt be pronounced according to the quantity; therefore the language of the vulgar muſt be pronounced according to the quantity. I have not the leaſt ſuſpicion of any argument, that can be oppoſed to this; though I am ſenſible that prejudices are great logicians, and will find cavils, where reaſons are wanting; and here indolence comes to their aſſiſtance; and both maſter, and ſcholar are concerned in adhering to the old method of reading Greek according to the accents: For a boy may be taught to read that language tolerably well according to the accents in a very few months, when as many years will be neceſſary to enable him to read it according to the quantity; which is a knowledge the maſter himſelf muſt be well acquainted with, unleſs he has a mind the ſay-*

[16] Ρητορικ. Book iii. chap. 8.

*ing of Petronius ſhould be applied to him,* plus docet quam ſcit. *The difficulty in reading Greek according to the quantity, is occaſioned by the three common, or doubtful vowels,* α, ι, υ; *which, though called by that name, are all of them always long in ſome words, and always ſhort in others: This diſtinction is only to be acquired by a long converſation with the Greek poets: For no proſodies, that I have ſeen, will teach it. From this laborious taſk we are freed by the accents, which preſent us with a language unknown either to the ancients, or moderns, a language without quantity.*

*To what purpoſe then, will it be ſaid, were the Greek accents introduced, if no regard is to be paid to them in pronouncing that language? To this I anſwer, that they were deſigned to mark the* [17] *elevation, and depreſſion of the voice; but not to interfere with the quantity: And that the ancient Greeks had accents (contrary to the opinion of many learned men) and alſo a name for thoſe accents, will appear beyond contradiction by a paſſage in* [18] *Strabo, where, in ſpeaking of the Ilienſes, he ſays that the Palladium, which was ſhewn by them in his time, was in a ſtanding poſture; but That, mentioned by Homer, ſitting, which he proves by* [19] *this paſſage in that poet,*

Θεῖναι Αθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ——.

[17] Priſcian, B. xv. Diomed. B. ii.
[18] B. xiii. p. 897. Edit. of Caſaub.
[19] Il. Z. v. 92.

To

*To this argument, he ſays, the Ilienſes gave an idle anſwer, alledging that the accent, which he calls* προσῳδια, *in* γούνασιν, *ought to be transferred, from the antepenultima, to the penultima, and then* ἐπὶ γουνάσιν *will ſignify* ἐπὶ ἱκεσίαις. *And here it is well worth obſerving that the tranſlation of the accent, here contended for by the Ilienſes, could only transfer the elevation of the voice, not the emphaſis, or the quantity; otherwiſe, the metre would not have been preſerved, as the reader will ſee, when the whole verſe is laid before him.*

Θεῖναι Ἀθηναίης ἔπι γούνασιν ἠΰκόμοιο.

*The* προσῳδιαι *of the Greeks were* [20] *called by the ancient Latin authors,* notæ vocum, moderamenta, accentiunculæ, *and* voculationes.

*Theſe paſſages ſufficiently prove the antiquity of accents; but, as the moderns have for many ages made an ill uſe of them, and employed them to confound the quantity, inſtead of directing the elevation, and depreſſion of the voice, for which they were originally deſigned; and, as this laſt application of the accents is irrecoverably loſt, I cannot ſee to what purpoſe they ſhould be retained; particularly ſince thoſe, who read Greek according to the accents, are always miſled, and thoſe, who read it according to the quantity, often inſnared, by them.*

[20] Gell. Book xiii. chap. 6.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

## Chiefly from DODWELL.

| Before Christ. | Julian Period. | Before taking Troy. | Faunus | Before Christ. | Julian Period. | Before taking Troy. | Faunus | Before Christ. | Julian Period. | Before taking Troy. | Latinus | Metonic Period. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1269 | 3445 | 85 | | 1235 | 3479 | 51 | 17 | 1201 | 3513 | 17 | 16 | |
| 68 | 46 | 84 | | 34 | 3480 | 50 | 18 | 1200 | 14 | 16 | 17 | |
| 67 | 47 | 83 | | 33 | 81 | 49 | 19 | 1199 | 15 | 15 | 18 | |
| 66 | 48 | 82 | | 32 | 82 | 48 | 20 | 98 | 16 | 14 | 19 | |
| 65 | 49 | 81 | | 31 | 83 | 47 | 21 | 97 | 17 | 13 | 20 | |
| 64 | 3450 | 80 | | 1230 | 84 | 46 | 22 | 96 | 18 | 12 | 21 | |
| 63 | 51 | 79 | | 29 | 85 | 45 | 23 | 95 | 19 | 11 | 22 | |
| 62 | 52 | 78 | | 28 | 86 | 44 | 24 | 94 | 3520 | 10 | 23 | |
| 61 | 53 | 77 | | 27 | 87 | 43 | 25 | 93 | 21 | 9 | 24 | 1 2 |
| 1260 | 54 | 76 | | 26 | 88 | 42 | 26 | 92 | 22 | 8 | 25 | 2 3 |
| 59 | 55 | 75 | | 25 | 89 | 41 | 27 | 91 | 23 | 7 | 26 | 3 4 |
| 58 | 56 | 74 | | 24 | 3490 | 40 | 28 | 1190 | 24 | 6 | 27 | 4 5 |
| 57 | 57 | 73 | | 23 | 91 | 39 | 29 | 89 | 25 | 5 | 28 | 5 6 |
| 56 | 58 | 72 | | 22 | 92 | 38 | 30 | 88 | 26 | 4 | 29 | 6 7 |
| 55 | 59 | 71 | | 21 | 93 | 37 | 31 | 87 | 27 | 3 | 30 | 7 8 |
| 54 | 3460 | 70 | | 1220 | 94 | 36 | 32 | 86 | 28 | 2 | 31 | 8 9 |
| 53 | 61 | 69 | | 19 | 95 | 35 | 33 | 85 | 29 | 1 | 32 | |
| 52 | 62 | 68 | | 18 | 96 | 34 | 34 | 84 | 3530 | Troy taken | 33 | |
| | | | Faunus | 17 | 97 | 33 | 35 | | | After taking Troy. | | |
| 51 | 63 | 67 | 1 | | | | Latinus | | | | | |
| 1250 | 64 | 66 | 2 | 16 | 98 | 32 | 1 | | | | | |
| 49 | 65 | 65 | 3 | 15 | 99 | 31 | 2 | 83 | 31 | 1 | 34 | 9 10 |
| 48 | 66 | 64 | 4 | 14 | 3500 | 30 | 3 | 82 | 32 | 2 | 35 | 10 11 |
| 47 | 67 | 63 | 5 | 13 | 1 | 29 | 4 | 81 | 33 | 3 | 36 | 11 12 |
| 46 | 68 | 62 | 6 | 12 | 2 | 28 | 5 | | | | Æneas | |
| 45 | 69 | 61 | 7 | 11 | 3 | 27 | 6 | 1180 | 34 | 4 | 1 | 12 13 |
| 44 | 3470 | 60 | 8 | 1210 | 4 | 26 | 7 | 79 | 35 | 5 | 2 | 13 14 |
| 43 | 71 | 59 | 9 | 9 | 5 | 25 | 8 | 78 | 36 | 6 | 3 | 14 15 |
| 42 | 72 | 58 | 10 | 8 | 6 | 24 | 9 | 77 | 37 | 7 | 4 | 15 16 |
| 41 | 73 | 57 | 11 | 7 | 7 | 23 | 10 | | | | Ascanius. | |
| 1240 | 74 | 56 | 12 | 6 | 8 | 22 | 11 | 76 | 38 | 8 | 1 | 16 17 |
| 39 | 75 | 55 | 13 | 5 | 9 | 21 | 12 | 75 | 39 | 9 | 2 | 17 18 |
| 38 | 76 | 54 | 14 | 4 | 3510 | 20 | 13 | 74 | 3540 | 10 | 3 | 18 19 |
| 37 | 77 | 53 | 15 | 3 | 11 | 19 | 14 | 73 | 41 | 11 | 4 | 19 20 |
| 36 | 78 | 52 | 16 | 2 | 12 | 18 | 15 | 72 | 42 | 12 | 5 | 20 21 |

| Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Ascanius. | Metonic Period. | | Alba built. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1171 | 3543 | 13 | 6 | 21 | 22 | |
| 1170 | 44 | 14 | 7 | 22 | 23 | |
| 69 | 45 | 15 | 8 | 23 | 24 | |
| 68 | 46 | 16 | 9 | 24 | 25 | |
| 67 | 47 | 17 | 10 | 25 | 26 | 1 |
| 66 | 48 | 18 | 11 | 26 | 27 | |
| 65 | 49 | 19 | 12 | 27 | 28 | |
| 64 | 3550 | 20 | 13 | 28 | 29 | |
| 63 | 51 | 21 | 14 | 29 | 30 | |
| 62 | 52 | 22 | 15 | 30 | 31 | |
| 61 | 53 | 23 | 16 | 31 | 32 | |
| 1160 | 54 | 24 | 17 | 32 | 33 | |
| 59 | 55 | 25 | 18 | 33 | 34 | |
| 58 | 56 | 26 | 19 | 34 | 35 | |
| 57 | 57 | 27 | 20 | 35 | 36 | |
| 56 | 58 | 28 | 21 | 36 | 37 | |
| 55 | 59 | 29 | 22 | 37 | 38 | |
| 54 | 3560 | 30 | 23 | 38 | 39 | |
| 53 | 61 | 31 | 24 | 39 | 40 | Alba built. |
| 52 | 62 | 32 | 25 | 40 | 41 | 1 |
| 51 | 63 | 33 | 26 | 41 | 42 | 2 |
| 1150 | 64 | 34 | 27 | 42 | 43 | 3 |
| 49 | 65 | 35 | 28 | 43 | 44 | 4 |
| 48 | 66 | 36 | 29 | 44 | 45 | 5 |
| 47 | 67 | 37 | 30 | 45 | 46 | 6 |
| 46 | 68 | 38 | 31 | 46 | 47 | 7 |
| 45 | 69 | 39 | 32 | 47 | 48 | 8 |
| 44 | 3570 | 40 | 33 | 48 | 49 | 9 |
| 43 | 71 | 41 | 34 | 49 | 50 | 10 |
| 42 | 72 | 42 | 35 | 50 | 51 | 11 |
| 41 | 73 | 43 | 36 | 51 | 52 | 12 |
| 1140 | 74 | 44 | 37 | 52 | 53 | 13 |
| 39 | 75 | 45 | 38 | 53 | 54 | |
| | | | Silvius | | | |
| 38 | 76 | 46 | 1 | 54 | 55 | 14 |
| 37 | 77 | 47 | 2 | 55 | 56 | 15 |
| 36 | 78 | 48 | 3 | 56 | 57 | 16 |
| 35 | 79 | 49 | 4 | 57 | 58 | 17 |
| 34 | 3580 | 50 | 5 | 58 | 59 | 18 |
| 33 | 81 | 51 | 6 | 59 | 60 | 19 |
| 32 | 82 | 52 | 7 | 60 | 61 | 20 |
| 31 | 83 | 53 | 8 | 61 | 62 | 21 |
| 1130 | 84 | 54 | 9 | 62 | 63 | 22 |
| 29 | 85 | 55 | 10 | 63 | 64 | 23 |
| 28 | 86 | 56 | 11 | 64 | 65 | 24 |
| 27 | 87 | 57 | 12 | 65 | 66 | 25 |
| 26 | 88 | 58 | 13 | 66 | 67 | 26 |
| 25 | 89 | 59 | 14 | 67 | 68 | 27 |

| Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Silvius | Metonic Period. | | Alba built. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1124 | 3590 | 60 | 15 | 68 | 69 | 28 |
| 23 | 91 | 61 | 16 | 69 | 70 | 29 |
| 22 | 92 | 62 | 17 | 70 | 71 | 30 |
| 21 | 93 | 63 | 18 | 71 | 72 | 31 |
| 1120 | 94 | 64 | 19 | 72 | 73 | 32 |
| 19 | 95 | 65 | 20 | 73 | 74 | 33 |
| 18 | 96 | 66 | 21 | 74 | 75 | 34 |
| 17 | 97 | 67 | 22 | 75 | 76 | 35 |
| 16 | 98 | 68 | 23 | 76 | 77 | 36 |
| 15 | 99 | 69 | 24 | 77 | 78 | 37 |
| 14 | 3600 | 70 | 25 | 78 | 79 | 38 |
| 13 | 1 | 71 | 26 | 79 | 80 | 39 |
| 12 | 2 | 72 | 27 | 80 | 81 | 40 |
| 11 | 3 | 73 | 28 | 81 | 82 | 41 |
| 1110 | 4 | 74 | 29 | 82 | 83 | 42 |
| | | | Æneas Silvius | | | |
| 9 | 5 | 75 | 1 | 83 | 84 | 43 |
| 8 | 6 | 76 | 2 | 84 | 85 | 44 |
| 7 | 7 | 77 | 3 | 85 | 86 | 45 |
| 6 | 8 | 78 | 4 | 86 | 87 | 46 |
| 5 | 9 | 79 | 5 | 87 | 88 | 47 |
| 4 | 3610 | 80 | 6 | 88 | 89 | 48 |
| 3 | 11 | 81 | 7 | 89 | 90 | 49 |
| 2 | 12 | 82 | 8 | 90 | 91 | 50 |
| 1 | 13 | 83 | 9 | 91 | 92 | 51 |
| 1100 | 14 | 84 | 10 | 92 | 93 | 52 |
| 99 | 15 | 85 | 11 | 93 | 94 | 53 |
| 98 | 16 | 86 | 12 | 94 | 95 | 54 |
| 97 | 17 | 87 | 13 | 95 | 96 | 55 |
| 96 | 18 | 88 | 14 | 96 | 97 | 56 |
| 95 | 19 | 89 | 15 | 97 | 98 | 57 |
| 94 | 3620 | 90 | 16 | 98 | 99 | 58 |
| 93 | 21 | 91 | 17 | 99 | 00 | 59 |
| 92 | 22 | 92 | 18 | 00 | 1 | 60 |
| 91 | 23 | 93 | 19 | 1 | 2 | 61 |
| 1090 | 24 | 94 | 20 | 2 | 3 | 62 |
| 89 | 25 | 95 | 21 | 3 | 4 | 63 |
| 88 | 26 | 96 | 22 | 4 | 5 | 64 |
| 87 | 27 | 97 | 23 | 5 | 6 | 65 |
| 86 | 28 | 98 | 24 | 6 | 7 | 66 |
| 85 | 29 | 99 | 25 | 7 | 8 | 67 |
| 84 | 3630 | 100 | 26 | 8 | 9 | 68 |
| 83 | 31 | 1 | 27 | 9 | 110 | 69 |
| 82 | 32 | 2 | 28 | 110 | 11 | 70 |
| 81 | 33 | 3 | 29 | 11 | 12 | 71 |
| 1080 | 34 | 4 | 30 | 12 | 13 | 72 |
| 79 | 35 | 5 | 31 | 13 | 14 | 73 |

| Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Latinus Silvius. | Metonic Period. | Alba built. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1078 | 3636 | 106 | 1 | 114 115 | 74 |
| 77 | 37 | 7 | 2 | 15 16 | 75 |
| 76 | 38 | 8 | 3 | 16 17 | 76 |
| 75 | 39 | 9 | 4 | 17 18 | 77 |
| 74 | 3640 | 110 | 5 | 18 19 | 78 |
| 73 | 41 | 11 | 6 | 19 120 | 79 |
| 72 | 42 | 12 | 7 | 120 21 | 80 |
| 71 | 43 | 13 | 8 | 21 22 | 81 |
| 1070 | 44 | 14 | 9 | 22 23 | 82 |
| 69 | 45 | 15 | 10 | 23 24 | 83 |
| 68 | 46 | 16 | 11 | 24 25 | 84 |
| 67 | 47 | 17 | 12 | 25 26 | 85 |
| 66 | 48 | 18 | 13 | 26 27 | 86 |
| 65 | 49 | 19 | 14 | 27 28 | 87 |
| 64 | 3650 | 120 | 15 | 28 29 | 88 |
| 63 | 51 | 21 | 16 | 29 130 | 89 |
| 62 | 52 | 22 | 17 | 130 31 | 90 |
| 61 | 53 | 23 | 18 | 31 32 | 91 |
| 1060 | 54 | 24 | 19 | 32 33 | 92 |
| 59 | 55 | 25 | 20 | 33 34 | 93 |
| 58 | 56 | 26 | 21 | 34 35 | 94 |
| 57 | 57 | 27 | 22 | 35 36 | 95 |
| 56 | 58 | 28 | 23 | 36 37 | 96 |
| 55 | 59 | 29 | 24 | 37 38 | 97 |
| 54 | 3660 | 130 | 25 | 38 39 | 98 |
| 53 | 61 | 31 | 26 | 39 140 | 99 |
| 52 | 62 | 32 | 27 | 140 41 | 100 |
| 51 | 63 | 33 | 28 | 41 42 | 1 |
| 1050 | 64 | 34 | 29 | 42 43 | 2 |
| 49 | 65 | 35 | 30 | 43 44 | 3 |
| 48 | 66 | 36 | 31 | 44 45 | 4 |
| 47 | 67 | 37 | 32 | 45 46 | 5 |
| 46 | 68 | 38 | 33 | 46 47 | 6 |
| 45 | 69 | 39 | 34 | 47 48 | 7 |
| 44 | 3670 | 140 | 35 | 48 49 | 8 |
| 43 | 71 | 41 | 36 | 49 150 | 9 |
| 42 | 72 | 42 | 37 | 150 51 | 110 |
| 41 | 73 | 43 | 38 | 51 52 | 11 |
| 1040 | 74 | 44 | 39 | 52 1 | 12 |
| 39 | 75 | 45 | 40 | 1 | 13 |
| 38 | 76 | 46 | 41 | 2 | 14 |
| 37 | 77 | 47 | 42 | 3 | 15 |
| 36 | 78 | 48 | 43 | 4 | 16 |
| 35 | 79 | 49 | 44 | 5 | 17 |
| 34 | 3680 | 150 | 45 | 6 | 18 |
| 33 | 81 | 51 | 46 | 7 | 19 |
| 32 | 82 | 52 | 47 | 8 | 120 |
| 31 | 83 | 53 | 48 | 9 | 21 |

| Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy, | Latinus Silvius. | Metonic Period. | Alba built. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1030 | 3684 | 154 | 49 | 10 | 122 |
| 29 | 85 | 55 | 50 | 11 | 23 |
| 28 | 86 | 56 | 51 | 12 | 24 |
| | | | Albas Silvius. | | |
| 27 | 87 | 57 | 1 | 13 | 25 |
| 26 | 88 | 58 | 2 | 14 | 26 |
| 25 | 89 | 59 | 3 | 15 | 27 |
| 24 | 3690 | 160 | 4 | 16 | 28 |
| 23 | 91 | 61 | 5 | 17 | 29 |
| 22 | 92 | 62 | 6 | 18 | 130 |
| 21 | 93 | 63 | 7 | 19 | 31 |
| 1020 | 94 | 64 | 8 | 20 | 32 |
| 19 | 95 | 65 | 9 | 21 | 33 |
| 18 | 96 | 66 | 10 | 22 | 34 |
| 17 | 97 | 67 | 11 | 23 | 35 |
| 16 | 98 | 68 | 12 | 24 | 36 |
| 15 | 99 | 69 | 13 | 25 | 37 |
| 14 | 3700 | 170 | 14 | 26 | 38 |
| 13 | 1 | 71 | 15 | 27 | 39 |
| 12 | 2 | 72 | 16 | 28 | 140 |
| 11 | 3 | 73 | 17 | 29 | 41 |
| 1010 | 4 | 74 | 18 | 30 | 42 |
| 9 | 5 | 75 | 19 | 31 | 43 |
| 8 | 6 | 76 | 20 | 32 | 44 |
| 7 | 7 | 77 | 21 | 33 | 45 |
| 6 | 8 | 78 | 22 | 34 | 46 |
| 5 | 9 | 79 | 23 | 35 | 47 |
| 4 | 3710 | 180 | 24 | 36 | 48 |
| 3 | 11 | 81 | 25 | 37 | 49 |
| 2 | 12 | 82 | 26 | 38 | 150 |
| 1 | 13 | 83 | 27 | 39 | 51 |
| 1000 | 14 | 84 | 28 | 40 | 52 |
| 99 | 15 | 85 | 29 | 41 | 53 |
| 98 | 16 | 86 | 30 | 42 | 54 |
| 97 | 17 | 87 | 31 | 43 | 55 |
| 96 | 18 | 88 | 32 | 44 | 56 |
| 95 | 19 | 89 | 33 | 45 | 57 |
| 94 | 3720 | 190 | 34 | 46 | 58 |
| 93 | 21 | 91 | 35 | 47 | 59 |
| 92 | 22 | 92 | 36 | 48 | 160 |
| 91 | 23 | 93 | 37 | 49 | 61 |
| 990 | 24 | 94 | 38 | 50 | 62 |
| 89 | 25 | 95 | 39 | 51 | 63 |
| | | | Capetus. | | |
| 88 | 26 | 96 | 1 | 52 | 64 |
| 87 | 27 | 97 | 2 | 53 | 65 |

| Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Albas Silvius. | Metonic Period. | Alba built. | Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Capys. | Metonic Period. | Alba built. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 986 | 3728 | 198 | 3 | 54 | 166 | 938 | 3776 | 246 | 25 | 102 | 214 |
| 85 | 29 | 99 | 4 | 55 | 67 | 37 | 77 | 47 | 26 | 3 | 15 |
| 84 | 3730 | 200 | 5 | 56 | 68 | 36 | 78 | 48 | 27 | 4 | 16 |
| 83 | 31 | 1 | 6 | 57 | 69 | 35 | 79 | 49 | 28 | 5 | 17 |
| 82 | 32 | 2 | 7 | 58 | 170 | | | | Calpetus. | | |
| 81 | 33 | 3 | 8 | 59 | 71 | | | | | | |
| 980 | 34 | 4 | 9 | 60 | 72 | 34 | 3780 | 250 | 1 | 6 | 18 |
| 79 | 35 | 5 | 10 | 61 | 73 | 33 | 81 | 51 | 2 | 7 | 19 |
| 78 | 36 | 6 | 11 | 62 | 74 | 32 | 82 | 52 | 3 | 8 | 220 |
| 77 | 37 | 7 | 12 | 63 | 75 | 31 | 83 | 53 | 4 | 9 | 21 |
| 76 | 38 | 8 | 13 | 64 | 76 | 930 | 84 | 54 | 5 | 110 | 22 |
| 75 | 39 | 9 | 14 | 65 | 77 | 29 | 85 | 55 | 6 | 11 | 23 |
| 74 | 3740 | 210 | 15 | 66 | 78 | 28 | 86 | 56 | 7 | 12 | 24 |
| 73 | 41 | 11 | 16 | 67 | 79 | 27 | 87 | 57 | 8 | 13 | 25 |
| 72 | 42 | 12 | 17 | 68 | 180 | 26 | 88 | 58 | 9 | 14 | 26 |
| 71 | 43 | 13 | 18 | 69 | 81 | 25 | 89 | 59 | 10 | 15 | 27 |
| 970 | 44 | 14 | 19 | 70 | 82 | 24 | 3790 | 260 | 11 | 16 | 28 |
| 69 | 45 | 15 | 20 | 71 | 83 | 23 | 91 | 61 | 12 | 17 | 29 |
| 68 | 46 | 16 | 21 | 72 | 84 | 22 | 92 | 62 | 13 | 18 | 230 |
| 67 | 47 | 17 | 22 | 73 | 85 | | | | Tiberinus. | | |
| 66 | 48 | 18 | 23 | 74 | 86 | | | | | | |
| 65 | 49 | 19 | 24 | 75 | 87 | 21 | 93 | 63 | 1 | 19 | 31 |
| 64 | 3750 | 220 | 25 | 76 | 88 | 920 | 94 | 64 | 2 | 120 | 32 |
| 63 | 51 | 21 | 26 | 77 | 89 | 19 | 95 | 65 | 3 | 21 | 33 |
| | | | Capys. | | | 18 | 96 | 66 | 4 | 22 | 34 |
| 62 | 52 | 22 | 1 | 78 | 190 | 17 | 97 | 67 | 5 | 23 | 35 |
| 61 | 53 | 23 | 2 | 79 | 91 | 16 | 98 | 68 | 6 | 24 | 36 |
| 960 | 54 | 24 | 3 | 80 | 92 | 15 | 99 | 69 | 7 | 25 | 37 |
| 59 | 55 | 25 | 4 | 81 | 93 | 14 | 3800 | 270 | 8 | 26 | 38 |
| 58 | 56 | 26 | 5 | 82 | 94 | | | | Agrippas. | | |
| 57 | 57 | 27 | 6 | 83 | 95 | | | | | | |
| 56 | 58 | 28 | 7 | 84 | 96 | 13 | 1 | 71 | 1 | 27 | 39 |
| 55 | 59 | 29 | 8 | 85 | 97 | 12 | 2 | 72 | 2 | 28 | 240 |
| 54 | 3760 | 230 | 9 | 86 | 98 | 11 | 3 | 73 | 3 | 29 | 41 |
| 53 | 61 | 31 | 10 | 87 | 99 | 910 | 4 | 74 | 4 | 130 | 42 |
| 52 | 62 | 32 | 11 | 88 | 200 | 9 | 5 | 75 | 5 | 31 | 43 |
| 51 | 63 | 33 | 12 | 89 | 1 | 8 | 6 | 76 | 6 | 32 | 44 |
| 950 | 64 | 34 | 13 | 90 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 77 | 7 | 33 | 45 |
| 49 | 65 | 35 | 14 | 91 | 3 | 6 | 8 | 78 | 8 | 34 | 46 |
| 48 | 66 | 36 | 15 | 92 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 79 | 9 | 35 | 47 |
| 47 | 67 | 37 | 16 | 93 | 5 | 4 | 3810 | 280 | 10 | 36 | 48 |
| 46 | 68 | 38 | 17 | 94 | 6 | 3 | 11 | 81 | 11 | 37 | 49 |
| 45 | 69 | 39 | 18 | 95 | 7 | 2 | 12 | 82 | 12 | 38 | 250 |
| 44 | 3770 | 240 | 19 | 96 | 8 | 1 | 13 | 83 | 13 | 39 | 51 |
| 43 | 71 | 41 | 20 | 97 | 9 | 900 | 14 | 84 | 14 | 140 | 52 |
| 42 | 72 | 42 | 21 | 98 | 210 | 899 | 15 | 85 | 15 | 41 | 53 |
| 41 | 73 | 43 | 22 | 99 | 11 | 98 | 16 | 86 | 16 | 42 | 54 |
| 940 | 74 | 44 | 23 | 100 | 12 | 97 | 17 | 87 | 17 | 43 | 55 |
| 39 | 75 | 45 | 24 | 1 | 13 | 96 | 18 | 88 | 18 | 44 | 56 |

| Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Agrippas. | Metonic Period. | Alba built. | Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Aventinus. | Metonic Period. | Alba built. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 895 | 3819 | 289 | 19 | 145 | 257 | 851 | 3863 | 333 | 3 | 37 | 301 |
| 94 | 3820 | 290 | 20 | 46 | 58 | 850 | 64 | 34 | 4 | 38 | 2 |
| 93 | 21 | 91 | 21 | 47 | 59 | 49 | 65 | 35 | 5 | 39 | 3 |
| 92 | 22 | 92 | 22 | 48 | 260 | 48 | 66 | 36 | 6 | 40 | 4 |
| 91 | 23 | 93 | 23 | 49 | 61 | 47 | 67 | 37 | 7 | 41 | 5 |
| 890 | 24 | 94 | 24 | 150 | 62 | 46 | 68 | 38 | 8 | 42 | 6 |
| 89 | 25 | 95 | 25 | 51 | 63 | 45 | 69 | 39 | 9 | 43 | 7 |
| 88 | 26 | 96 | 26 | 52 | 64 | 44 | 3870 | 340 | 10 | 44 | 8 |
| 87 | 27 | 97 | 27 | 1 | 65 | 43 | 71 | 41 | 11 | 45 | 9 |
| 86 | 28 | 98 | 28 | 2 | 66 | 42 | 72 | 42 | 12 | 46 | 310 |
| 85 | 29 | 99 | 29 | 3 | 67 | 41 | 73 | 43 | 13 | 47 | 11 |
| 84 | 3830 | 300 | 30 | 4 | 68 | 840 | 74 | 44 | 14 | 48 | 12 |
| 83 | 31 | 1 | 31 | 5 | 69 | 39 | 75 | 45 | 15 | 49 | 13 |
| 82 | 32 | 2 | 32 | 6 | 270 | 38 | 76 | 46 | 16 | 50 | 14 |
| 81 | 33 | 3 | 33 | 7 | 71 | 37 | 77 | 47 | 17 | 51 | 15 |
| 880 | 34 | 4 | 34 | 8 | 72 | 36 | 78 | 48 | 18 | 52 | 16 |
| 79 | 35 | 5 | 35 | 9 | 73 | 35 | 79 | 49 | 19 | 53 | 17 |
| 78 | 36 | 6 | 36 | 10 | 74 | 34 | 3880 | 350 | 20 | 54 | 18 |
| 77 | 37 | 7 | 37 | 11 | 75 | 33 | 81 | 51 | 21 | 55 | 19 |
| 76 | 38 | 8 | 38 | 12 | 76 | 32 | 82 | 52 | 22 | 56 | 320 |
| 75 | 39 | 9 | 39 | 13 | 77 | 31 | 83 | 53 | 23 | 57 | 21 |
| 74 | 3840 | 310 | 40 | 14 | 78 | 830 | 84 | 54 | 24 | 58 | 22 |
| 73 | 41 | 11 | 41 | 15 | 79 | 29 | 85 | 55 | 25 | 59 | 23 |
| | | | Alladius. | | | 28 | 86 | 56 | 26 | 60 | 24 |
| | | | | | | 27 | 87 | 57 | 27 | 61 | 25 |
| 72 | 42 | 12 | 1 | 16 | 280 | 26 | 88 | 58 | 28 | 62 | 26 |
| 71 | 43 | 13 | 2 | 17 | 81 | 25 | 89 | 59 | 29 | 63 | 27 |
| 870 | 44 | 14 | 3 | 18 | 82 | 24 | 3890 | 360 | 30 | 64 | 28 |
| 69 | 45 | 15 | 4 | 19 | 83 | 23 | 91 | 61 | 31 | 65 | 29 |
| 68 | 46 | 16 | 5 | 20 | 84 | 22 | 92 | 62 | 32 | 66 | 330 |
| 67 | 47 | 17 | 6 | 21 | 85 | 21 | 93 | 63 | 33 | 67 | 31 |
| 66 | 48 | 18 | 7 | 22 | 86 | 820 | 94 | 64 | 34 | 68 | 32 |
| 65 | 49 | 19 | 8 | 23 | 87 | 19 | 95 | 65 | 35 | 69 | 33 |
| 64 | 3850 | 320 | 9 | 24 | 88 | 18 | 96 | 66 | 36 | 70 | 34 |
| 63 | 51 | 21 | 10 | 25 | 89 | 17 | 97 | 67 | 37 | 71 | 35 |
| 62 | 52 | 22 | 11 | 26 | 290 | | | | Procas. | | |
| 61 | 53 | 23 | 12 | 27 | 91 | 16 | 98 | 68 | 1 | 72 | 36 |
| 860 | 54 | 24 | 13 | 28 | 92 | 15 | 99 | 69 | 2 | 73 | 37 |
| 59 | 55 | 25 | 14 | 29 | 93 | 14 | 3900 | 370 | 3 | 74 | 38 |
| 58 | 56 | 26 | 15 | 30 | 94 | 13 | 1 | 71 | 4 | 75 | 39 |
| 57 | 57 | 27 | 16 | 31 | 95 | 12 | 2 | 72 | 5 | 76 | 340 |
| 56 | 58 | 28 | 17 | 32 | 96 | 11 | 3 | 73 | 6 | 77 | 41 |
| 55 | 59 | 29 | 18 | 33 | 97 | 810 | 4 | 74 | 7 | 78 | 42 |
| 54 | 3860 | 330 | 19 | 34 | 98 | 9 | 5 | 75 | 8 | 79 | 43 |
| | | | Aventinus. | | | 8 | 6 | 76 | 9 | 80 | 44 |
| | | | | | | 7 | 7 | 77 | 10 | 81 | 45 |
| 53 | 61 | 31 | 1 | 35 | 99 | 6 | 8 | 78 | 11 | 82 | 46 |
| 52 | 62 | 32 | 2 | 36 | 300 | 5 | 9 | 79 | 12 | 83 | 47 |

| Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Procas. | Metonic Period. | Alba built. | Olympiad. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 804 | 3910 | 380 | 13 | 84 | 348 | |
| 3 | 11 | 81 | 14 | 85 | 49 | |
| 2 | 12 | 82 | 15 | 86 | 350 | |
| 1 | 13 | 83 | 16 | 87 | 51 | |
| 800 | 14 | 84 | 17 | 88 | 52 | |
| 99 | 15 | 85 | 18 | 89 | 53 | |
| 98 | 16 | 86 | 19 | 90 | 54 | |
| 97 | 17 | 87 | 20 | 91 | 55 | |
| 96 | 18 | 88 | 21 | 92 | 56 | |
| 95 | 19 | 89 | 22 | 93 | 57 | |
| 94 | 3920 | 390 | 23 | 94 | 58 | |
| | | | Amulius. | | | |
| 93 | 21 | 91 | 1 | 95 | 59 | |
| 92 | 22 | 92 | 2 | 96 | 360 | |
| 91 | 23 | 93 | 3 | 97 | 61 | |
| 790 | 24 | 94 | 4 | 98 | 62 | |
| 89 | 25 | 95 | 3 | 99 | 63 | |
| 88 | 26 | 96 | 6 | 100 | 64 | |
| 87 | 27 | 97 | 7 | 1 | 65 | |
| 86 | 28 | 98 | 8 | 2 | 66 | |
| 85 | 29 | 99 | 9 | 3 | 67 | |
| 84 | 3930 | 400 | 10 | 4 | 68 | |
| 83 | 31 | 1 | 11 | 5 | 69 | |
| 82 | 32 | 2 | 12 | 6 | 370 | |
| 81 | 33 | 3 | 13 | 7 | 71 | |
| 780 | 34 | 4 | 14 | 8 | 72 | |
| 79 | 35 | 5 | 15 | 9 | 73 | |
| 78 | 36 | 6 | 16 | 110 | 74 | |
| 77 | 37 | 7 | 17 | 11 | 75 | |
| 76 | 38 | 8 | 18 | 12 | 76 | 1 0/4 |
| 75 | 39 | 9 | 19 | 13 | 77 | 1/2 |
| 74 | 3940 | 410 | 20 | 14 | 78 | 2/3 |
| 73 | 41 | 11 | 21 | 15 | 79 | 3/4 |
| 72 | 42 | 12 | 22 | 16 | 380 | 1/2 4/1 |
| 71 | 43 | 13 | 23 | 17 | 81 | 2 1/2 |
| 770 | 44 | 14 | 24 | 18 | 82 | 2/3 |
| 69 | 45 | 15 | 25 | 19 | 83 | 3/4 |
| 68 | 46 | 16 | 26 | 120 | 84 | 2/3 4/1 |
| 67 | 47 | 17 | 27 | 21 | 85 | 3 1/2 |
| 66 | 48 | 18 | 28 | 22 | 86 | 2/3 |

| Before Chriſt. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Amulius. | Metonic Period. | Alba built. | Olympiad. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 765 | 3949 | 419 | 29 | 123 | 387 | 3 | 3/4 | | |
| 64 | 50 | 420 | 30 | 24 | 88 | 3/4 | 4/1 | | |
| 63 | 51 | 21 | 31 | 25 | 89 | 4 | 1/2 | | |
| 62 | 52 | 22 | 32 | 26 | 390 | | 2/3 | | |
| 61 | 53 | 23 | 33 | 27 | 91 | | 3/4 | | |
| 760 | 54 | 24 | 34 | 28 | 92 | 4/5 | 4/1 | | |
| 59 | 55 | 25 | 35 | 29 | 93 | 5 | 1/2 | | |
| 58 | 56 | 26 | 36 | 130 | 94 | | 2/3 | | |
| 57 | 57 | 27 | 37 | 31 | 95 | | 3/4 | | |
| 56 | 58 | 28 | 38 | 32 | 96 | 5/6 | 4/1 | | |
| 55 | 59 | 29 | 39 | 33 | 97 | 6 | 1/2 | | Rome. Varron. æra. |
| 54 | 3960 | 430 | 40 | 34 | 98 | | 2/3 | | |
| 53 | 61 | 31 | 41 | 35 | 99 | | 3/4 | | 1 |
| 52 | 62 | 32 | 42 | 36 | 400 | 6/7 | 4/1 | Rome built. | 2 |
| | | | Romulus. | | | | | Caton. æra. | |
| 51 | 63 | 33 | 1 | 37 | 1 | 7 | 1/2 | 1 | 3 |
| 750 | 64 | 34 | 2 | 38 | 2 | | 2/3 | 2 | 4 |
| 49 | 65 | 35 | 3 | 39 | 3 | | 3/4 | 3 | 5 |
| 48 | 66 | 36 | 4 | 140 | 4 | 7/8 | 4/1 | 4 | 6 |
| 47 | 67 | 37 | 5 | 41 | 5 | 8 | 1/2 | 5 | 7 |
| 46 | 68 | 38 | 6 | 42 | 6 | | 2/3 | 6 | 8 |
| 45 | 69 | 39 | 7 | 43 | 7 | | 3/4 | 7 | 9 |
| 44 | 3970 | 440 | 8 | 44 | 8 | 8/9 | 4/1 | 8 | 10 |
| 43 | 71 | 41 | 9 | 45 | 9 | 9 | 1/2 | 9 | 11 |
| 42 | 72 | 42 | 10 | 46 | 410 | | 2/3 | 10 | 12 |
| 41 | 73 | 43 | 11 | 47 | 11 | | 3/4 | 11 | 13 |
| 740 | 74 | 44 | 12 | 48 | 12 | 9/10 | 4/1 | 12 | 14 |

| Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Romulus. | Metonic Period. | Alba built. | Olympiad. | Caton. æra. | Varron. æra. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 739 | 3975 | 445 | 13 | 149 | 413 | 10 1/2 | 13 | 15 |
| 38 | 76 | 46 | 14 | 150 | 14 | 2/3 | 14 | 16 |
| 37 | 77 | 47 | 15 | 51 | 15 | 3/4 | 15 | 17 |
| 36 | 78 | 48 | 16 | 52 | 16 | 10/11 4/1 | 16 | 18 |
| 35 | 79 | 49 | 17 | 1 | 17 | 11 1/2 | 17 | 19 |
| 34 | 3980 | 450 | 18 | 2 | 18 | 2/3 | 18 | 20 |
| 33 | 81 | 51 | 19 | 3 | 19 | 3/4 | 19 | 21 |
| 32 | 82 | 52 | 20 | 4 | 420 | 11/12 4/1 | 20 | 22 |
| 31 | 83 | 53 | 21 | 5 | 21 | 12 1/2 | 21 | 23 |
| 730 | 84 | 54 | 22 | 6 | 22 | 2/3 | 22 | 24 |
| 29 | 85 | 55 | 23 | 7 | 23 | 3/4 | 23 | 25 |
| 28 | 86 | 56 | 24 | 8 | 24 | 12/13 4/1 | 24 | 26 |
| 27 | 87 | 57 | 25 | 9 | 25 | 13 1/2 | 25 | 27 |
| 26 | 88 | 58 | 26 | 10 | 26 | 2/3 | 26 | 28 |
| 25 | 89 | 59 | 27 | 11 | 27 | 3/4 | 27 | 29 |
| 24 | 3990 | 460 | 28 | 12 | 28 | 13/14 4/1 | 28 | 30 |
| 23 | 91 | 61 | 29 | 13 | 29 | 14 1/2 | 29 | 31 |
| 22 | 92 | 62 | 30 | 14 | 430 | 2/3 | 30 | 32 |
| 21 | 93 | 63 | 31 | 15 | 31 | 3/4 | 31 | 33 |
| 720 | 94 | 64 | 32 | 16 | 32 | 14/15 4/1 | 32 | 34 |
| 19 | 95 | 65 | 33 | 17 | 33 | 15 1/2 | 33 | 35 |
| 18 | 96 | 66 | 34 | 18 | 34 | 2/3 | 34 | 36 |
| 17 | 97 | 67 | 35 | 19 | 35 | 3/4 | 35 | 37 |
| 16 | 98 | 68 | 36 | 20 | 36 | 15/16 4/1 | 36 | 38 |
| 15 | 99 | 69 | 37 | 21 | 37 | 16 1/2 | 37 | 39 |
| | | | Interregnum. | | | | | |
| 14 | 4000 | 470 | 1 | 22 | 38 | 2/3 | 38 | 40 |

| Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Numa. | Metonic Period. | Alba built. | Olympiad. | Caton. æra. | Varron. æra. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 713 | 4001 | 471 | 1 | 23 | 439 | 16 3/4 | 39 | 41 |
| 12 | 2 | 72 | 2 | 24 | 440 | 16 4/17 1 | 40 | 42 |
| 11 | 3 | 73 | 3 | 25 | 41 | 17 1/2 | 41 | 43 |
| 710 | 4 | 74 | 4 | 26 | 42 | 2/3 | 42 | 44 |
| 9 | 5 | 75 | 5 | 27 | 43 | 3/4 | 43 | 45 |
| 8 | 6 | 76 | 6 | 28 | 44 | 17 4/18 1 | 44 | 46 |
| 7 | 7 | 77 | 7 | 29 | 45 | 18 1/2 | 45 | 47 |
| 6 | 8 | 78 | 8 | 30 | 46 | 2/3 | 46 | 48 |
| 5 | 9 | 79 | 9 | 31 | 47 | 3/4 | 47 | 49 |
| 4 | 4010 | 480 | 10 | 32 | 48 | 18 4/19 1 | 48 | 50 |
| 3 | 11 | 81 | 11 | 33 | 49 | 19 1/2 | 49 | 51 |
| 2 | 12 | 82 | 12 | 34 | 450 | 2/3 | 50 | 52 |
| 1 | 13 | 83 | 13 | 35 | 51 | 3/4 | 51 | 53 |
| 700 | 14 | 84 | 14 | 36 | 52 | 19 4/20 1 | 52 | 54 |
| 699 | 15 | 85 | 15 | 37 | 53 | 20 1/2 | 53 | 55 |
| 98 | 16 | 86 | 16 | 38 | 54 | 2/3 | 54 | 56 |
| 97 | 17 | 87 | 17 | 39 | 55 | 3/4 | 55 | 57 |
| 96 | 18 | 88 | 18 | 40 | 56 | 20 4/21 1 | 56 | 58 |
| 95 | 19 | 89 | 19 | 41 | 57 | 21 1/2 | 57 | 59 |
| 94 | 4020 | 490 | 20 | 42 | 58 | 2/3 | 58 | 60 |
| 93 | 21 | 91 | 21 | 43 | 59 | 3/4 | 59 | 61 |
| 92 | 22 | 92 | 22 | 44 | 460 | 21 4/22 1 | 60 | 62 |
| 91 | 23 | 93 | 23 | 45 | 61 | 22 1/2 | 61 | 63 |
| 690 | 24 | 94 | 24 | 46 | 62 | 2/3 | 62 | 64 |
| 89 | 25 | 95 | 25 | 47 | 63 | 3/4 | 63 | 65 |
| 88 | 26 | 96 | 26 | 48 | 64 | 22 4/23 1 | 64 | 66 |
| 87 | 27 | 97 | 27 | 49 | 65 | 23 1/2 | 65 | 67 |

| Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Numa. | Metonic Period. | Alba built. | Olympiad. | Caton. æra. | Varron. æra. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 686 | 4028 | 498 | 28 | 50 | 466 | 23 2/3 | 66 | 68 |
| 85 | 29 | 99 | 29 | 51 | 67 | 3/4 | 67 | 69 |
| 84 | 4030 | 500 | 30 | 52 | 68 | 23/24 4/1 | 68 | 70 |
| 83 | 31 | 1 | 31 | 53 | 69 | 24 1/2 | 69 | 71 |
| 82 | 32 | 2 | 32 | 54 | 470 | 2/3 | 70 | 72 |
| 81 | 33 | 3 | 33 | 55 | 71 | 3/4 | 71 | 73 |
| 680 | 34 | 4 | 34 | 56 | 72 | 24/25 4/1 | 72 | 74 |
| 79 | 35 | 5 | 35 | 57 | 73 | 25 1/2 | 73 | 75 |
| 78 | 36 | 6 | 36 | 58 | 74 | 2/3 | 74 | 76 |
| 77 | 37 | 7 | 37 | 59 | 75 | 3/4 | 75 | 77 |
| 76 | 38 | 8 | 38 | 60 | 76 | 25/26 4/1 | 76 | 78 |
| 75 | 39 | 9 | 39 | 61 | 77 | 26 1/2 | 77 | 79 |
| 74 | 4040 | 510 | 40 | 62 | 78 | 2/3 | 78 | 80 |
| 73 | 41 | 11 | 41 | 63 | 79 | 3/4 | 79 | 81 |
| 72 | 42 | 12 | 42 | 64 | 480 | 26/27 4/1 | 80 | 82 |
| 71 | 43 | 13 | 43 Tullus Hostil. | 65 | 81 | 27 1/2 | 81 | 83 |
| 670 | 44 | 14 | 1 | 66 | 82 | 2/3 | 82 | 84 |
| 69 | 45 | 15 | 2 | 67 | 83 | 3/4 | 83 | 85 |
| 68 | 46 | 16 | 3 | 68 | 84 | 27/28 4/1 | 84 | 86 |
| 67 | 47 | 17 | 4 | 69 | 85 | 28 1/2 | 85 | 87 |
| 66 | 48 | 18 | 5 | 70 | 86 | 2/3 | 86 | 88 |
| 65 | 49 | 19 | 6 | 71 | 87 | 3/4 | 87 | 89 |
| 6 | 4050 | 520 | 7 | 72 | Alba rased. | 28/29 4/1 | 88 | 90 |
| 63 | 51 | 21 | 8 | 73 | | 29 1/2 | 89 | 91 |
| 62 | 52 | 22 | 9 | 74 | | 2/3 | 90 | 92 |
| 61 | 53 | 23 | 10 | 75 | | 3/4 | 91 | 93 |
| 660 | 54 | 24 | 11 | 76 | | 29/30 4/1 | 92 | 94 |

| Before Chriſt. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Tullus Hoſti. | Metonic Period. | Olym piad. | Caton. æra. | Varron. æra. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 659 | 4055 | 525 | 12 | 77 | 30 1/2 | 93 | 95 |
| 58 | 56 | 26 | 13 | 78 | 2/3 | 94 | 96 |
| 57 | 57 | 27 | 14 | 79 | 3/4 | 95 | 97 |
| 56 | 58 | 28 | 15 | 80 | 30 4/1 31 | 96 | 98 |
| 55 | 59 | 29 | 16 | 81 | 31 1/2 | 97 | 99 |
| 54 | 4060 | 530 | 17 | 82 | 2/3 | 98 | 100 |
| 53 | 61 | 31 | 18 | 83 | 3/4 | 99 | 1 |
| 52 | 62 | 32 | 19 | 84 | 31 4/1 32 | 100 | 2 |
| 51 | 63 | 33 | 20 | 85 | 32 1/2 | 1 | 3 |
| 650 | 64 | 34 | 21 | 86 | 2/3 | 2 | 4 |
| 49 | 65 | 35 | 22 | 87 | 3/4 | 3 | 5 |
| 48 | 66 | 36 | 23 | 88 | 32 4/1 33 | 4 | 6 |
| 47 | 67 | 37 | 24 | 89 | 33 1/2 | 5 | 7 |
| 46 | 68 | 38 | 25 | 90 | 2/3 | 6 | 8 |
| 45 | 69 | 39 | 26 | 91 | 3/4 | 7 | 9 |
| 44 | 4070 | 540 | 27 | 92 | 33 4/1 34 | 8 | 110 |
| 43 | 71 | 41 | 28 | 93 | 34 1/2 | 9 | 11 |
| 42 | 72 | 42 | 29 | 94 | 2/3 | 110 | 12 |
| 41 | 73 | 43 | 30 | 95 | 3/4 | 11 | 13 |
| 640 | 74 | 44 | 31 | 96 | 34 4/1 35 | 12 | 14 |
| 39 | 75 | 45 | 32 Ancus Marcius. | 97 | 35 1/2 | 13 | 15 |
| 38 | 76 | 46 | 1 | 98 | 2/3 | 14 | 16 |
| 37 | 77 | 47 | 2 | 99 | 3/4 | 15 | 17 |
| 36 | 78 | 48 | 3 | 100 | 35 4/1 36 | 16 | 18 |
| 35 | 79 | 49 | 4 | 1 | 36 1/2 | 17 | 19 |
| 34 | 4080 | 550 | 5 | 2 | 2/3 | 18 | 120 |
| 633 | 81 | 51 | 6 | 3 | 3/4 | 19 | 21 |

| Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Ancus Marcius. | Metonic Period. | Olympiad. | Caton. æra. | Varron. æra. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 632 | 4082 | 552 | 7 | 104 | 36 4 / 37 1 | 120 | 122 |
| 31 | 83 | 53 | 8 | 5 | 37 2/4 | 21 | 23 |
| 630 | 84 | 54 | 9 | 6 | 2/3 | 22 | 24 |
| 29 | 85 | 55 | 10 | 7 | 3/4 | 23 | 25 |
| 28 | 86 | 56 | 11 | 8 | 37 4 / 38 1 | 24 | 26 |
| 27 | 87 | 57 | 12 | 9 | 38 1/2 | 25 | 27 |
| 26 | 88 | 58 | 13 | 110 | 2/3 | 26 | 28 |
| 25 | 89 | 59 | 14 | 11 | 3/4 | 27 | 29 |
| 24 | 4090 | 560 | 15 | 12 | 38 4 / 39 1 | 28 | 130 |
| 23 | 91 | 61 | 16 | 13 | 39 1/2 | 29 | 31 |
| 22 | 92 | 62 | 17 | 14 | 2/3 | 130 | 32 |
| 21 | 93 | 63 | 18 | 15 | 3/4 | 31 | 33 |
| 620 | 94 | 64 | 19 | 16 | 39 4 / 40 1 | 32 | 34 |
| 19 | 95 | 65 | 20 | 17 | 40 1/2 | 33 | 35 |
| 18 | 96 | 66 | 21 | 18 | 2/3 | 34 | 36 |
| 17 | 97 | 67 | 22 | 19 | 3/4 | 35 | 37 |
| 16 | 98 | 68 | 23 | 120 | 40 4 / 41 1 | 36 | 38 |
| 15 | 99 | 69 | 24 Tarq. Priscus. | 21 | 41 1/2 | 37 | 39 |
| 14 | 4100 | 70 | 1 | 22 | 2/3 | 38 | 140 |
| 13 | 1 | 71 | 2 | 23 | 3/4 | 39 | 41 |
| 12 | 2 | 72 | 3 | 24 | 41 4 / 42 1 | 140 | 42 |
| 11 | 3 | 73 | 4 | 25 | 42 1/2 | 41 | 43 |
| 610 | 4 | 74 | 5 | 26 | 2/3 | 42 | 44 |
| 9 | 5 | 75 | 6 | 27 | 3/4 | 43 | 45 |
| 8 | 6 | 76 | 7 | 28 | 42 4 / 43 1 | 44 | 46 |
| 7 | 7 | 77 | 8 | 29 | 43 1/2 | 45 | 47 |
| 6 | 8 | 78 | 9 | 130 | 2/3 | 46 | 48 |

| Before Chriſt. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Tarq. Priſcus. | Metonic Period. | Olympiad. | Caton. æra. | Varron. æra. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 605 | 4109 | 579 | 10 | 131 | 43 3/4 | 147 | 149 |
| 4 | 4110 | 580 | 11 | 32 | 43/44 4/1 | 48 | 150 |
| 3 | 11 | 81 | 12 | 33 | 44 1/2 | 49 | 51 |
| 2 | 12 | 82 | 13 | 34 | 2/3 | 150 | 52 |
| 1 | 13 | 83 | 14 | 35 | 3/4 | 51 | 53 |
| 600 | 14 | 84 | 15 | 36 | 44/45 4/1 | 52 | 54 |
| 599 | 15 | 85 | 16 | 37 | 45 1/2 | 53 | 55 |
| 98 | 16 | 86 | 17 | 38 | 2/3 | 54 | 56 |
| 97 | 17 | 87 | 18 | 39 | 3/4 | 55 | 57 |
| 96 | 18 | 88 | 19 | 140 | 45/46 4/1 | 56 | 58 |
| 95 | 19 | 89 | 20 | 41 | 46 1/2 | 57 | 59 |
| 94 | 4120 | 590 | 21 | 42 | 2/3 | 58 | 160 |
| 93 | 21 | 91 | 22 | 43 | 3/4 | 59 | 61 |
| 92 | 22 | 92 | 23 | 44 | 46/47 4/1 | 160 | 62 |
| 91 | 23 | 93 | 24 | 45 | 47 1/2 | 61 | 63 |
| 590 | 24 | 94 | 25 | 46 | 2/3 | 62 | 64 |
| 89 | 25 | 95 | 26 | 47 | 3/4 | 63 | 65 |
| 88 | 26 | 96 | 27 | 48 | 47/48 4/1 | 64 | 66 |
| 87 | 27 | 97 | 28 | 49 | 48 1/2 | 65 | 67 |
| 86 | 28 | 98 | 29 | 150 | 2/3 | 66 | 68 |
| 85 | 29 | 99 | 30 | 51 | 3/4 | 67 | 69 |
| 84 | 4130 | 600 | 31 | 52 | 48/49 4/1 | 68 | 170 |
| 83 | 31 | 1 | 32 | 1 | 49 1/2 | 69 | 71 |
| 82 | 32 | 2 | 33 | 2 | 2/3 | 170 | 72 |
| 81 | 33 | 3 | 34 | 3 | 3/4 | 71 | 73 |
| 580 | 34 | 4 | 35 | 4 | 49/50 4/1 | 72 | 74 |
| 79 | 35 | 5 | 36 | 5 | 50 1/2 | 73 | 75 |
| 78 | 36 | 6 | 37 | 6 | 2/3 | 74 | 76 |

| Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Tarq. Priscus. | Metonic Period. | Olympiad. | Caton. æra. | Varron. æra. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 577 | 4137 | 607 | 38 | 7 | 50 3/4 | 175 | 177 |
| | | | Servius Tullius. | | | | |
| 76 | 38 | 8 | 1 | 8 | 50/51 4/1 | 76 | 78 |
| 75 | 39 | 9 | 2 | 9 | 51 1/2 | 77 | 79 |
| 74 | 4140 | 610 | 3 | 10 | 2/3 | 78 | 180 |
| 73 | 41 | 11 | 4 | 11 | 3/4 | 79 | 81 |
| 72 | 42 | 12 | 5 | 12 | 51/52 4/1 | 180 | 82 |
| 71 | 43 | 13 | 6 | 13 | 52 1/2 | 81 | 83 |
| 570 | 44 | 14 | 7 | 14 | 2/3 | 82 | 84 |
| 69 | 45 | 15 | 8 | 15 | 3/4 | 83 | 85 |
| 68 | 46 | 16 | 9 | 16 | 52/53 4/1 | 84 | 86 |
| 67 | 47 | 17 | 10 | 17 | 53 1/2 | 85 | 87 |
| 66 | 48 | 18 | 11 | 18 | 2/3 | 86 | 88 |
| 65 | 49 | 19 | 12 | 19 | 3/4 | 87 | 89 |
| 64 | 4150 | 620 | 13 | 20 | 53/54 4/1 | 88 | 190 |
| 63 | 51 | 21 | 14 | 21 | 54 1/2 | 89 | 91 |
| 62 | 52 | 22 | 15 | 22 | 2/3 | 190 | 92 |
| 61 | 53 | 23 | 16 | 23 | 3/4 | 91 | 93 |
| 560 | 54 | 24 | 17 | 24 | 54/55 4/1 | 92 | 94 |
| 59 | 55 | 25 | 18 | 25 | 55 1/2 | 93 | 95 |
| 58 | 56 | 26 | 19 | 26 | 2/3 | 94 | 96 |
| 57 | 57 | 27 | 20 | 27 | 3/4 | 95 | 97 |
| 56 | 58 | 28 | 21 | 28 | 55/56 4/1 | 96 | 98 |
| 55 | 59 | 29 | 22 | 29 | 56 1/2 | 97 | 99 |
| 54 | 4160 | 630 | 23 | 30 | 2/3 | 98 | 200 |
| 53 | 61 | 31 | 24 | 31 | 3/4 | 99 | 1 |
| 52 | 62 | 32 | 25 | 32 | 56/57 4/1 | 200 | 2 |
| 51 | 63 | 33 | 26 | 33 | 57 1/2 | 1 | 3 |

| Before Chriſt. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Servius Tullius. | Metonic Period. | Olympiad. | Caton. æra. | Varron. æra. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 550 | 4164 | 634 | 27 | 34 | 57 3/3 | 202 | 204 |
| 49 | 65 | 35 | 28 | 35 | 3/4 | 3 | 5 |
| 48 | 66 | 36 | 29 | 36 | 57/58 4/1 | 4 | 6 |
| 47 | 67 | 37 | 30 | 37 | 58 1/2 | 5 | 7 |
| 46 | 68 | 38 | 31 | 38 | 2/3 | 6 | 8 |
| 45 | 69 | 39 | 32 | 39 | 3/4 | 7 | 9 |
| 44 | 4170 | 640 | 33 | 40 | 58/59 4/1 | 8 | 210 |
| 43 | 71 | 41 | 34 | 41 | 59 1/2 | 9 | 11 |
| 42 | 72 | 42 | 35 | 42 | 2/3 | 210 | 12 |
| 41 | 73 | 43 | 36 | 43 | 3/4 | 11 | 13 |
| 540 | 74 | 44 | 37 | 44 | 59/60 4/1 | 12 | 14 |
| 39 | 75 | 45 | 38 | 45 | 60 1/2 | 13 | 15 |
| 38 | 76 | 46 | 39 | 46 | 2/3 | 14 | 16 |
| 37 | 77 | 47 | 40 | 47 | 3/4 | 15 | 17 |
| 36 | 78 | 48 | 41 | 48 | 60/61 4/1 | 16 | 18 |
| 35 | 79 | 49 | 42 | 49 | 61 1/2 | 17 | 19 |
| 34 | 4180 | 650 | 43 | 50 | 2/3 | 18 | 220 |
| 33 | 81 | 51 | 44 | 51 | 3/4 | 19 | 21 |
| | | | Tarq. Superbus. | | | | |
| 32 | 82 | 52 | 1 | 52 | 61/62 4/1 | 220 | 22 |
| 31 | 83 | 53 | 2 | 53 | 62 1/2 | 21 | 23 |
| 530 | 84 | 54 | 3 | 54 | 2/3 | 22 | 24 |
| 29 | 85 | 55 | 4 | 55 | 3/4 | 23 | 25 |
| 28 | 86 | 56 | 5 | 56 | 62/63 4/1 | 24 | 26 |
| 27 | 87 | 57 | 6 | 57 | 63 1/2 | 25 | 27 |
| 26 | 88 | 58 | 7 | 58 | 2/3 | 26 | 28 |
| 25 | 89 | 59 | 8 | 59 | 3/4 | 27 | 29 |
| 24 | 4190 | 660 | 9 | 60 | 63/64 4/1 | 28 | 230 |

| Before Chriſt. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Tarq. Superbus. | Metonic Period. | Olympiad. | Caton. æra. | Varron. æra. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 523 | 4191 | 661 | 10 | 61 | 64 1/2 | 29 | 231 |
| 22 | 92 | 62 | 11 | 62 | 2/3 | 230 | 32 |
| 21 | 93 | 63 | 12 | 63 | 3/4 | 31 | 33 |
| 520 | 94 | 64 | 13 | 64 | 64 4/1 65 | 32 | 34 |
| 19 | 95 | 65 | 14 | 65 | 65 1/2 | 33 | 35 |
| 18 | 96 | 66 | 15 | 66 | 2/3 | 34 | 36 |
| 17 | 97 | 67 | 16 | 67 | 3/4 | 35 | 37 |
| 16 | 98 | 68 | 17 | 68 | 65 4/1 66 | 36 | 38 |
| 15 | 99 | 69 | 18 | 69 | 66 1/2 | 37 | 39 |
| 14 | 4200 | 670 | 19 | 70 | 2/3 | 38 | 240 |
| 13 | 1 | 71 | 20 | 71 | 3/4 | 39 | 41 |
| 12 | 2 | 72 | 21 | 72 | 66 4/1 67 | 240 | 42 |
| 11 | 3 | 73 | 22 | 73 | 67 1/2 | 41 | 43 |
| 510 | 4 | 74 | 23 | 74 | 2/3 | 42 | 44 |
| 9 | 5 | 75 | 24 | 75 | 3/4 | 43 | 45 |
| 8 | 6 | 76 | 25 Expelled. | 76 | 67 4/1 68 | 44 | 46 |

| Before Chriſt. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Metonic Period. | Olympiad. | Caton. æra. | Varron. æra. | Expulſion. | Consuls. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 507 | 4207 | 677 | 77 | 68 1/2 | 245 | 247 | 1 | Lucius Junius Brutus, ſucceeded by Spurius Lucretius, the father of Lucretia; who was ſucceeded by Marcus Horatius. Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, ſucceeded by Publius Valerius Poplicola. |
| 6 | 8 | 78 | 78 | 2/3 | 46 | 48 | 2 | Publius Valerius Poplicola II. Titus Lucretius. |
| 5 | 9 | 79 | 79 | 3/4 | 47 | 49 | 3 | Publius Valerius Poplicola III. Marcus Horatius II. |
| 4 | 4210 | 680 | 80 | 68 4/1 69 | 48 | 250 | 4 | Spurius Lartius. Titus Herminius. |
| 3 | 11 | 81 | 81 | 69 1/2 | 49 | 51 | 5 | Marcus Valerius. Publius Poſtumius Tubertus. |

| Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Metonic Period. | Olympiad. | Caton. æra. | Varron. æra. | Expulsion. | Consuls. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 502 | 4212 | 682 | 82 | 69 2/3 | 250 | 252 | 6 | Publius Valerius Poplicola IV.<br>Titus Lucretius II. |
| 1 | 13 | 83 | 83 | 3/4 | 51 | 53 | 7 | Publius Poſtumius Tubertus II.<br>Agrippa Menenius Lanatus. |
| 500 | 14 | 84 | 84 | 69/70 4/1 | 52 | 54 | 8 | Spurius Caſſius Viſcellinus.<br>Opiter Virginius Tricoſtus. |
| 99 | 15 | 85 | 85 | 70 1/2 | 53 | 55 | 9 | Poſtumus Cominius. Titus Lartius. |
| 98 | 16 | 86 | 86 | 2/3 | 54 | 56 | 10 | Servius Sulpicius Camerinus.<br>Manius Tullius Longus. |
| 97 | 17 | 87 | 87 | 3/2 | 55 | 57 | 11 | Publius Veturius Geminus.<br>Titus Æbutius Elva. |
| 96 | 18 | 88 | 88 | 70/71 4/1 | 56 | 58 | 12 | Titus Lartius Flavus II.<br>Quintus Clœlius Siculus. |
| 95 | 19 | 89 | 89 | 71 1/2 | 57 | 59 | 13 | Aulus Sempronius Atratinus.<br>Marcus Minucius. |
| 94 | 4220 | 690 | 90 | 2/3 | 58 | 260 | 14 | Aulus Poſtumius. Titus Virginius. |
| 93 | 21 | 91 | 91 | 3/4 | 59 | 61 | 15 | Appius Claudius Sabinus.<br>Publius Servilius Priſcus. |
| 92 | 22 | 92 | 92 | 71/72 4/1 | 260 | 62 | 16 | Aulus Virginius Cœlimontanus.<br>Titus Veturius Geminus. |
| 91 | 23 | 93 | 93 | 72 1/2 | 61 | 63 | 17 | Poſtumus Cominius II.<br>Spurius Caſſius II. |
| 490 | 24 | 94 | 94 | 2/3 | 62 | 64 | 18 | Titus Geganius Macerinus.<br>Publius Minucius. |
| 89 | 25 | 95 | 95 | 3/4 | 63 | 65 | 19 | Marcus Minucius Augurinus II.<br>Aulus Sempronius Atratinus II. |
| 88 | 26 | 96 | 96 | 72/73 4/1 | 64 | 66 | 20 | Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus.<br>Spurius Lartius Flavus II. |
| 87 | 27 | 97 | 97 | 73 1/2 | 65 | 67 | 21 | Caius Julius Iulus.<br>Publius Pinarius Rufus. |
| 86 | 28 | 98 | 98 | 2/3 | 66 | 68 | 22 | Spurius Nautius. Sextus Furius. |
| 85 | 29 | 99 | 99 | 3/4 | 67 | 69 | 23 | Caius Aquilius. Titus Sicinus. |
| 84 | 30 | 700 | 100 | 73/74 4/1 | 68 | 270 | 24 | Proculus Virginius.<br>Spurius Caſſius III. |
| 83 | 31 | 1 | 1 | 74 1/2 | 69 | 71 | 25 | Quintus Fabius, the ſon of Cæſo.<br>Servius Cornelius. |
| 82 | 32 | 2 | 2 | 2/3 | 70 | 72 | 26 | Lucius Æmilius, the ſon of Mamercus.<br>Cæſo Fabius, the ſon of Cæſo. |

| Before Chriſt. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Metonic Period. | Olympiad. | Caton. æra. | Varron æra. | Expulſion. | CONSULS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 481 | 4233 | 703 | 103 | 74 3/4 | 271 | 273 | 27 | Marcus Fabius, the ſon of Cæſo.<br>Lucius Valerius, the ſon of Marcus. |
| 480 | 34 | 4 | 4 | 74/75 4/1 | 72 | 74 | 28 | Caius Julius Iulus II.<br>Quintus Fabius II. |
| 79 | 35 | 5 | 5 | 75 1/2 | 73 | 75 | 29 | Cæſo Fabius II.<br>Spurius Furius. |
| 78 | 36 | 6 | 6 | 2/3 | 74 | 76 | 30 | Cneius Manlius. Marcus Fabius II. |
| 77 | 37 | 7 | 7 | 3/4 | 75 | 77 | 31 | Cæſo Fabius III.<br>Titus Virginius. |
| 76 | 38 | 8 | 8 | 75/76 3/4 | 76 | 78 | 32 | Lucius Æmilius II. Caius Servilius. |
| 75 | 39 | 9 | 9 | 76 1/2 | 77 | 79 | 33 | Caius Horatius. Titus Menenius. |
| 74 | 4240 | 710 | 110 | 2/3 | 78 | 280 | 34 | Spurius Servilius. Aulus Virginius. |
| 73 | 41 | 11 | 11 | 3/4 | 79 | 81 | 35 | Publius Valerius Poplicola.<br>Caius Nautius. |
| 72 | 42 | 12 | 12 | 76/77 4/1 | 280 | 82 | 36 | Aulus Manlius. Lucius Furius. |
| 71 | 43 | 13 | 13 | 77 1/2 | 81 | 83 | 37 | Lucius Æmilius Mamercus III.<br>Vopiſcus Julius Iulus. |
| 470 | 44 | 14 | 14 | 2/3 | 82 | 84 | 38 | Lucius Pinarius. Publius Furius. |
| 69 | 45 | 15 | 15 | 3/4 | 83 | 85 | 39 | Titus Quintius Capitolinus.<br>Appius Claudius Sabinus. |
| 68 | 46 | 16 | 16 | 77/78 4/1 | 84 | 86 | 40 | Lucius Valerius II.<br>Tiberius Æmilius. |
| 67 | 47 | 17 | 17 | 78 1/2 | 85 | 87 | 41 | Aulus Virginius Nomentanus.<br>Titus Numicius Priſcus. |
| 66 | 48 | 18 | 18 | 2/3 | 86 | 88 | 42 | Titus Quintius Capitolinus II.<br>Quintus Servilius Priſcus. |
| 65 | 49 | 19 | 19 | 3/4 | 87 | 89 | 43 | Tiberius Æmilius II.<br>Quintus Fabius. |
| 64 | 4250 | 720 | 120 | 78/79 4/1 | 88 | 290 | 44 | Spurius Poſtumius Albinus.<br>Quintus Servilius Priſcus II. |
| 63 | 51 | 21 | 21 | 79 1/2 | 89 | 91 | 45 | Titus Quintius Capitolinus III.<br>Quintus Fabius Vibulanus II. |
| 62 | 52 | 22 | 22 | 2/3 | 290 | 92 | 46 | Aulus Poſtumius Albus.<br>Spurius Furius. |
| 61 | 53 | 23 | 23 | 3/4 | 91 | 93 | 47 | Lucius Æbutius.<br>Publius Servilius Priſcus. |
| 460 | 54 | 24 | 24 | 79/80 4/1 | 92 | 94 | 48 | Lucius Lucretius.<br>Titus Veturius Geminus. |

| Before Christ. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Metonic Period. | Olympiad. | Caton. æra. | Varron. æra. | Expulsion | Consuls. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 459 | 4255 | 725 | 125 | 80 1/2 | 293 | 295 | 49 | Publius Volumnius.<br>Servius Sulpicius Camerinus. |
| 58 | 56 | 26 | 26 | 2/3 | 94 | 96 | 50 | Publius Valerius Poplicola II.<br>Caius Claudius Sabinus. |
| 57 | 57 | 27 | 27 | 3/4 | 95 | 97 | 51 | Quintus Fabius Vibulanus III.<br>Lucius Cornelius. |
| 56 | 58 | 28 | 28 | 80 4/4 81 1/4 | 96 | 98 | 52 | Caius Nautius II.<br>Lucius Minucius. |
| 55 | 59 | 29 | 29 | 81 1/2 | 97 | 99 | 53 | Caius Horatius.<br>Quintus Minucius. |
| 54 | 4260 | 730 | 130 | 2/3 | 98 | 300 | 54 | Marcus Valerius.<br>Spurius Virginius. |
| 53 | 61 | 31 | 31 | 3/4 | 99 | 1 | 55 | Titus Romilius.<br>Caius Veturius. |
| 52 | 62 | 32 | 32 | 81 4/4 82 1/4 | 300 | 2 | 56 | Spurius Tarpeius.<br>Aulus Aterius. |
| 51 | 63 | 33 | 33 | 82 1/2 | 1 | 3 | 57 | Publius Horatius.<br>Sextus Quintilius. |
| 450 | 64 | 34 | 34 | 2/3 | 2 | 4 | 58 | Caius Menenius.<br>Publius Sestius. |
| | | | | | | | | The First Decemvirs. |
| 49 | 65 | 35 | 35 | 3/4 | 3 | 5 | 59 | Appius Claudius.<br>Titus Genucius.<br>Publius Sestius.<br>Spurius Postumius.<br>Servius Sulpicius.<br>Aulus Manlius.<br>Titus Romilius.<br>Caius Julius.<br>Titus Veturius.<br>Publius Horatius. |
| | | | | | | | | The Second Decemvirs. |
| 48 | 66 | 36 | 36 | 82 4/4 83 1/4 | 4 | 6 | 60 | Appius Claudius.<br>Quintus Fabius Vibulanus.<br>Marcus Cornelius.<br>Marcus Sergius.<br>Lucius Minucius.<br>Titus Antonius.<br>Manius Rabuleius.<br>Quintus Poetilius.<br>Cæso Duillius.<br>Spurius Oppius. |

| Before Chriſt. | Julian Period. | After taking Troy. | Metonic Period. | Olympiad. | Caton. æra. | Varron. æra. | Expulſion. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | The THIRD DECEMVIRS. |
| 447 | 4267 | 737 | 137 | 83 1/2 | 305 | 307 | 61 | Appius Claudius, and the ſame colleguer. |
| | | | | | | | | CONSULS. |
| 46 | 68 | 38 | 38 | 2/3 | 6 | * | 62 Varro. 61 | Lucius Valerius Potitus. Marcus Horatius Barbatus. |
| 45 | 69 | 39 | 39 | 3/4 | 7 | 8 | 63 Varro. 62 | Larus Herminius. Titus Verginius. |
| 44 | 4270 | 740 | 140 | 83 4/1 84 | 8 | 9 | 64 Varro. 63 | Marcus Geganius Macerinus. Caius Julius. |
| 43 | 71 | 41 | 41 | 84 1/2 | 9 | 310 | 65 Varro. 64 | Titus Quintius Capitolinus IV. Agrippa Furius. [both from Livy.] |
| 42 | 72 | 42 | 42 | 2/3 | 310 | 11 | 66 Varro. 65 | Marcus Genucius. Caius Curtius. |
| | | | | | | | | CONSULAR TRIBUNES |
| 41 | 73 | 43 | 43 | 3/4 | 11 | 12 | 67 Varro. 66 | Aulus Sempronius Atratinus. Lucius Atilius Longus. Titus Cloelius Siculus. |
| | | | | | | | | CONSULS. |
| 440 | 74 | 44 | 44 | 84 4/1 85 | 12 | 13 | 68 Varro. 67 | Marcus Geganius Macerinus II. Titus Quintius Capitolinus V. |

The Remains of Dionyſius end with theſe Conſuls.

THE

# ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

OF

# DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

## THE FIRST BOOK.

THOUGH no friend to the diſcourſes uſually employed in the prefaces to hiſtories, yet I am obliged to ſpeak of myſelf: In doing which I ſhall neither dwell too long on my own praiſe, which I know would be

### ANNOTATIONS on the Firſt BOOK.

[1] Τας ειωθοτας αποδιδοσθαι τοις προοιμιοις λογας. This firſt period has occaſioned great difficulty; and, conſequently, great diverſity of opinions both in the tranſlators and commentators. Henry Stephens, as we call him, who was a man of great parts as well as great learning (which qualities are not always ſuch inſeparable companions as they may be thought) contends that we ought to read εν τοις προοιμιοις, becauſe, ſays he, it is too hard an expreſſion to ſay λογοι αποδιδοσθαι τοις προοιμιοις, as if the hiſtorian was to give an account to the preface of his hiſtory; when, on the other ſide, the preface itſelf is the thing, that gives the account. This is confining the ſenſe of the word αποδιδοναι to a ſingle ſignification; whereas it is capable of many, and, particularly, of That, which our author has given to it in this paſſage. Plato has taken it in the ſame ſenſe, where he ſays, [a] Και ὁμολογεμεν μη παρα φυσιν ειναι ταις των φυλακων γυναιξι μυσικην τε και γυμναϛικην ΑΠΟΔΙΔΟΝΑΙ. I agree, indeed, with him that ἡκιϛα βελομενος ſhould be underſtood as if

[a] Plato B. v. Περι πολιτ. p. 654. Edit. of Marſil.

diſagreeable to the reader, neither ſhall I cenſure other hiſtorians, [a] as Anaxilaus and Theopompus have done in the prefaces to their hiſtories; but ſhall only ſhew the reaſons, that induced me to undertake this work, and give an account of the means, by which I was furniſhed with the knowledge

the author had ſaid καίπερ ἡκιστα βουλομενος; but I cannot agree with him in joining της εωθοτας λογους with ειπειν, becauſe I often find βουλομαι governing an accuſative caſe in the beſt authors, and applied in the ſame ſenſe our author uſes it upon this occaſion: Thus, Thucydides uſes the word in giving an account of the unfortunate expedition of the Athenians to Sicily under Nicias, Lamachus, and Alcibiades, [b] Και ὡς αὐτους οι Καλλιαναιοι ουκ εδεχοντο (ενησαν γαρ αὐτοθι ανδρες τα Συρακουσιων ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΙ) ἑκομισθησαν επι τον Τηριαν τοιχισμον.

[a] Ωσπερ Αναξιλαος και Θεοπομπος εν τοις προοιμιοις των ἱστοριων εποιησαν. As to the firſt of theſe hiſtorians, I can find nothing relating to him, that is worth mentioning. The other was an hiſtorian of great merit, and treated as ſuch by many ancient authors both Greek and Latin, particularly by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus himſelf in his letter to Cn. Pompeius; in which he gives the character of the moſt celebrated hiſtorians; and, among the reſt, of Theopompus, "who, he ſays, "was the moſt illuſtrious of all the "ſcholars of Iſocrates; and, after "enumerating the many advantages "he had of being well informed of "what he writ, he ſays, that the "greateſt characteriſtic of his writing, "and That, in which he was more "exact than all the other hiſtorians, "either ancient or modern, was this, "that he obſerved, and related, not "only thoſe things, that were obſerv-"able by others, but, alſo, ſearched "into the hidden motives both of the "actions, and of the actors, and into "the paſſions of the ſoul, which are "not eaſily diſcovered by the gene-"rality of mankind; and that he "unfolded all the myſteries both of "ſeeming virtue, and of latent vice." It is no wonder that ſo free a ſearcher into the ſprings of Philip's policy, whoſe affairs were the ſubject of one of his hiſtories, and with whom he was cotemporary, ſhould paſs for a cenſorious writer. But the truth is, that the iniquitous deſigns of Philip to enſlave Greece; the corrupt methods, made uſe of by him to accompliſh that deſign; the diſorders of his court; his perſonal proſtitution to every vice, ſometimes, through intemperance, and ſometimes, through policy, were ſo flagrant, that a naked relation of all theſe exceſſes might make his hiſtory appear a ſatire. This Philippic hiſtory of Theopompus contained fifty eight books, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, who ſays that five of them were ſuſpected not to be genuine. [c] Γεγραφε (Θεοπομπος) βιβλους οκτω προς ταις πεντηκοντα, εξ ων πεντε διαφωνουσι.

[b] Thucyd. B. vi. c. 50. [c] Diod. Sic. B. xvi. p. 511. Edit. of Steph.

of

of thoſe things, I am going to relate. For I am of the opinion that all, who propoſe to leave ſuch monuments of their minds to poſterity, as time ſhall not involve in one common ruin with their bodies, and, particularly, thoſe, who write hiſtories, which we look upon as the repoſitories of truth, [3] the ſource both of prudence and wiſdom, ought, firſt of all, to make choice of worthy and grand ſubjects, and ſuch as are of great utility to their readers; then, with great care and pains, provide themſelves with proper materials. For thoſe, who build their hiſtories upon ſubjects inglorious, wicked, or of no importance, either fond of being known, and of getting a name of any kind, or deſirous to diſplay the abundance of their oratory, [4] are neither known by poſterity to their advantage, or commended for their eloquence, leaving this opinion in the minds of all, who are converſant with their hiſtories, that their lives, and their writings were of a piece; ſince it is a juſt, and a general obſervation, that the works of an author are the images of his mind. There are others, who make choice indeed of the beſt ſubjects; but, by founding their relations upon common reports through precipitancy and careleſſneſs, loſe

[3] Ἀρχὴν φρονήσεως τε καὶ σοφίας ἁπάσης. Le Jay has left out this fine obſervation in his paraphraſe on this paſſage. The other French tranſlator has not left it out in his.

[4] Οὔτε τῆς γνώσεως ζηλωτὰς παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις. Both the French tranſlators have applied ζηλωτὰς in this place to *imitation* and *emulation*, which is, no doubt, one ſenſe of the word, but not the ſenſe it bears here, where it plainly implies *admiration*, *praiſe*; and, in this ſenſe, it agrees very well with what goes before: Theſe men, ſays our author, are fond of being known, and they are ſo, but it is to their diſadvantage. And thus Suidas explains the word ζηλωτὸς. μακαριστὸς. ἐπαινετός.

the merit of that choice. [5]For we do not allow the hiſtories of renowned cities, and of men who have governed nations, to be written in a haſty, and negligent manner. As therefore I am convinced that theſe conſiderations are neceſſary to, and ought firſt to be regarded by, hiſtorians, and, as I have taken great care to obſerve them both, I would neither omit the mention of them, nor [6]give it any other place than in the preface to this work.

II. That I have made choice of a ſubject, worthy, grand, and uſeful, will be readily granted by all, who are not utterly unacquainted with [7]general hiſtory: For, if any one, who has conſidered the ancient empires both of cities and of nations, as delivered down to us by hiſtory, and, after that, in ſurveying them ſeverally, and comparing them together, deſires to be ſatisfied which of them obtained the moſt extenſive dominion, and, both in peace and war, performed the moſt glaring achievements, he will find the empire of the Romans to have far exceeded all thoſe that preceded it, not only in the extent of their dominion, and in the ſplendor of their actions ([8]which no hiſtory has hitherto

5. Ου γαρ αξιωμεν αυλοχεδιως, etc. I am ſenſible that the general ſignification of the word αυλοχεδιος is *extemporary:* but, as it, alſo, ſignifies *ſudden, haſty*, I have choſen to give it this ſenſe, becauſe it agrees better with εικη, which our author had employed, juſt before, to ſignify the ſame thing.

6. Καλαχωρισαι. I have followed the common editions in reading καλαχωρισαι rather than καλαχωρησαι with the Vatican manuſcript; the firſt being an active verb, and ſignifying *to place, to diſpoſe*; and the other, if there is ſuch a word, a neuter, in which ſenſe it can have nothing to do here.

7. Της κοινης ιστοριας. Caſaubon very well obſerves, upon this place, that κοινη ιστορια ſignifies καθολικη ιστορια, in oppoſition to τη των καθ' μερος συνταξει.

8. As απω κεκοσμηκε λογος ουδεις αξιως, *Que perſonne juſqu'ici n'a vantées comme*

worthily

worthily celebrated) but alſo in the length of time, that has handed it down to our days: For the empire of the Aſſyrians,

*elles le meritent* in Le Jay, is, by much, too vain a tranſlation of the word κοσμειν: The other French tranſlator has tranſlated, or, rather, paraphraſed this paſſage with more modeſty, *Qu'aucun auteur n'a traitées juſqu'ici avec toute la dignité, et toute l'éloquence qu'elles demandent.* When I read this expreſſion in our author, I cannot help being ſurpriſed at his cenſuring, at one daſh, all the writers of the Roman hiſtory; particularly, if, as it is generally thought, Livy's hiſtory appeared before his. For, if ever an hiſtorian had the talent of *adorning* the actions he relates, I really think that Livy poſſeſſed it in the higheſt degree. For this reaſon, Caligula, that mad emperor, whoſe ſayings, though deſtitute of reaſon, were not deſtitute of the appearance of it, called Livy *verboſum in hiſtoriâ*[d]. However, I have great reaſon to think that Livy's hiſtory did not make its appearance in the world ſo early as the conſulſhip of Claudius Nero, and Calpurnius Piſo, which was in the year of Rome 745, according to Cato. Voſſius, I know, contends that Livy muſt have finiſhed his hiſtory before the year 730[e]; becauſe he ſays, that, after Numa, the temple of Janus was twice ſhut, once, in the conſulſhip of Titus Manlius, after the end of the firſt Punic war; and, the ſecond time, by Auguſtus, after the battle of Actium. [f] *Bis deinde poſt Numae regnum (Janus) clauſus fuit: ſemel, Tito Manlio conſule, poſt Punicum primum perfectum bellum; iterum, quod noſtrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus, poſt bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caeſare Auguſto, pace terrâ marique partâ.* Voſſius goes on, and ſays, It is well known that the temple of Janus was ſhut a ſecond time, by Auguſtus in the year 730; and, alſo, a third time, by the ſame emperor, the following year; and, ſays he, What can be plainer, when Livy ſays That temple was ſhut, *but once*, in his time, that he writ thoſe words, before it was ſhut the ſecond, and third time? I will not quarrel with Voſſius for making Livy ſay more than he does, in order to favour his argument: Livy does not ſay, *but once*, though, what he ſays, ſeems to imply it. This argument of Voſſius proves, moſt certainly, that, when Livy writ thoſe words, the temple of Janus had been only ſhut once by Auguſtus, but it is very far from proving that Livy finiſhed his hiſtory before it had been ſhut, the ſecond and third time. I find by [g] Dion Caſſius that, after Caius Antiſtius had obtained a victory over the Aſtures and Cantabri (Auguſtus having left the command of the army to him by reaſon of his indiſpoſition) the temple of Janus was ſhut by this emperor, for the ſecond time, during his reign, which happened in the 729th year of Rome, Auguſtus being conſul for the ninth time together with Marcus Silanus. Now, it is impoſſible that Livy could have finiſhed his hiſtory before

[d] Sueton. Life of Calig. c. 34.
[e] De Hiſt. Latin. B. i. c. 19.
[f] Liv. B. i. c. 19.
[g] B. liii. p. 589. Edit. Steph.

ancient

ancient as it was, and running back as far as the fabulous times, ſpread itſelf no farther than over a ſmall part of Aſia. That of the Medes, who overthrew the Aſſyrian empire, and [9] attained ſtill greater power, laſted not long, but was diſſolved in the fourth generation: the Perſians, indeed, after they had conquered the Medes, at laſt, became maſters of almoſt all Aſia; but, having alſo invaded the European nations, they did not [1] prevail on many of them to ſubmit

that year; ſince it, plainly, appears, by the epitome, that he extended it to the death of Druſus, which happened in the 744th year of Rome, Druſus himſelf and Criſpinus being conſuls. Nay, there are ſome authors, who carry his hiſtory even to the time of Tiberius, in the fourth year of whoſe reign he is ſaid by Euſebius to have died in his 76th year [h]. As the words quoted by Voſſius out of Livy, are in his firſt book, it is very poſſible he might afterwards forget to alter them.

9. Μειζονα δυναςειαν περιβαλομενη. Περιεβαλοντο. επεκτησαντο. Suidas. I ſhall defer taking notice of the ancient empires, here mentioned by our author, till he has gone through them; as I ſhall, alſo, conſidering the ſenſe he gives to the word γενεα, till I come to the place, where he applies it to the duration of the Roman empire.

10. Ου πολλα επηγαγοντο. Le Jay has tranſlated this *qui ſubjuguerent meſme une partie de l'Europe*; which is neither agreeable to the ſenſe of the Greek word, nor to the fact, as it ſtands recorded in hiſtory. Επαγεσθαι ſignifies *to prevail on any one by money, promiſes or perſuaſion.* Επαγομενα, εφολκα, η, απατητικα. Heſychius. Επηγαγετο. προσωκειωσατο. ιδιοποιησατο. Suidas. In this ſenſe, it is, frequently, uſed, by Thucydides; particularly, in relation to the Acanthians who were *perſuaded* by a ſpeech of Braſidas to revolt from the Athenians, as the Boeotians had, before, been, by the Perſians, to abandon the cauſe of the Greeks. The Acanthians, ſays Thucydides [i], δια τε τα ΕΠΑΓΩΓΑ ειπειν τον Βρασιδαν, και περι τȣ καρπȣ φοβῳ εγνωσαν οι πλειȣς αφιςασθαι Αθηναιων. I ſaid that Le Jay's tranſlation was not agreeable to the truth of hiſtory. For the Perſians never made any conqueſts in Europe under Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes; they advanced no further than Marathon, where they were defeated by the Athenians, and Datis, their general, was ſlain. In their ſecond expedition, when Xerxes commanded in perſon, they were far from making conqueſts in Europe. They were defeated at Salamis by ſea, and at Plataea by land; and Xerxes himſelf was forced to fly into Aſia with ignominy. But, if the Perſians were unſucceſsful in their

[h] In Chronic.

[i] Thuc. B. iv. c. 88.

to

to their obedience, and continued not in power much above two hundred years. The Macedonian empire itſelf, which overthrew the Perſian, and, in the extent of its dominion, exceeded all before it, did not flouriſh long, but, after Alexander's death, began to decline: For, being immediately divided into many kingdoms by his ſucceſſors; and, after them, ſupporting itſelf to the ſecond or third generation, it was weakened by its own hands, and, at laſt, deſtroyed by the Romans. But, even, the Macedonian empire did not ſubdue every country, and every ſea. Of the wide-extended region of Libya, only that part, which borders upon Aegypt, obeyed their power; neither did they ſubdue all Europe, Thracia being the limits of their European conqueſts to the north, and the Adriatic to the weſt.

III. The moſt famous empires, therefore, we have any account of in hiſtory, [11] after they had arrived to ſo great a maturity and power, have mouldered away. As for the empire of the Greeks, it does not deſerve to be compared

attempts to conquer Greece, they were not ſo in their attempts to corrupt it, as every one knows, who has read the Greek hiſtory. By their intrigues, they *prevailed* on the Boeotians, the Macedonians, and Theſſalians to eſpouſe their cauſe againſt the Greeks, in the expedition of Xerxes: and this is what our author means by επηγαγοντο, in tranſlating which Sylburgius has been much more cautious than Le Jay; he has ſaid *non multum proceſſerunt*, which, though it is far from expreſſing the ſenſe of the word, made uſe of by our author, ſhews, at leaſt, that he did not look upon this expreſſion to carry with it any idea of a conqueſt. But, as bad as that tranſlation of Sylburgius is, the other French tranſlator has tranſlated it litterally: For he has ſaid, *ils ne firent plus de grands progrès*.

[11] Τοσαυτην ακμην και ισχυν λαβουσαι. Intirely left out by Le Jay. His countryman has ſaid very well *après être parvenus au degré de puiſſance que nous avons dit*; which, if it does not, abſolutely, come up to the author's ſenſe, is very near it.

to

to the former; ſince it was neither ſo extenſive, nor its ſplendor ſo long-lived. [12] For the Athenians were maſters only of the maritime country during the ſpace of ſixty eight years, neither did their dominion extend even over all That, but only to the coaſts of the Euxine and Pamphylian ſeas, when they were moſt powerful on that element. The Lacedaemonians, having the command of Peloponneſus, and the reſt of Greece, advanced their dominion as far as Macedon; but were deprived of their power by the Thebans, of which they had not been in poſſeſſion quite thirty years. [13] But Rome is miſtreſs of every country not inacceſſible, or uninhabited; every ſea owns her power, not only That within Hercules Pillars, but alſo the whole navigable ocean: She is the firſt, and the only ſtate recorded in hiſtory, that ever made the eaſt and weſt the boundaries of her empire. Neither has her dominion been of ſhort duration, but more laſting than That of any other commonwealth or kingdom. For, the city was no ſooner built, but ſhe conquered many warlike nations, her neighbours, and ſtill advanced, over-

[12] Αθηναιοι μεν γαρ αυτης μονον ηρξαν της θαλαττης. Le Jay has ſurpaſſed himſelf in tranſlating this paſſage. He has ſaid, *Les Atheniens n'ont été redoutable que ſur la mer.* The other French tranſlator has rendered it very properly.

[13] Η δε Ρωμαιων πολις απασης μεν αρχει γης, etc. Caſaubon has a long note upon this paſſage, which Le Jay has tranſlated without taking any notice of him, as he has many others from other commentators without giving his readers the leaſt hint, to whom he was beholden. Upon the whole, his notes are nothing elſe but one continued tranſlation of the notes of other commentators. As to Caſaubon's criticiſm upon this hyperbolical paſſage, all that I ſhall ſay in vindication of our author, is, that it was the ſtyle in vogue at Rome in his time, and many years after. Other authors, in ſpeaking of the Roman power, have had the ſame flights, but few have expreſſed them ſo beautifully.

coming

coming all oppoſition. Theſe things happened during the courſe of ſeven hundred and forty five years from her foundation to the conſulſhip of Claudius Nero, conſul for the ſecond time, and of Calpurnius Piſo, who were choſen in the hundred and ninety third Olympiad. By the conqueſt of all Italy, ſhe was emboldened to proceed even to univerſal empire; and, having driven the Carthaginians from off the ſea, whoſe maritime ſtrength was ſuperior to That of all others; and ſubdued Macedon the moſt powerful nation, till that time, at land, no enemy being left either among the Greeks or Barbarians, ſhe is miſtreſs of the whole world; [14] and this is the ſeventh generation ſhe has continued

[14]. Γενεαν ἑβδομην ηδη την ἐπ' ἐμε διαμενει παντος ἀρξασα τοπε. I ſhall, in this note, conſider the ancient empires, mentioned by our author, and give a ſhort ſynopſis of them. The Aſſyrian empire was founded by Ninus, the ſon of Belus, and poſſeſſed the Upper Aſia during 520 years [k]. As the foundation of this empire is placed by the chronologers [l] in the 3447th year of the Julian period, that is, 491 years before the firſt Olympiad, our author, very properly, ſays that it ran back into the fabulous times [m], which are computed from the Ogygian flood, to the inſtitution of the Olympiads, and comprehend 1020 years. The Medes revolted from the Aſſyrians under Dejoces, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Phraortes, whoſe ſon, Cyaxares, ſucceeded him [n]; and Aſtyages, the ſon of the latter, ſucceeded his father; during whoſe reign, the empire of the Medes was diſſolved by Cyrus, *in the fourth generation*, as our author ſays; by which, he plainly ſhews in what ſenſe he takes the word γενεα. The beginning of the Perſian empire is, generally, computed from the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, which happened in the 4176th year of the Julian period [o]. From that aera, to the year Alexander made his triumphal entry into the ſame city, which was the 4383d of the ſame period [p], there are no more than 207 years; conſequently, the empire of the Perſians was of no longer duration; which juſtifies our author, in ſaying, that *it did not continue much above two hundred years.* In order to follow the computation of our author, we muſt date the beginning of the Macedonian empire from the time ſhe deſtroyed That of the

[k] Herod. in Clio, c. 95. [l] Uſher, p. 24. [m] Id. p. 7. [n] Herod. in Clio, c. 107.
[o] Uſher p. 81. [p] Id. p. 175.

in poſſeſſion of that dominion; neither is there any nation, as I may ſay, that claims a ſhare in her univerſal power, or

Perſians, την Περσων καθελυσα ἀρχην, that is, from the abovementioned year of the Julian period 4383; and not from any of the Macedonian kings before Alexander, much leſs from Caranus, the founder of that kingdom. From that aera, to the year 4546 of the ſame period [q], in which Perſeus, their laſt king, was defeated, and the Macedonian kingdom deſtroyed by Paulus Aemilius, there are found no more than 163 years; out of which number, muſt be deducted the reigns of Alexander's generals (becauſe our author ſays μετ' ἐκεινους) to the reign of Antigonus Gonatus, from whom there was a regular ſucceſſion of kings from father to ſon down to Perſeus, if we except Antigonus Δωσων, who was rather regent of the kingdom, during the minority of Philip, than king. Antigonus Gonatas, his ſon Demetrius, his grandſon Philip, and his great-grandſon Perſeus, make three generations; in the laſt of which, as our author ſays, the Macedonian empire was diſſolved. As to the power of the Athenians over the maritime country, which our author ſays laſted 68 years, I ſhall not tranſlate the note in Hudſon, as M*** has done, but date the beginning of that power, with Thucydides [r], from the recalling of Pauſanias, whoſe arbitrary government had alienated the minds of the Allies from the Lacedaemonians, and thrown them into the arms of the Athenians. This happened in the 4240th year of the Julian period [s]; from whence, to the battle of Aegos Potamos, in which the Athenian fleet was deſtroyed by Lyſander; and which was fought in the 4309th year of the ſame period, there are 69 years, which agrees pretty well with the computation of our author. The Lacedaemonian power over all Greece muſt be dated from the abovementioned battle at Aegos Potamos. From thence, to the battle of Leuctra, in which they were utterly defeated, and ſtripped of that power by the Thebans under the command of Epaminondas. This battle was fought in the 4344th year of the Julian period [t]; and, from the battle of Aegos Potamos, to That of Leuctra, there are found 35 years, which make five years more than are aſſigned by our author, to the duration of their power. The only difficulty that remains, is to know what Dionyſius means by γενεαν ἑβδομην, *the ſeventh generation*, during which he ſays, Rome had continued, in his time, miſtreſs of the world. Dodwell has written a kind of diſſertation upon this paſſage, which Le Jay has tranſlated without taking any notice of Dodwell. The other French tranſlator has acted with more candor, and mentioned his name. I agree with Dodwell that, by the word γενεα, Dionyſius does not mean any determinate number of years, but a ſucceſſion of princes, or of men; but I cannot agree with him that Dionyſius had a view, in ſpeaking of theſe ſeven generations, to any ſucceſſion of prieſts, or princes in the Julian family, which

[q] Uſher, p. 321. [r] Thucyd. B. i. c. 95. [s] Uſher, p. 105. [t] Id. p. 147.

refuſes

refuſes obedience to it. But I need ſay no more to prove that I have not made choice, as I have ſaid, of the leaſt of ſubjects, or propoſed to relate trivial, or obſcure actions, but have undertaken the hiſtory both of the moſt illuſtrious ſtate, and of the moſt ſhining achievements that can poſſibly be treated of.

IV. Before I proceed, I ſhall ſhew, in a few words, that it is not without deſign, and mature premeditation, that I

imaginary ſucceſſion both the French tranſlators have adopted. Whoever reads Dionyſius muſt be convinced of his zeal for liberty, and his deteſtation of tyranny, which he never fails to ſhew upon all occaſions, where his ſubject gives him any opportunity of declaring thoſe ſentiments: So that, I ſee no reaſon, why he ſhould be accuſed of flattering either Caeſar, who uſurped the tyranny, or Auguſtus who continued that uſurpation. I ſhould ſooner ſuſpect him of drawing the picture of Caeſar in the character of Spurius Caſſius, who had been thrice conſul, had obtained many victories, and, like Caeſar, courted the people, in order to enſlave them. Had theſe been as corrupt when Caſſius attempted to ſeduce them, as they were virtuous, or as virtuous when Caeſar made the ſame attempt, as they were corrupt, Caſſius had ſucceeded, like Caeſar, and Caeſar, like Caſſius, had received the puniſhment he deſerved. Dionyſius mentions the periods, which, in their order, preceded the uninterrupted poſſeſſion of the univerſal power, the Romans enjoyed in his time, which was the ſeventh generation, they had enjoyed it. The firſt of theſe periods was the conqueſt of all Italy; the ſecond, the happy concluſion of the ſecond Punic war, one of the conditions of the peace, granted to the Carthaginians by the Romans, being this, *that they ſhould deliver up all their ſhips of war, but ten*; *Naves roſtratas, praeter decem triremes, traderent*, ſays Livy [u]; who has tranſlated Polybius: Τα μακρα πλοια παραδουναι πανλα, πλην δεκα τριηρων [w], are the words of the latter: This article deſtroyed their maritime power. The third period was the conqueſt of Macedon by Aemilius Paulus, which happened, as I have ſaid, in the 4546th year of the Julian period; from which, to the conſulſhip of Tiberius Claudius Nero, for the ſecond time, and of Cneius Calpurnius Piſo, which fell out in the 745th year of Rome; and, in the 4707th of the Julian period [x], in which our author publiſhed his hiſtory, there will be found 161 years: During which period, if any reader pleaſes to run over the generations of his own family, he will find that, for the moſt part, ſix generations are elapſed, and the ſeventh begun.

[u] Livy, B. xxx. c. 37. [w] Polyb. B. xv. p. 705. Edit. Caſaub. [x] Uſher, p. 595.

date my hiſtory from the earlieſt times; but, from good reaſons, which I can produce to juſtify my conduct againſt the cenſure of thoſe, who, fond of finding fault with every thing, and, as yet, unacquainted with the ſubject of this diſcourſe, may blame me for this reaſon; that, Rome, being, at this time, grown famous, and her infancy ſo inglorious, and obſcure, and ſo unworthy the notice of hiſtory, that it is but a few generations ago, and, ſince the overthrow of the Macedonian power, and the happy event of the Punic wars, that ſhe has made any appearance, or gained a reputation; when I was at liberty to chuſe ſome celebrated incidents in her hiſtory for my ſubject, I ſhould deviate into one ſo barren of ſhining events, as the Roman Antiquities. For, to this day, almoſt all the Greeks are ſtrangers to the ancient hiſtory of Rome, and the greateſt part of them are impoſed upon by ſome falſe opinions, grounded on common reports, and led to believe that the firſt founders of it were certain vagabonds without houſe or home, Barbarians, and, even theſe not freemen, whom chance, and the injuſtice of fortune, inconſiderately ſhowering down her greateſt favours upon the moſt unworthy, and not religion, juſtice, and every other virtue, have raiſed, in proceſs of time, to the empire of the world: While thoſe, who are more malicious, openly rail at fortune, for having conferred on the moſt abandoned of all Barbarians thoſe bleſſings, which the Greeks had formerly enjoyed. But why ſhould I mention others? when, even, ſome hiſtorians have dared to publiſh theſe things, contrary to juſtice, and the truth of hiſtory,

hiſtory, in favour of foreign kings, enemies to the Roman government, to whom they had ſervilely devoted themſelves, and whoſe paſſions they have, perpetually, flattered.

V. In order, therefore, to remove theſe falſe impreſſions from the minds [15] of my countrymen, and to ſubſtitute true ones in their room, I ſhall, in this book, ſhew of what nations the firſt founders of this city were compoſed, at what particular times, each of them aſſembled, and, by what turns of fortune, they left their reſpective countries: By this means, I engage to make it appear that they were Greeks, and came together from nations not the meaneſt, nor the leaſt conſiderable. In the beginning of the next book, I ſhall enter upon the actions, they performed immediately after the building of the city; and give an account of their diſcipline, the obſervance of which raiſed their ſucceſſors to ſo great power. In the execution of this deſign, I ſhall, as far as I am able, omit nothing worthy of hiſtory; to the end that I may infuſe in the minds of thoſe, who ſhall then be

15. Των πολιτων. I have ſo great a reſpect for the memory of Caſaubon, and Stephens, that I am always ſorry when I am obliged to differ from them. They both contended that we ought to read των πολλων, inſtead of των πολιτων. But the reaſon given by the laſt, to ſupport this alteration, ſeems to me to prove the contrary: He ſays, that our author attributes theſe erroneous opinions τοις πολλοις, not τοις πολιταις: But, by οι πολλοι, he can mean none but the generality of the Greeks, his countrymen; ſince, immediately before, he ſays that almoſt all the Greeks were unacquainted with the ancient hiſtory of Rome; and then adds, that the greateſt part of them had been impoſed upon by common reports: Neither can I underſtand why πολιται ſhould be confined to the citizens of Halicarnaſſus, and not extended to all the Greeks; ſince the errors he undertakes to refute were common, as he ſays, to almoſt all of them, and not only to the citizens of Halicarnaſſus, which, though in Caria, was a Greek colony; and this might well juſtify Dionyſius in calling all the Greeks his *countrymen*.

informed

informed of the truth, ſuch an idea of this city, as may be adequate to its merit, if wild prejudice, and diſaffection have not entirely exaſperated them againſt it; and root out all indignation at a ſubjection grounded on reaſon, (for, by an univerſal, and unalterable law of nature, it is ordained that ſuperiors ſhall govern their inferiors) and, at the ſame time, ſilence their complaints of fortune, as if ſhe had wantonly beſtowed upon an undeſerving people an empire ſo great, and of ſo long a continuance; particularly, when they ſhall be convinced from this hiſtory, that Rome, even in her infancy, brought forth infinite examples of virtue, than which no city, either Greek, or Barbarian, ever produced greater for piety, juſtice, habitual temperance, and military accompliſhments. [16] If theſe things are really ſo, I ſhall eſcape cenſure, which generally attends the promiſe of things unexpected and wonderful: Since all theſe men, who raiſed their country to ſo great power, are unknown to the Greeks, for want of worthy relators. For, no accurate hiſtory of the Romans, written in the Greek language, has, hitherto, appeared, but only ſummary accounts, and ſhort epitomes.

16. Ει δη. Stephens and Caſaubon would have us read ει γε: But, I find, by many of their alterations of the text, that they had never ſeen the Vatican manuſcript, which has ει δη. This makes the text very clear without the neceſſity of altering απεσαι into απεσω. Every one knows that the figure, called by the grammarians, an ellipſis, is very common among the Attic writers. Thus, Cyaxares, in Xenophon, ſends an angry meſſage to Cyrus to order him, or, at leaſt, the Medes, who were with him, to return immediately; και νυν, εαν μεν Κυρος βουληται· ει δε μη, υμεις γε την ταχιστην παρεσε [y]: Where, after βουληται, παρεσω is underſtood; and here, after ει δη, ταυτα πως εχει, or ſomething equivalent to it, muſt be ſupplied by the reader.

y Xenoph. B. iv. ὑ Κυρου παιδ. p. 288. Edit. of Hutchinſ.

VI.

VI. [17] Hieronymus Cardianus (the firſt author I know of upon this ſubject) has given a curſory account of the Roman Antiquities in his hiſtory of the Epigoni. After him, [18] Timaeus, the Sicilian, treated of antiquities in his univerſal hiſtory, and placed in a ſeparate work, the wars of the Romans with Pyrrhus of Epirus. Beſides theſe, [19] Antigonus, [20] Polybius, Silenus, and innumerable other authors have

[17]. Ιερωνυμος Καρδιανος εν τη περι των Επιγονων πραγματειᾳ. It plainly appears, by a note in Hudſon on this paſſage, that the Epigoni, whoſe hiſtory was written by Hieronymus of Cardia, were not the generals, who divided the empire of Alexander, but their deſcendants. [z] Hieronymus writ the wars of Alexander alſo, and was much eſteemed by Eumenes his countryman, who made ſo great a figure after Alexander's death; by which, the age of this hiſtorian is certainly known.

[18]. Τιμαιος ο Σικελιωτης. [a] Diodorus Siculus gives great commendations to his countryman, Timaeus, for his exactneſs in chronology, and great learning; but, at the ſame time, ſays, he was, juſtly, accuſed for his cenſoriouſneſs, which acquired him the name of Επιλιμαιος; which name, Athenaeus [b] tells us, was given him by Callimachus Iſter. Suidas ſays, he was cotemporary with Agathocles; and, being baniſhed by him, revenged himſelf by traducing the author of his baniſhment. The ſame writer ſays he was a diſciple of Philiſcus, the Mileſian, and that he writ the tranſactions of the Romans and Sicilians, and thoſe of the Greeks and the latter.

[19]. Αντιγονος. I can find very little concerning this hiſtorian. The note in Hudſon, which M *** has tranſlated, without ſaying from whence he had it, gives very little light with reſpect either to this author, or his writings. [c] Voſſius, very juſtly, thinks this hiſtorian not to have been the ſame with Antigonus Caryſtius.

[20]. Πολυβιος και Σιληνος. The firſt of theſe hiſtorians is ſo well known, and ſo deſervedly admired, that I need ſay nothing concerning him. In another note, which M *** has alſo tranſlated, we are told, that [d] Cicero ſays Silenus writ the hiſtory of Hannibal with great exactneſs, and that [e] Livy quotes him. Both which, upon turning to the places in thoſe authors, I find to be ſo. But there is one thing worth obſerving, which is not taken notice of in that note, nor any where elſe that I know of. Cicero, a little after, ſays that Silenus, whom Coelius follows, gives an account of a very remarkable dream of Hannibal, which I am far from mentioning for the ſake of the dream, but to ſhew that Livy

[z] Suidas. Diod. Sic. B. xix. p. 695.
[a] Diod. Sic. B. v. p. 198.
[b] Athen. B. vi. c. 20.
[c] De Hiſt. Graec. B. i. c. 12.
[d] Cic. of Div. B. i. c. 24.
[e] Liv. B. xxvi. c. 49.

attempted

attempted the ſame ſubject, though in a different manner; each of whom has written ſome few things concerning the Romans, which they have compiled from common reports, without any diligence, or accuracy. Like to theſe, in all reſpects, are the hiſtories, which ſome Romans alſo have publiſhed in Greek concerning the ancient tranſactions of their own nation: Of whom the moſt ancient are [21] Quinctus Fabius, and Lucius Cincius, who both flouriſhed during the Punic wars: Each of theſe has related the actions, at which he himſelf was preſent, with great exactneſs, as being well acquainted with them; but given a ſummary account of

took the ſame relation from Silenus, though he has not mentioned him. Hannibal dreamed, it ſeems, that the gods had given him a guide to conduct him into Italy, and that this guide commanded him not to look back: But Hannibal could not govern his curioſity; and, upon looking back, ſaw a vaſt monſter with ſerpents twining round it, which, in its march, overturned trees, ſhrubs, and houſes. And, when Hannibal admired what this might be, he was told by his guide, that it was the deſolation of Italy; and that he ſhould go forward, without troubling himſelf with what was doing behind him. *Vaſtitatem Italiae eſſe: precepiſſeque ut pergeret protinus: quid retro, atque a tergo fieret, ne laboraret.* This ſtory Livy relates, though with greater pomp than Cicero, and cloſes it in this manner: [f] *Vaſtitatem Italiae eſſe: pergeret porro ire, nec ultra inquireret, ſineretque fata in occulto eſſe.*

[21] Κοΐντος Φάβιος καὶ Λεύκιος Κίγκιος. The firſt was the grandſon of Caius Fabius, who painted the temple of Salus, and obtained the name of *Pictor* [g]. Quinctus Fabius lived in the time of the ſecond Punic war, of which he writ the tranſactions, and is called *Scriptorum antiquiſſimus* by [h] Livy. He was ſent by the ſenate to [i] Delphi to conſult that oracle, concerning the means to be taken by the Romans to put a ſtop to their misfortunes. Lucius Cincius Alimentus lived at the ſame time, and treated the ſame ſubject. We find by [k] Livy that he mentioned many particulars relating to the ſecond Punic war, which he had learned from Hannibal while he was his priſoner. He is there honoured by Livy with the title of *maximus auctor*. It appears plainly, from this paſſage in our author, that both theſe Roman hiſtorians writ in Greek.

[f] Livy, B. xxi. c. 22. [g] Pliny, B. xxxv. c. 4. [h] Livy, B. xxii. c. 7. id. B. i. c. 42.
[i] Appian in Hanibalic. [k] Livy, B. xxi. c. 38.

thoſe

thoſe early events, that happened ſoon after the building of the city. For theſe reaſons, therefore, I have determined not to paſs over that beautiful part of the Roman hiſtory, which the ancient authors have diſregarded; and from which, if accurately treated, will reſult two things, that, of all others, are the moſt advantageous, and the moſt juſt: Thoſe brave men, who have fulfilled their deſtiny, will gain immortal glory, and be extolled by their poſterity, (both which render human nature like to the divine, and prevent their actions from periſhing together with their bodies;) and the preſent and future race of thoſe [22] godlike men, when they conſider that all, who are ſprung from an illuſtrious origin, ought to ſet a value on themſelves, and purſue nothing unworthy of their anceſtors, will tread the paths of the moſt generous, and moſt virtuous ambition, rather than lead a life of pleaſure and eaſe; and I, who have not undertaken this work for the ſake of flattery, but of truth and juſtice, (which ought to be the aim of all hiſtory) ſhall, in the firſt place, have an opportunity of expreſſing my benevolence to all good men, and to thoſe, who [23] take a pleaſure in the con-

[22] Ισοθεων ανδρων. Our author here is ſo far tranſported with his admiration of the ancient Romans, as to dare to call them godlike men, and to talk of the human nature being rendered like to the divine. Theſe impious ſtrains have been copied from the heathen, by the chriſtian, writers; and, by theſe, rendered ſtill more impious: For there is certainly more impiety in comparing men to the true God, than to falſe ones. Whenever, therefore, any thing of this kind ſhall, hereafter, occur, I deſire the reader will look upon me as a tranſlator of another's thoughts, not a publiſher of my own.

[23] Φιλοθεωρους των καλων εργων και μεγαλων. Le Jay has tranſlated this in a very extraordinary manner; *qui ſe piquent de belles letres.* The other French tranſlator has ſaid much better; *qui veulent s'inſtruire des belles actions et des grandes choſes.*

ſideration of great and worthy actions; and, after that, of making the moſt grateful return I am able, to the city of Rome for the inſtructions I have received, and the other advantages I have enjoyed during my abode here.

VII. Having thus given an account of the deſign of this work, I ſhall now ſay ſomething concerning the materials I provided myſelf with before I began it: For it is poſſible that thoſe, who have read Hieronymus, Timaeus, Polybius, or any of the hiſtorians, whom I have, juſt now, accuſed of abbreviating hiſtory, not finding in thoſe authors, many things mentioned by me, will ſuſpect that I have recourſe to invention, and inquire how I came by the knowledge of thoſe particulars. Leſt any one, therefore, ſhould entertain this opinion of me, I think it proper to acquaint them with the relations, and records, I have made uſe of. I came into Italy, [24] immediately, after Auguſtus Caeſar had put an end

[24] Αμα τῳ καταλυθηναι τον εμφυλιον πολεμον ὑπο τε Σεβαστου Καισαρος ἑβδομης και ογδοηκοστης και ἑκατοστης Ολυμπιαδος μεσουσης. Many things are to be taken notice of in this paſſage, in order to make it clear to the reader. The year our author came to Italy, muſt have been the 724th of Rome, and the beginning of the third year of the 187th Olympiad. This aera is remarkable for the death of Antony and Cleopatra, the conqueſt of Aegypt, and the end of the civil war, which happened in the month of Auguſt that year, as the decree of the ſenate, paſſed upon that occaſion, plainly ſhews [k]. But the month of Auguſt was, then, called by its old name, *Sextilis*, and Caeſar Octavianus was not called Auguſtus, when he conquered Aegypt, and put an end to the civil war [l]. This year, Octavianus himſelf was conſul for the fourth time, and his collegue for this part of the year was Marcus Tullius Cicero [m], ſon to the great Roman orator; who, being left at Rome, while Caeſar was employed in Aegypt, received the letters of his collegue concerning the death of Antony, and the happy event of the Alexandrine war; and, after reading thoſe letters in the roſtrum, ordered a copy of them to be

[k] Macrob. Sat. B. i. c. 12. [l] Dion. Caſſ. B. li. p. 523. [m] Plutarch, Life of Cicero.

to

to the civil war, in the middle of the hundred and eighty ſeventh olympiad; and, having from that time, to this preſent, that is, twenty two years, lived at Rome, learned the Roman language, and acquainted myſelf with their writings, I employed all that interval in preparing materials for this work; and ſome things I received from men of the greateſt conſideration among them for learning, whoſe converſation I uſed; and others I gathered from hiſtories, written by the moſt approved Roman authors; ſuch as [25] Porcius Cato,

fixed up there, in the ſame place, where Antony had, ſo cruelly, made a ſpectacle of his father's head. This was much taken notice of at that time. I ſaid that Caeſar had not the title of Auguſtus, when he reduced Aegypt: But, as it was given to him in 727, long before our author finiſhed his hiſtory, and, probably, before he began it, there is no room to be ſurpriſed that Dionyſius ſhould give him that title upon this occaſion. Caeſar, it ſeems, three years after the reduction of Aegypt, he himſelf being conſul for the ſeventh time, and Agrippa for the third time, pretended to reſign his illegal power to the ſenate and people of Rome, from whom he had uſurped it. To which purpoſe, he makes a long ſpeech, in Dion. Caſſius [n], to the ſenate, who, certainly, never believed a tittle of it. However, they repaid his diſſimulation with the title of Auguſtus.

[25] Ποϱκιος τε Καλων, και Φαβιος Μαξιμος, etc. The firſt is known by the name of the Cenſor, to which dignity he arrived after having paſſed through all the great offices of the commonwealth. There ſcarce ever was a man, who came into the world with greater parts, or cultivated thoſe parts with greater application; a great general, a great orator, and a great hiſtorian, and, above all, the moſt virtuous man of the moſt virtuous commonwealth. Among his other accompliſhments, he underſtood agriculture perfectly, which is a qualification, that will, always, be highly eſteemed by a wiſe people. [o] Voſſius ſuppoſes this Fabius Maximus not to be the ſame perſon [p] Cicero ſpeaks of, when he ſays, *Ser. Fabius Pictor, et juris, et literarum, et antiquitatis bene pertius*, but Q. Fabius Servilianus. Valerius Antias is often mentioned by the Roman authors, as a writer of annals, and ſaid by Velleius Paterculus [q], to have been cotemporary with Siſenna, another Roman hiſtorian, with whom [r] Cicero, if there is no miſtake in the text, ſays Licinius Macer, a writer of annals alſo, lived in friendſhip. There were many

[n] Dion. Caſſ. B. liii. p. 581. [o] Voſſius in hiſt. Lat. B. i. c. 3. [p] Cicero in Bruto, c. 21.
[q] B. ii. c. 5. [r] De Leg. B. i. c. 2.

Fabius Maximus, Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, the Aelii, Gellii, and Calpurnii, and ſeveral others of good note. [26] Supported, therefore, by the authority of theſe hiſtories, which are like the Greek annals, I undertook this work. So much concerning myſelf. It now remains, that I ſhould, alſo, ſay ſomething concerning the hiſtory itſelf; what compaſs of time I aſſign to it; what ſubjects I relate; and what form I give to the work.

VIII. I begin my hiſtory from the moſt ancient relations, which the hiſtorians before me have omitted, as a ſubject not to be cleared up without great difficulty; and bring it down [27] to the beginning of the firſt Punic war,

Roman authors of the name of Tubero, one of whom Lucius Aelius Tubero[s], was an hiſtorian, and one of Quintus Cicero's [t] legates in Aſia. Sextus and Cnaeus Gellius were, alſo, annaliſts. Lucius Calpurnius Piſo Frugi was conſul the 620th year of Rome with Publius Mucius Scaevola, which was the year Tiberius Gracchus was ſlain; and cenſor the 633d with Quinctus Caecilius Metellus: His hiſtory, or rather annals, are often quoted by the Roman authors[u]. There was another Calpurnius Piſo, who is ſaid to have written of Marius; and, conſequently, muſt have been a later hiſtorian than the former.

26. Απ' εκεινων ὁρμωμενος των πραγματεων· εισι δε ταις Ελληνικαις χρονογραφιαις εοικυιαι. Thus tranſlated by Le Jay; *dont j'ay lû les ouvrages très conformes à ceux de nos Grecs.* So that, according to him, the works of theſe Roman annaliſts are *very like* Thoſe of Thucydides or Xenophon, or of any other Greek hiſtorian of the firſt claſs.

27. Επι την αρχην τυ πρωτυ Φοινικικυ πολεμυ. The firſt Punic war, from whence Polybius dates his hiſtory, properly began in the conſulſhip of Manius Valerius Maximus, and Manius Otacilius Craſſus, when the Romans ſent Appius Claudius at the head of an army to the relief of the Mamertines, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of Meſſana[w]. Appius not only relieved Meſſana, then beſieged by Hiero king of Syracuſe, and the Carthaginians, but defeated them both, and, after that, the Romans concluded a peace with Hiero: Though I am ſenſible that the firſt Punic war is, generally, ſuppoſed to have begun the ſucceeding year, when the conſuls Lucius

[s] Cicero to his brother, B. i. ep. 1. [t] Id. Verr. iv. c. 49. [u] Voſſ. Hiſt. Lat. B. i. c. 6.
[w] Polybius, B. i. p. 11. et 16.

which

which broke out in the third year of the hundred and twenty eighth olympiad: I relate all the foreign wars the city was engaged in during that period, and all the ſeditions, with which ſhe was agitated; from what cauſes they flowed, and, by what meaſures, and, from what motives, they were appeaſed: I give an account, alſo, of all the forms of government ſhe uſed, as well during the monarchy, as after its diſſolution; and what was the conſtitution of each: I enter into a detail of the beſt of all cuſtoms, and the moſt excellent of all laws; and, in ſhort, I ſhew the whole manner of living of the ancient Romans. As to the form I give to this work, it does not reſemble That, which the authors, who make wars alone their object, have given to their hiſtories; nor That, which others, who treat of the ſeveral forms of government by themſelves, have adopted; neither is it like the chronological works, which [28] the authors of the Athenian annals have publiſhed (for theſe, being uniform, ſoon grow tedious to the reader) [29] but partakes of

Poſtumius, and Quinctus Mamilius were ſent into Sicily to command the army. This year I find to have been the 4451ſt of the Julian period [x], and not the 4449th, as M * * * has ſaid; and the 492d of Rome, not the 487th, or the 489th, as he ſuppoſes: At leaſt, it ſtands the 492d, in the *Faſti conſulares*.

[28] Οι τας Αθιδας προαγμαλευσαμενοι. If I were to tranſlate the doubts contained in the latin annotation, as M*** has done, I believe they would afford very little ſatisfaction to the reader. All that I ſhall ſay, therefore, is, that I cannot diſcover the author of theſe *Athenian annals*; and, if I could, I do not imagine the diſcovery would be of any great conſequence.

[29] Αλλ' εξ απασης ιδεας μικτον. There is great difficulty in this paſſage; concerning which, I ſhall acquaint the reader with the critical obſervations of Henry Stephens, not as they are abſtracted in Hudſon's notes, and ſtill more ſo in Thoſe of M * * *; but, as they ſtand in his Prolegomena; and, then, add ſome obſervations of my own.

[x] Uſher, p. 271.

every

every kind; of the oratorial, ſpeculative, and narrative; to the intent that I may afford ſatisfaction to thoſe perſons, who

[y] Stephens contends, and, I think, very juſtly, that, in the period which precedes this, we ſhould read μονης after οἱ της πολεμης αναγραψαντες, in order to anſwer πολιτειας αυτας εφ' ἑαυτων, in the next ſentence. He goes on, with the ſame ſtrength of reaſon, and ſays that, after theſe words, αλλ' εξ ἁπασης ἰδεας μικτον εναγονιᾳ τε και θεωρητικης, ſome *third kind* of ἰδεα is wanting; becauſe our author ſays εξ ἁπασης ἰδεας, and not εξ εκατερας ἰδεας, as he would have ſaid, if he had mentioned but two ſorts. This, he ſays, is further confirmed by our author's propoſing not two, but three ſorts of men, in whoſe favour he gave this form to his hiſtory: He adds, that all the tranſlators have miſtaken the ſenſe of the word εναγωνιος, by applying it to a relation of wars, and contends that the ἰδεα εναγωνιος relates to ſtateſmen, as the ἰδεα θεωρητικη regards philoſophers; and that the third ἰδεα, propoſed in favour of the third ſort of men, whom our author deſigns to gratify, meaning thoſe, who make hiſtory an amuſement, ſhould be ἡδεια, or ſomething of that nature. Thus, I have laid before the reader, in as ſhort, and as clear a manner as I am able, theſe truly judicious remarks of Stephens on this paſſage; and ſhall only add, that I find by a note of not quite two lines in Sylburgius, that the Venetian manuſcript has ἀγωνισμασι inſtead of αναγνωσμασι, and that Lapus has followed this reading, and tranſlated it *in hiſtoricis certaminibus:* However, Sylburgius has not followed it himſelf, nor ſaid any thing in his notes, to ſignify either his approbation, or diſapprobation of it; neither has this reading been taken notice of by Hudſon in his collation even of the Venetian manuſcript; or followed by any tranſlator either Latin, or French. But, I muſt own, I look upon this reading as the true one, and that it will conduce much to clear up this paſſage, which, otherwiſe, ſeems to me almoſt inexplicable. In order, therefore, to form a clear idea of our author's deſign in giving a mixed form to his hiſtory, and in chuſing a form ſo mixed, as to give ſatisfaction to political orators, to philoſophers, and to thoſe, who read for amuſement, we muſt obſerve that the ἰδεα εναγωνιος is deſigned for the firſt, the θεωρητικη for the ſecond, and what for the third? ſomething muſt be wanting: Stephens ſupplies it by ἡδεια: I ſhould, rather, chuſe διηγηματικη, which is a word, properly, adapted to hiſtory, narration being the ſoul of it, and a word uſed by our author himſelf, in his character of Thucydides [z]. And what can be more entertaining to thoſe, who read hiſtory, as they do romance, than a *relation* of battles, ſieges, and all the other military operations, of which hiſtory furniſhes ſo great a variety? This, in my opinion, will juſtify us in reading ἀγωνισμασι, with the Venetian manuſcript, inſtead of αναγνωσμασι. If any one doubts of the ſenſe I have given to the ἰδεα εναγωνιος, let him read the critical works of our author, and

[y] Stephens Proleg. c. 12. [z] C. 37.

deſire

deſire to qualify themſelves for political debates; to ſuch, as are engaged in philoſophical ſpeculations; and to all, who propoſe no other end in the contemplation of military actions, than an undiſturbed entertainment. Theſe things, therefore, will be the ſubject of my hiſtory, and this the form of it. The author is Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, the ſon of Alexander; and, from hence, I begin.

IX. THE moſt ancient poſſeſſors of the place, where this city, the miſtreſs of the whole earth and ſea, now ſtands, and which the Romans inhabit, are ſaid to have been the barbarous [30] Siceli, natives of the country. As to the condition of the place before their time, whether it was inhabited, or deſert, none can certainly ſay. Afterwards, the Aborigines made themſelves maſters of it, having diſpoſſeſſed the inhabitants after a long war: Theſe people lived, before that, on the mountains, in villages without walls, and diſ-

he will find inſtances without number of his uſing it in this ſenſe. In ſpeaking of Demoſthenes, he ſays, [a] Εκ δε των εναγωνιων αυλε λογων οποσοι προς δικασηρια γεγονασι η προς εκκλησιας. The laſt thing I ſhall mention in this note, which I am afraid is, already, too long, is, that, by *philoſophers*, for whoſe ſatisfaction he propoſes the ιδεα θεωρητικη, he does not mean either natural, or moral, but *political philoſophers*: And, however unnatural this alliance may ſeem, yet our author, himſelf, ſays, that he writ a treatiſe (now loſt) againſt thoſe, who, unjuſtly, cenſured *political philoſophy*; [b] ην·(προαγμαλειαν) συνεταξαμην υπερ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ προς τες καλαλεχονλας αυλης αδικως.

[30] Σικελοι. I do not wonder that the Latin tranſlators call theſe people *Siculi*; becauſe That was the name they were known by among the Romans: But I wonder the French tranſlators ſhould call them *les Sicules*. However, Thucydides calls them Σικελοι, and tells us that, being driven out of Italy, they paſſed over into Sicily; and, having overcome the Sicanians, who were then in poſſeſſion of that iſland, they cauſed it to be called Σικελια[c], inſtead of Σικανια.

[a] Περι Δημοσ. Δεινοτ. c. 45. [b] Περι τε Θεκυδ. χαρακ. c. 2. [c] Thucyd. B. vi. c. 2.

perſed.

perſed. But, after the Pelaſgi, and ſome other Greeks, mingling with them, aſſiſted them in the war againſt their neighbours, they drove the Siceli out of this place, walled in many towns, and contrived to make themſelves maſters of all the country, that lies between the[31] Liris, and the Tiber: Theſe rivers ſpring from the foot of the Apennine mountains, by which the whole length of Italy is divided; and, at the diſtance of about eight hundred ſtadia from one another, diſcharge themſelves into the Tyrrhene Sea; the Tiber to the north, near the city of Oſtia; and the Liris to the ſouth, paſſing by Minturnae: Both theſe cities are Roman colonies. This nation remained in the ſame place, being never, from that time, driven out by any others; the[32] ſame people being

[31]. Λιρις και Τιβερις. Theſe two rivers were the boundaries of Latium, after the conqueſt of the Aequi, the Hernici, and the Volſci. The Liris is now called *il Garigliano*, and either ran through, or paſſed by Minturnae, a very conſiderable city. [d] Cluver ſays that there are to be ſeen, on the left of the river, and about four Roman miles from the mouth of it, vaſt ruins of aquaeducts, amphitheatres, and towers. Between Minturnae, and the ſea, are the marſhes in which Marius endeavoured, in vain, to conceal himſelf. Minturnae, as our author ſays, was a Roman colony, which was ſent thither in the conſulſhip of [e] Appius Claudius Caecus, for the ſecond time, and of Quintus Volumnius Flamma, alſo, for the ſecond time; which year appears by the *Faſti conſulares* to have been the 458th of Rome. [f] Oſtia was, alſo, a Roman colony, ſettled there by Ancus Marcius. All authors agree, that a ſtadium contained 600 feet; but then it muſt be remembered, that theſe are Greek feet: Now, Arbuthnot makes an Engliſh foot to exceed a Greek foot by ,0875 decimals: So that, a ſtadium contains 504 feet, four inches, and, 5 decimals, Engliſh meaſure.

[32]. Ονομαζων αλλαγαις αυλαις οι αυλοι ανθρωποι προσαγορευομενοι. Here is certainly ſome error in the tranſcriber: Sylburgius thinks it may be corrected by reading συχναις inſtead of αυλαις. Hudſon prefers ονομασιν αλλοις και αλλοις οι αυλοι, etc. I would read the ſentence thus; ονομασιν αλλοΐε αλλοις οι αυλοι ανθρωποι προσαγορευομενοι; becauſe our author tells us, in the very next ſentence, that they were known by different names, at different periods.

[d] Cluver Ital. Antiq. p. 1074. [e] Livy, B. x. c. 21. [f] Florus, B. i. c. 3.

called

called by different names, at different periods: Till the time of the Trojan war, they preſerved their ancient name of Aborigines; but, under Latinus, their king, who reigned during that war, they began to be called Latines: And Romulus, having built a city after his own name, ſixteen generations from the taking of Troy, they changed their name to That, which they now bear; and, in proceſs of time, contrived to raiſe themſelves from the ſmalleſt nation, to the greateſt, and, from the moſt obſcure, to the moſt illuſtrious, by their humane reception of thoſe, who were deſtitute of a ſettlement; by a communication of the rights of citizens to all, who, after a brave reſiſtance, had been conquered by them; by extending thoſe rights to ſuch, as had been manumiſed among them; and by diſdaining no condition of men, from whom the commonwealth might reap an advantage: [33] But, above all, by the conſtitution of

[33] Υπερ ταυτα δε παντα, κοσμω τω πολιτευματος, ον εκ πολλων καλεσησαντο παθηματων, εκ παντος καιρου λαμβανοντες τι χρησιμον. Le Jay has tranſlated this paſſage in a ſtrange manner; *et ſur tout de profiter avec adreſſe des bons et des mauvais ſuccès pour maintenir par de ſages loix la forme du gouvernment.* He was miſled by Portus, who has tranſlated it pretty much in the ſame manner. Sylburgius, and the other French tranſlator, have rendered it much better. It is certainly a fine obſervation; and, I believe, a very juſt one, that the Romans made ſo good an uſe of their *ſufferings*, as to improve their conſtitution by them. Polybius, in ſpeaking of the Romans, makes the ſame obſervation; [g] δια δε πολλων αγωνων, και πραγματων, εξ αυτης αει της εν ταις περιπετειαις επιγνωσεως αιρουμενοι το βελτιον. Where, by the way, πραγματα ſignifies *difficulties*, as παθηματα, in the paſſage before us, ſignifies *ſufferings*; which are, moſt certainly, the beſt leſſons, both in private, and in public life: μαθηματα, παθηματα, is a thought, which has been employed in all ages, and in all languages; and may, very poſſibly, be, originally, derived from [h] Herodotus, who makes Croeſus, when a captive, ſay to Cyrus τα δε μοι ΠΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ τα εσθλα αχαρτα, ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ γεγονε.

[g] B. vi. p 459. [h] Herodot. in Clio, c. 207.

their government, which they formed out of the various misfortunes, that befel them, extracting always ſomething uſeful from every occurrence.

X. There are ſome, who affirm that the Aborigines, from whom the Romans are, originally deſcended, were [34] natives of Italy, a people ſprung from no other; (for I call Italy, all that ſhore, which is ſurrounded by the Ionian and Tuſcan gulphs; and, in the [35] third place, by the Alps on the ſide

[34] Οι μεν αυτοχθονας Ιταλωτας. Le Jay has tranſlated this in a manner equally bold, and unphiloſophical; *Enfants de la terre meſme:* So that, the Aborigines ſprung from the earth, like the animals mentioned by Diodorus Siculus to have been formed by the ſlime of the Nile. The other French tranſlator has ſaid *des naturels d'Italie*, which is as well as his language will allow: Ours is not at all happier in expreſſing αυτοχθονας: The word *natives*, which I have uſed, becauſe I know no better, will not explain it without ſome addition: For I look upon *naturels* in French, and *natives* in Engliſh, to ſignify no more than a people born in the country in oppoſition to foreigners. I even doubt whether *indigenae* in Latin ſignifies any more: When [i] Lucan ſays of the Appennine — *piniferis amplexus rupibus omnes Indigenas Latii populos*, I think he means no more than the *natives* of Italy at that time: But αυτοχθονες ſignifies a people who are not only born in a country, but whoſe anceſtors, from time immemorial, always inhabited that country. Every body knows the Athenians pretended to be ſuch a people.

[35] Και τριται περιεχουσιν εκ γης Αλπεις. Hudſon tells us the Venetian manuſcript has τριτται, which reading he favours, becauſe [k] Zoſimus mentions *three* Alps, viz. κοττιαι, ποιναι, μαριτιμαι. But Ptolomy mentions four, viz. τοις τε περι την Ραιτιαν Αλπιοις ορεσι, και ταις Ποιναις, και τη Οκρα, και τη Καρνικη ορεσι τοις υπο το Νωρικον; by which, he ſays Italy was bounded to the north. So that, we may as well read four Alps upon the authority of Ptolomy, as three upon That of Zoſimus. But there is a deſcription of the bounds of Italy in Polybius, which our author ſeems to have had in his eye upon this occaſion; and which, I believe, will put it out of all doubt that he writ τριται, and not τριτται. Polybius ſays [l] Της δη πασης Ιταλιας τω σχηματι τριγωνοειδους υπαρχουσης, την μεν μιαν οριζει πλευραν αυτης, την προς ανατολας κεκλιμενην, ὁ, τε Ιωνιος πορος, και κατα το συνεχες, ὁ κατα την Αδριαν κολπος· την δε προς μεσημβριαν και δυσμας τεταμμενην, το Σικελικον, και Τυρρηνικον πελαγος——Την δε λοιπην την παρα τε τας αρκτους και την μεσογαιαν παρατεινουσαν οριζει κατα το συνεχες, ἡ των Αλπεων παρωρεια. Here, what our author

[i] Lucan, B. ii. v. 432. [k] B. vi. [l] Polybius, B. ii. p. 102.

of

of the land) and theſe authors ſay that they were firſt called Aborigines from their having been the origin of their poſterity; as we ſhould call them γεναρχας or πρωτογονεις. Others pretend that certain vagabonds without houſe or home, gathered together out of many places, met one another there by chance, and ſeated themſelves in the faſtneſſes, living by robbery and feeding of cattle: For this reaſon, thoſe, who are of this opinion, change their name alſo to one more ſuitable to their condition, calling them Aberrigines, to ſhew they were wanderers; and, according to theſe, the Aborigines are in danger of being confounded with thoſe, the ancients called [36] Leleges: For this is the name they, generally, give to a vagabond and mixed people, who have no fixed abode they can call their country. Others give a fabulous account of their being a colony of thoſe Ligures, who are near neighbours to the Umbri. For the Ligures inhabit many parts of Italy, and ſome of Gaul; and, which of them is their native country is not known, ſince nothing certain is further ſaid of them.

calls τριται, *in the third place*, Polybius calls την δε λοιπην, *the remaining ſide of the triangle*; and, where our ſays εκ γης, Polybius ſays, παρα την μεσογαιαν παραλειυθσαν.

36. Δη λεγω, Stephens has, with great ſagacity, ſubſtituted Λελεγων in the room of δη λεγω, which words ſignify nothing in this place. The Leleges are mentioned by Homer as a warlike nation, and to have been governed by Altes their king,

Αλτεω, ὁς Λελεγεσσι φιλοπτολεμοισιν ανασσεν
Ηηδασον αμπεσσαν εχων επι Σαλνιοεντι [m].

They were firſt ſettled in the Idaean gulph; and, being driven from thence, they went into Caria, and lived in a city, called Pedaſa [n], lying in the inland country of the Halicarnaſſenſes. They, afterwards, ingaged in a military expedition with the Carians, and were diſperſed over all Greece, and their nation extinguiſhed.

[m] Iliad φ. ϒ. 87. [n] Strabo, B. xiii. p. 909. Caſaub. Edit.

XI. But the moſt learned of the Roman hiſtorians, among whom is Porcius Cato, who has collected, with the greateſt care, the origins of the Italian cities; Caius Sempronius, and a great many others, ſay, they were Greeks; part of thoſe, who, formerly, inhabited Achaia, and, many generations before the Trojan war, left that country: But they do not point out either the Greek nation, to which they belonged, the city, from which they removed, the time, when, the leader, under whom, or, from what turns of fortune, they left their mother country; and, founding their account on a Greek relation, they have quoted no Greek author to ſupport it: It is therefore uncertain how the truth ſtands. If, what they ſay be true, [37] they can be a colony of no other people, but

[37] Ουκ αν ἑτερȣ τινος ειησαν αποικοι γενȣς, η τȣ καλȣμενȣ νυν Αρκαδικȣ. M*** has, upon this occaſion, tranſlated a note of Ryckius, in which the latter contends that Dionyſius is miſtaken, when he aſſerts that the Aborigines were a colony of the Arcadians. For, ſays he, if the Aborigines were the firſt inhabitants of Italy, it is not poſſible that the Arcadians under Oenotrus could be the ſame people with the Aborigines; becauſe it is proved by Scripture that Italy was inhabited before the time of Oenotrus. This is, properly, σκιαμαχειν, to raiſe ſhadows, and then fight with them. I wonder that neither Ryckius, nor his tranſlator ſhould remember what Dionyſius ſays a few pages before, viz. that the Siceli were the *original* inhabitants of that part of Italy, where Rome was, afterwards, built; and that they were driven out of their country by the Aborigines aſſiſted by the Pelaſgi. The *origines* of Cato are ſo often quoted by the Latin writers, and particularly, by Varro, the moſt celebrated antiquary of his time, that I ſhould make no difficulty to prefer the authority of Cato before That of any modern writers, who are deprived of the books, and, particularly, of the records, which he, as cenſor, muſt have had before him: And we find that not only Cato, but Sempronius, and many other Roman hiſtorians affirm that the Aborigines were Greeks, who, before their coming into Italy, had lived in Achaia. Ryckius has alſo diſcovered another error in Dionyſius, for aſſerting that the Arcadians were the firſt Greek colony, that came into Italy: Whereas, he aſſures us from [o] Pliny that the Pelaſgi came from Greece into Italy,

[o] Pliny, B. iii. c. 5.

of

of thoſe, who are now called Arcadians: For theſe are the firſt of all the Greeks, who croſſed the Ionian gulph under

before the Arcadians. I have looked into this place of Pliny, and all I can find there, is, that Pliny, in enumerating the ancient inhabitants of Latium, mentions, firſt, the Aborigines, then the Pelaſgi, and, after them, the Arcades, the Siculi, the Aurunci, and the Rutili. This, I believe, the reader will think a very weak argument to urge againſt the authority of Dionyſius; particularly, ſince Pauſanias ſays that the colony, [p] Oenotrus led into Italy, was the firſt ſent out of Greece. Oenotrus was the youngeſt ſon of Lycaon, the ſon of Pelaſgus; and Pauſanias makes Lycaon to have been cotemporary with Cecrops, who was ſo with Moſes; and Lycaon carried a colony of Saïtes, who were Aegyptians, into [q] Attica, 65 years before Moſes led the Iſralites out of Aegypt. As to the other proof, drawn from Scripture to ſhew that Italy was inhabited before the arrival of Oenotrus; this argument, I am ſure, if it could be proved from thence, as I believe it cannot, is far from ſubverting the authority of Dionyſius; becauſe, as I have ſhewn, he aſſerts the ſame thing. The only text in Scripture which can, by any contrivance, be tortured to ſignify the peopling of Italy, muſt be this: [r] *And the ſons of Javan; Eliſhah and Tarſhiſh, Kittim and Dodanim. By theſe were the iſles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations.* Of theſe four ſons of Javan, Kittim is the perſon, whoſe poſterity are ſuppoſed to have peopled Italy. I call him Kittim with the Engliſh tranſlation; the Vulgate calls him Cethin, the Septuagint Κητιοι, and the Cotton manuſcript Κιτιοι; in Hebrew, כתים, which word, as it was, undoubtedly, written by Moſes (if he writ in the Cananaean, commonly called, the Hebrew language) without points, or a Dageſh, may be either ſpelt Kitim, or Chetim, but I ſhould rather write it Ketim. The authority, therefore, of this text is brought to prove that the poſterity of this man, however he ſpelt his name, peopled Italy. This we cannot, poſſibly, believe without ſuppoſing, at the ſame time, that Italy was one of the *Iſles* of the Gentiles. But, ſmall miſtakes in geography, I know, muſt not be regarded, when texts of Scripture are to be wreſted in order to carry any favorite point. However, I think it may be proved from ſeveral texts of Scripture, that, by the deſcendants of Ketim, are meant the Macedonians, and not the Italians. I cannot put an end to this note, without taking notice of a miſtake, which the Latin, and, conſequently, the French tranſlators, have fallen into, by rendering μυθος *a fable*. Every body knows that μυθος ſignifies *a fable*; but it is often uſed for λογος, which muſt be the ſignification of it in this place, unleſs the tranſlators have a mind to make our author deſtroy the authority of Cato, and of the other Roman hiſtorians, whom he quotes to ſupport his ſyſtem. That μυθος does often

[p] In Arcad. c. 3. [q] Uſher, p. 10. [r] Geneſis, c. x. ℣. 4, 5.

the

the conduct of Oenotrus, the ſon of Lycaon, and ſettled in Italy. This Oenotrus was the fifth from Æzius and Phoroneus, who were the firſt kings of Peloponneſus. For Niobe was the daughter of Phoroneus, and Pelaſgus is ſaid to have been the ſon of Jupiter and Niobe; Lycaon was the ſon of Æzius, whoſe daughter was Deïanira; and Deïanira and Pelaſgus were the parents of another Lycaon, whoſe ſon, Oenotrus, was born ſeventeen generations before the Trojan expedition. And this was the time, when the Greeks ſent this colony into Italy. Oenotrus left Greece as diſſatisfied with his portion of land: For Lycaon, having two and twenty ſons, it was neceſſary to divide Arcadia into as many ſhares: This inducing Oenotrus to depart out of Peloponneſus, he prepared a fleet, and croſſed the Ionian gulph with Peucetius one of his brothers: They were followed by many of their own people, (for this nation is ſaid to have been very populous in early times) and by as many other Greeks, as had leſs land, than was ſufficient for them. Peucetius, therefore, landing his men [38] above the cape

ſignify λογος we know from the beſt critics, and the beſt writers: Μυθων ρητηρα, ἁ δει λεγειν ὑποδεικνυντα, ſays Heſychius. In Homer, we find μυθος uſed in this ſenſe almoſt in every book; and, in the following verſe, it can be taken in no other,

Ηπειλησεν ΜΥΘΟΝ, ὁ δη τετελεσμενος εστι [s].

[38] Υπερ ακας Ιαπυγιας. The French tranſlators have made Peucetius land and ſettle at the cape Iapygia, which is not agreeable to the geography of that coaſt. For it is well known that the country, called from him, Peucetia, and, afterwards, Meſſapia, lay to the north of the Calabri, whoſe country lay to the north of that cape. Strabo gives the following account of the inhabitants of this peninſula, the point of which is the cape Iapygia, and the neck, that piece of land, which lies between Tarentum and Brunduſium, and which, he ſays, is one day's jour-

[s] Iliad α, ỳ. 388.

Iapygia,

Iapygia, which was the firſt part of Italy they made, ſettled there; and, from him, the inhabitants of theſe places were called Peucetians. But Oenotrus, with the greateſt part of the army, came into another gulph, that waſhes the weſtern coaſt of Italy, and which was then called the Auſonian gulph, from the Auſonians bordering on it: But, after the Tyrrhenians became maſters at ſea, it changed its name to That by which it is known at this day.

XII. And, finding there a large tract of land proper both for paſture and tillage, but, in a great meaſure, deſert; nor, even That, which was inhabited, populous, he cleared ſome of it of the Barbarians; and built ſmall cities contiguous to one another, according to the manner of habitation in uſe among the ancients: And all the country he poſſeſſed, which was very large, was called Oenotria; and all the people under his command, Oenotrians; which was the third time they changed their name. For, in the reign of Ælius, they were called Ælii; when Lycaon ſucceeded to the command, Lycaonians; and, after Oenotrus led them into Italy, they were, for a while, called Oenotrians. What I ſay is ſupported by the teſtimony of [39] Sophocles, the tragic poet, in his drama, intituled Triptolemus: For he there introduces Ceres informing Trip-

ney to a man on foot. [t] Οι επιχωριοι καλα μερη το μεν τι Σαλεντινους καλουσι το περι ακραν Ιαπυγιαν, το δε Καλαβρους· υπερ τουτων προσβορροι Πευκετιοι εισι. I am confident their miſtake aroſe from their not attending to the word υπερ.

39. Σοφοκλης ὁ τραγωδοποιος εν Τριπτολεμῳ δραματι. The Greek author of the life of Sophocles, prefixed to his tragedies, ſays he writ one hundred and thirty, of which ſeventeen were thought not to be his. Seven only of all theſe tragedies remain: Among thoſe that are loſt, is the tragedy of Triptolemus, mentioned by our author upon this occaſion.

[t] Strabo, B. vi. p. 425.

tolemus

tolemus [40] how large a tract of land he was to travel over, in order to ſow the ſeeds ſhe had given him; for, taking notice, firſt, of the eaſtern part of Italy, which reaches from the cape Iapygia to the Sicilian ſtreight, and, then, ſlightly mentioning Sicily on the oppoſite ſide, ſhe returns again to the weſtern part of Italy; and runs over the moſt conſiderable nations, that inhabit this coaſt, beginning with the ſettlement of the Oenotrians. But I need only quote theſe Iambics, "[41] Theſe you will leave behind you: On "your right, all Oenotria, the Tyrrhene gulph, and the "Ligurian land will receive you." And [42] Antiochus of Syracuſe, a very old hiſtorian, in his account of the planting of Italy, enumerates the moſt ancient inhabitants, in [43] the order, in which each of them poſſeſſed themſelves of any part of it; and ſays that the firſt, who are recorded in hiſtory

[40] Οσην χωραν αναγκασθησεται — διεξελθειν. Thus tranſlated by le Jay; *L'eſpace de terre qu'il avoit à labourer.* This is, indeed, improving upon the commands given by Ceres to Triptolemus. In Sophocles, we find ſhe orders him to *travel* over Italy and Sicily: But, in le Jay, ſhe commands him to *plough* them up. The other French tranſlator has rendered it very properly.

[41] Τα δ' εξοπιθε. I have followed the pointing of Lapus in tranſlating theſe verſes.

[42] Αντιοχος ο Συρακυσιος. This author flouriſhed in the 90th olympiad [a], that is, about the year of Rome 336. He writ the hiſtory of Sicily in nine books.

[43] Ως εκαστοι τι μερος αυτης κατειχον. I do not think that either Portus, Sylburgius, or le Jay has tranſlated this ſentence properly. The firſt has ſaid *quam partem*, the ſecond *quae loca*, and le Jay *des lieux qu'ils ont occupez.* The point contended for by our author is to ſhew that the Oenotri were the *firſt* colony that came into Italy: This, he ſays, Antiochus of Syracuſe aſſerts: And ως, viſibly, relates to the order of time, in which each of theſe ancient inhabitants poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome particular part of the country. The other French tranſlator was aware of the difficulty, and has not tranſlated this ſentence at all.

[a] Diod. Sicul. B. xii. p. 322.

to

to have inhabited that country, were the Oenotri: His words are theſe: "Antiochus, the ſon of Xenophanes, has "given this account of Italy, which is the moſt credible and "certain, out of the ancient hiſtories: That country, which "is now called Italy, was formerly poſſeſſed by the Oeno-"tri." Then, he relates in what manner they were governed, and that, in proceſs of time, Italus came to be their king, from whom, changing their name, they were called Italians; that he was ſucceeded by Morges, from whom they were called Morgetes: And that Sicelus, being received as a gueſt by Morges, and, ſetting up for himſelf, divided the nation. After which he adds this, "Thus were the Oeno-"tri called Siceli, Morgetes, and Italians."

XIII. Now, let us, alſo, ſhew how [44] conſiderable a nation the Oenotri were from the teſtimony of [45] Pherecydes,

44. Και το γενος ὁσον ην το των Οινωτρων αποδειξωμεν. The ſenſe of the word ὁσον has been miſtaken by all the tranſlators, except Portus: Le Jay has not ſo much as attempted to tranſlate this ſentence; but has ſaid in a looſe manner; *Voyons ce qu'on doit penſer des Oenotriens.* Sylburgius is not quite ſo looſe; however, he has not rendered ὁσον. *Nunc genus quoque Oenotrorum declarabimus.* This has miſled the other French tranſlator, who has, viſibly, tranſlated him; *prouvons encore l'origine des Oenotriens.* But our author has already proved the origin of the Oenotri; and, now, goes on to ſhew the extent of the country, and the number of the cities they were maſters of, that is, *how conſiderable* a people they were, which is the force of the word ὁσον.

45. Φερεκυδην τον Αθηναιον γενεαλογον ϗδενος δευτερον. M*** ſays, upon this occaſion, that Pherecydes lived about the time of Servius Tullius. But he confounds Pherecydes of Syrus, the Theologer, with Pherecydes, the Athenian, of whom our author ſpeaks. The firſt flouriſhed in the 59th [w] olympiad; according to Diogenes Laertius, who has written his life: The other was born at Leros, in the 74th olympiad; and, living at Athens, was called an Athenian. He is named γενεαλογος by Diogenes, for which he quotes Eratoſthenes. Pherecydes writ the Athenian Antiquities in ten books, as Suidas ſays. He was about the ſame age with Herodotus.

[w] Ολυμπιαδ. αναγραφ.

the Athenian, another ancient hiſtorian, and a genealogiſt inferior to none: He thus expreſſes himſelf concerning the kings of Arcadia; "Lycaon was the ſon of Pelaſgus and "Deïaneira: This man married Cyllene, a Naïd nymph, "from whom the mountain Cyllene took its name:" Then, having given an account of their children, and what places each of them inhabited, he mentions Oenotrus and Peucetius, ſaying, thus: "And Oenotrus, from whom thoſe, "who inhabit Italy, are called Oenotri; and Peucetius, "from whom thoſe, who live near the Ionian gulph, are "called Peucetii." Theſe, therefore, are the accounts given by the ancient poets and [46] hiſtorians, concerning the ſettlement and origin of the Oenotri; by whoſe authority, I am convinced that, if the Aborigines were, in reality, a Greek nation, according to the opinion of Cato, Sempronius, and many others, they were deſcendants of theſe Oenotri: For I find that the Pelaſgi and [47] Cretenſes, and the other nations, that inhabited Italy, came thither afterwards; neither can I diſcover that any other colony, more ancient than this, came from Greece to the weſtern parts of Europe. I am of opinion that the Oenotri made themſelves maſters of many other places in Italy, ſome of which were deſert, and others ill inhabited; and that they

46. Μυθογραφων. See the 37th annotation towards the end.

47. Κρητικον. This is one of the Greek colonies on the eaſtern ſide of Italy, which Helenus adviſes Aeneas to avoid;

*—cuncta malis habitantur moenia Graiis.*
*Hic et Naritii poſuerunt moenia Locri,*
*Et Salentinos obſedit milite campos*
*Lyctius Idomeneus* [x].

[x] Virgil, Aeneid. iii. ℣ 398.

poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed themſelves, alſo, of ſome part of the country belonging to the Umbri, and were called Aborigines from their dwelling on mountains (for the Arcadians are fond of ſuch ſituations) in the ſame manner, as, at Athens, ſome are called [48] Hyperacrii, and, others, Paralii. But, if any are, naturally, ſlow in giving credit to accounts of ancient tranſactions without examination, let them be ſo in believing them to be Ligures, Umbri, or any other Barbarians; and let them ſuſpend their judgment till they have heard what remains, and, then, determine which opinion is, of all others, the moſt probable.

XIV. Of the cities, firſt inhabited by the Aborigines, few remain at this time; but, the greateſt part of them, having been laid waſte both by wars, and other deſtructive calamities, are abandoned. Theſe cities were in the Reatine territory, not far from the Apennine mountain (as Terentius Varro writes in his Antiquities) the neareſt being one day's journey from Rome; the moſt celebrated of which I ſhall give an account of after him. Palatium, five and twenty ſtadia diſtant from Reate, which city is ſtill inhabited by the Romans near the

[48]. Ως ὑπερακριους τινας, και παραλιους Αθηνησι. There is a note of the Greek ſcholiaſt upon the following verſe of Ariſtophanes in his wild, but witty comedy, called Lyſiſtrate; which note Suidas has tranſcribed literally in explaining the word παραλων. As this note will ſhew the origin of this diviſion of the Athenians, ſome of whom were called *Diacrii* or *Hyperacrii*, *inhabitants of the mountains*, and others, *Paralii*, or *inhabitants of the ſea coaſt*, I ſhall, alſo, tranſcribe it; the verſe in Ariſtophanes is as follows:

Αλλ' ηδε Παραλων ηδεμια γυνη παρα[γ].

Πανδιων διαδεξαμενος την Κεκροπος βασιλειαν προσκτησαμενος και την Μεγαριδα, ενειμε τοις παισιν εις δ μοιρας· Αιγει μεν την παρα το αξυ μεχρι Πυθιε· Παλαντι δε την παραλιαν· Λυκω δε την Διακριαν· Νισω δε την Μεγαριδα.

[γ] ver. 58.

Quintian way. Trebula, diſtant from the ſame city about ſixty ſtadia, and ſtanding upon an eaſy aſcent. Veſbola, at the ſame diſtance from Trebula [49]. Suna, a famous city forty ſtadia from Veſbola, where there is a very ancient temple of Mars. Mephyla, about thirty ſtadia from Suna; of which the ruins, and the traces of the walls are to be ſeen. Orvinium, forty ſtadia from Mephyla, a city inferior to none in that part of the country for fame and extent: For the foundations of the walls ſtill appear, and ſome tombs of ancient magnificence; as well as the incloſures of burying places extending themſelves on high terraſſes: Here is an ancient temple of Minerva, ſeated on the top of the hill. At the diſtance of eighty ſtadia from Reate, on the Jurian way near the mountain Coritus, ſtood Corſula, lately deſtroyed: There, an iſland is to be ſeen, called Iſſa, ſurrounded with a lake; which iſland is ſaid to have been inhabited by the Aborigines, without any artificial fortification, the inhabitants relying, for their ſecurity, on the bogs of the lake,

49. Των Κεραυνιων ὀρων πλησιον. I am intirely of [z] Cluver's opinion that the tranſcribers ſet down the Ceraunian inſtead of others mentioned by our author: Since every body knows thoſe mountains are in Epirus, oppoſite to Italy. Le Jay has, upon this occaſion, tranſlated two notes, one of Sylburgius, and the other of Portus: But neither of them give any light to this paſſage: Had I done ſo, I ſhould have thought myſelf obliged to name Thoſe from whom I took them. All the commentators refer us to Cluver for the ſituation of theſe ancient towns of the Aborigines. But, upon looking into that great, and learned geographer, I find he is very uncertain concerning their ſituation, for which he gives this very good reaſon: That moſt of them lay in ruins at the time our author writ his hiſtory. I ſhall, therefore, not trouble the reader with the conjectures of various authors, concerning their names and ſituations.

[z] Cluver, It. Antiq. p. 684.

inſtead

inſtead of walls. Near to Iſſa, is Maruvium, at the end of the ſame lake, diſtant forty ſtadia from what they call *The ſeven waters*. Again, Batia, towards the Latin way, thirty ſtadia from Reate: Then, Tiora, which is called Matiena, forty. In this city, they ſay, there was a very old oracle of Mars; the manner of which was near the ſame with that oracle, fabled to have, formerly, been among the Dodonaeans; only there, a pigeon was ſaid to propheſy, ſitting on a holy oak: But, among the Aborigines, a bird, ſent from heaven, which they call *Picus*, *a wood-pecker*, and the Greeks Δρυοκολαπτης, appearing on a pillar of wood, did the ſame. Liſta, twenty four ſtadia from the laſt mentioned city, the metropolis of the Aborigines; which, formerly, the Sabines, from Amiterna, attacking it by night, ſurpriſed. Thoſe, who ſurvived the taking of the town, being received by the Reatines, when, after many attempts, they found themſelves unable to retake it, they conſecrated the country to the gods, as if it ſtill had been their own, denouncing curſes againſt thoſe, who ſhould, after that, enjoy the produce of it.

XV. Cutylia, a renowned city, ſeventy ſtadia from Reate, ſituated at the foot of a mountain; not far from which, is a lake of four acres, full of native waters, ever flowing, and, as they ſay, bottomleſs: This lake, as having ſomething divine in it, the inhabitants of the country look upon as ſacred to victory; and, ſurrounding it with an incloſure, leſt any one ſhould approach the water, they preſerve it inacceſſible; only, once a year, thoſe, who are appointed by their

religion, perform certain cuſtomary ſacrifices on a little iſland in the lake: This iſland is near fifty feet diameter; and not more than one foot above the water: It is looſe, and floats about, the wind, gently, wafting it from one place to another. There grows an herb in this iſland, like [50] Burre-reed, as, alſo, certain ſmall ſhrubs; a thing, which thoſe, who are unacquainted with the works of nature, will hardly comprehend, and may be looked upon as a wonder inferior to none.

XVI. The Aborigines are ſaid to have ſettled, firſt, in theſe places, after they had driven out the Umbri: And, making excurſions from thence, they warred upon the Barbarians; but, particularly, upon the Siceli, their neighbours, in order to diſpoſſeſs them of their lands. Firſt, a body of young men, conſecrated to the gods, conſiſting of a few, were ſent out by their parents to ſeek a maintenance, according to a cuſtom, which, I know, many Barbarians and Greeks have uſed. For, whenever the numbers of the inhabitants of any of their cities were ſo far increaſed, that the produce of their lands would, no longer, maintain them all, or the earth, injured by unſeaſonable changes of the weather, brought forth her fruits in leſs abundance than uſual, or any other accident of that nature, either better or worſe, introduced a neceſſity of leſſening their numbers, they conſecrated to ſome god all the men, who were born within a certain year; and, providing them with arms, ſent them out of

[50] Βδλομον. This plant is called in Engliſh *Burre-reed*; in Norfolk, we call it *Gladden*. It is very common in marſhy grounds.

their

their country: If this was done by way of thankſgiving for populouſneſs, or a victory in war, they, after the uſual ſacrifices, proſecuted their colony with benedictions: But, if the deſign of it was to pray a deliverance from thoſe evils, which the divine anger had inflicted on them, they performed the ſame ceremony, but, with dejected looks, and begging forgiveneſs of the youth they ſent away. Thoſe, who departed, having, now, no longer, any country they could call their own, unleſs by favour, or force, they ſhould gain another to receive them, looked upon the latter as their country. And the god, to whom they had been conſecrated when they were ſent out, ſeemed, generally, to aſſiſt them, and, beyond all human expectation, to proſper thoſe colonies. In purſuance, therefore, of this cuſtom, ſome of the Aborigines, alſo, at that time, their country growing very populous, (for they would not put any of their children to death, looking on this as the greateſt of crimes) conſecrated to ſome god the offspring of the year, and, when they were grown to be men, they ſent them out. Theſe, after they had left their country, were continually plundering the Siceli: And, as ſoon as they became maſters of any places in the enemy's country, the reſt of the Aborigines, alſo, who wanted lands, with greater ſecurity, now, attacked each of them their neighbours; and built ſeveral cities, ſome of which are inhabited, to this day, by the Antemnates, the Tellenenſes, and the Ficulenſes, who live near the mountains, called Corniculi, and by the Tiburtini, among whom a part of their city is, at this time, called Sicelion: And, of all their neighbours, they infeſted the

the Siceli moſt. From theſe differences, there aroſe a general war between the two nations, more conſiderable than any of the former in Italy, which was drawn out to a great length.

XVII. Afterwards, ſome of the Pelaſgi, who inhabited Theſſaly, as it is, now, called, being obliged to leave their country, ſettled among the Aborigines; and theſe, with joint forces, made war upon the Siceli. It is poſſible the Aborigines might receive them from the hopes of their aſſiſtance, but I rather believe it was chiefly on account of their affinity. For the Pelaſgi were, alſo, a Greek nation, anciently, of Peloponneſus: They were unfortunate in many things, but, particularly, in wandering much, and having no fixed abode. For they, firſt, lived in the neighbourhood of the Achaian Argos, as it is now called, being, in the opinion of many, natives of the country. They received their name, originally, from Pelaſgus their king: Pelaſgus was the ſon of Jupiter, as it is ſaid, and of Niobe, the daughter of Phoroneus, who, as the fable ſays, was the firſt mortal woman Jupiter had knowledge of. In the ſixth generation afterwards, leaving Peloponneſus, they came [51] into that country,

[51] Εις την τοτε Αιμονιαν, νυν δε Θετταλιαν καλουμενην. Caſaubon, in his notes upon Strabo, quotes ſome Greek verſes of Rhianus, which explain the account given by our author of Theſſaly, as well as That given of it by [a] Strabo; who ſays that Theſſaly was called Pyrrhaea from Pyrrha, the wife of Deucalion; afterwards, Haemonia, from Haemon; and, at laſt, Theſſaly, from Theſſalus, the ſon of Haemon. Theſe verſes the reader may not be diſpleaſed to find here:

Πυρραιαν τοτε τηνγε παλαιοτεροι καλεεσκον
Πυρρης, Δευκαλιωνος απ' αρχαινης αλοχοιο·
Αιμονιην δ' εξαυτις αφ' Αιμονος, ον ρα Πελασγος
Γεινατο, φερτατον υιον· Ο δ' αυ τεκε Θεσσαλον Αιμων.
Τω δ' απο Θεσσαλιην λαοι μετεφημισαντο.

[a] Strabo, B. ix. p. 677.

which

which was, then, called Haemonia, and, now, Theſſalia: The leaders of the colony were Achaeus, Phthius, and Pelaſgus the ſons of Lariſſa, and Neptune. When they were arrived in Haemonia, they drove out the Barbarians, who were the inhabitants of it, and divided the country into three parts, calling them after the names of their commanders, Phthiotis Achaia, and Pelaſgiotis. After they had remained there five generations, during which, they arrived to the greateſt proſperity, enjoying the moſt fertil plains in Theſſaly, in the ſixth generation, they were driven out of it by the Curetes, and Leleges, who are now called Aetoli, and Locri, and by many others, who inhabit the parts near Parnaſſus, their enemies being commanded by Deucalion, the ſon of Prometheus, and of Clymene, the daughter of Oceanus.

XVIII. And, diſperſing themſelves in their flight, [52] ſome went into Crete; others poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome of the iſlands, called Cyclades; ſome inhabited the country, called Heſtiotis, near Olympus and Oſſa; others went into Boeotia, Phocis, and Euboea; ſome, tranſporting themſelves into

[52]. Οι μεν εις Κρητην απηλθον. etc. The different ſettlements of this wandering people are taken notice of by all geographers; eſpecially, by Homer, whoſe authority in geography is little inferior to That he has, ſo deſervedly, acquired in poetry. He mentions the Pelaſgi in Crete,

εν δε Κυδωνες,
Δωριεες τε τριχαϊκες διοι τε Πελασγοι [b].

He alſo takes notice of their inhabiting the plains of Theſſaly near Lariſſa,

Ιπποθοος δ' αγε φυλα Πελασγων εγχεσιμωρων
Των οι Λαρισσαν εριβωλακα ναιεταασκον [c].

[d] Strabo, who quotes the authority of Homer, ſpeaks of their inhabiting thoſe countries, and many others; particularly, that they ſettled in the iſland of Leſbos, which, from them, was called Pelaſgia. And, after ſhewing that they lived alſo at Athens, he ſays, the Athenians called them Πελαργους, *Storks*, becauſe they wandered from one place to another.

[b] Odyſ. τ. ν. 177. [c] Iliad. β. ν. 840. [d] B. v. p. 338.

Aſia, became maſters of many places on the ſea coaſt near the Helleſpont, and of many of the adjacent iſlands, particularly, of That, which is now called Leſbos, mingling with thoſe, who compoſed the firſt colony, that was ſent thither from Greece [53] under Macar, the ſon of Ciraſius. [54] But the

[53] Ἀγονὸς Μακάρος τȣ Κιρασιȣ. I cannot find whether this Macar was the ſon of Criaſus, who, as Euſebius ſays, was the fifth king of the Argivi: But I find in Stephanus that he was the father of Ereſus, from whom the city in Leſbos, ſo called, took its name.

[54] Το δε πλειον αυλων μερος δια της μεσογειȣ τραπομενοι προς τȣς εν Δοδωνη καλοικȣντας σφων συγγενεις. I ſhall not deprive the reader of the curious tranſlation le Jay has exhibited of this paſſage. It is well known that Dodona was a city of the Moloſſi, a people of Epirus; and that Theſſaly, from whence the Pelaſgi were driven by the Curetes, and Leleges, was ſeparated from Epirus only by mount Pindus. So that, our author ſays, very properly, that the Pelaſgi paſſed through the *midland country* to Dodona, δια της μεσογειȣ. This ſentence le Jay has, unfortunately, rendered *par la Mediterranée*. It is ſcarce credible that a man, who taught rhetoric above twenty years in Clermont college, as he himſelf ſays, ſhould be, ſo perfectly, unacquainted both with the Greek language, and with geography: But le Jay, it ſeems, was fond of navigation. I find, by the preface of M***, the other French tranſlator, that the journaliſts of Trevoux, the capital of the principality of Dombes, have employed all their eloquence to extol, and adorn this tranſlation of le Jay: Which the reader will not be ſurpriſed at, when he is informed that both the tranſlator, and the panegyriſts are Jeſuits; whoſe obſtinacy in defending one another at all events, joined to an unrelenting hatred of all their oppoſers, puts me in mind of what [e] Tacitus ſays of the Jews, *apud ipſos fides obſtinata, miſericordia in promptu; ſed adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium.* However, I find that, notwithſtanding theſe pompous panegyrics, the tranſlation of le Jay has been cenſured in France in ſome critical letters, written, I preſume, by the other French tranſlator; and, among other errors objected to him, this affair of the *Mediterranean* was not forgotten. This produced an anſwer from the Jeſuits, in which they acknowledge the *miſtake*; but attribute it to an overſight in the correctors of the preſs, and ſay, that the tranſlator had written *que ce nombre (des Pelaſgues) vint par le pays Mediterrané, ou par la campagne Mediterranée, ou par la region Mediterranée*; and that the word *region*, for example, had been dropped by the correctors. The other replies that this anſwer will be allowable, if two things are granted: The firſt, that *le pays, la campagne, la region Medi-*



greateſt

greateſt part of them, paſſing through the midland country, took refuge among the inhabitants of Dodona, their relations (againſt whom, as a ſacred people, none would make war) where they continued ſome time. But, finding themſelves grow troubleſome, and the country not being ſufficient to ſupport them all, they left it in obedience to an oracle, which commanded them to ſail to Italy, then, called Saturnia: And, having prepared a great many ſhips, they paſſed the Ionian ſea, endeavouring to reach the neareſt parts of Italy. But, the wind being in the ſouth, and they unacquainted with the coaſt, they were carried off to ſea, and landed at one of the mouths of the Po, called [55] Spines: In this place, they left their ſhips, and ſuch of their people, as were leaſt able to bear fatigue, placing a guard there, to the end that, if their affairs ſucceeded ill, they might be ſure of a retreat: Thoſe, who were left behind, ſurrounded their camp with a wall; and, bringing in plenty of proviſions in their ſhips, when their affairs ſeemed to proſper, they built a city of the ſame name with the mouth of the river. Theſe people arrived to a greater degree of proſperity than any others on

*terranée* is uſed in French to ſignify *le milieu des terres*; and the ſecond, that it is probable the word *region*, *pays*, or *campagne*, ſhould be dropped by the correctors of the preſs, and the tranſlator ſay nothing of it among his *errata*.

By this abſtract of the diſpute, the reader will ſee that the attack was ſtrong, and the defence weak; and that le Jay's brethren had recourſe to a mean ſubterfuge, in order to defend a moſt egregious blunder.

55. Σπινης. [f] Cluver ſhews this to have been the principal mouth of the Po, which he ſuppoſes to be the reaſon why it is called *Primaro* at this day. On the left ſide of it, ſtood Spina, once a conſiderable city.

[f] Ital. Antiq. p. 134.

the Ionian coaſt; and, being maſters at ſea for a long time, they ſent tenths to the god at Delphi, thoſe ariſing from their gains at ſea, being, in magnificence, inferior to none. But, afterwards, the Barbarians, in the neighbourhood, making war upon them in great numbers, they left the city (however, theſe Barbarians, in proceſs of time, were driven out by the Romans) and that part of the Pelaſgi, left at Spines, was, thus, deſtroyed.

XIX. Thoſe, who bent their march through the midland country, croſſing the mountainous part of Italy, arrived at the territory of the Umbri, which borders on That of the Aborigines: The Umbri inhabited a great many other parts of Italy, and were an exceeding great, and ancient people. At firſt, therefore, the Pelaſgi made themſelves maſters of ſome of the lands belonging to the Umbri, where they, firſt, ſettled, and took ſome of their ſmall towns: But, a great army being raiſed againſt them, they were terrified at the number of their enemies, and betook themſelves to the country of the Aborigines: Theſe, determining to treat them as enemies, preſently, gathered together out of the adjacent towns, in order to drive them out of the country. The Palaſgi, who happened, at that time, to be incamped near Cotyle, a city of the Aborigines, hard by the Holy lake, obſerving the little iſland floating about in it; and, learning, from the captives they had taken in the fields, the name of the inhabitants, concluded [56] they had accompliſhed the

56. Τελος εχειν σφισι το θεοπροπιον ὑπελαβον. Portus, and his tranſlator le Jay, have rendered this as if σφισι related to θεοπροπιον, which the Greek oracle:

oracle: For That, which had been delivered to them in Dodona, and which Lucius Mamius, no obſcure man, ſays, he himſelf, ſaw ingraven, in ancient characters, upon one of the Tripods, ſtanding in the temple of Jupiter, was in theſe terms; [57] "Go in ſearch of the Saturnian land, inhabited "by the Siceli, and of Cotyle, a city of the Abori-"gines, where there is a floating iſland; then, mixing with

language will not bear: For, in that caſe, δεδωμενον, or ſomething analogous to it, would have been inſerted. But τελος εχειν σφισι is very elegant Greek to ſignify *that the oracle was accompliſhed with regard to them.* Sylburgius has ſaid, *crediderunt finem jam habere ſuum oraculum*; which is ſcarce Latin: However, it ſhews that he made the ſame miſtake. The other French tranſlator has rendered it very artfully, *ils crurent que l'oracle étoit accompli.* Thus, by leaving out σφισι, he has avoided the difficulty of connecting it with either. The reader will determine which tranſlator takes moſt pains for his ſatisfaction; he, who endeavours to explain difficulties, or he, who avoids them.

57. Στειχειτε μαιομενοι Σικελων Σατυρνιαν αιαν, etc. I wiſh our author had given us this inſcription in the ancient characters, in which Mamius ſays, he ſaw it ingraven on the tripod at Dodona: But I ſuppoſe Mamius himſelf did not copy the inſcription in thoſe characters. However that may be, it is certain that an inſcription, ingraved ſo many generations before the Trojan war, and exhibited in the characters then in uſe, would give great ſatisfaction to the curious: For it muſt be allowed that this would be the moſt ancient inſcription now in the world. But, whatever might be the characters, the oracle, or rather, the prieſts, at Dodona, delivered themſelves in very good verſe; and, particularly, took care to be very explicit in their injunction to the Pelaſgi to ſend the tenths to Apollo; which ſhews the oracle to be genuine: For, notwithſtanding the diverſity of opinions concerning the meaning of other parts of this oracle, I obſerve, there is none concerning That. There is a paſſage in this book, in which our author tells us, that Hercules aboliſhed this monſtrous cuſtom of ſacrificing human victims, by directing the people to offer pageants to Saturn, inſtead of men. All authors agree that the Carthaginians, like the Tyrians, their anceſtors, thought human ſacrifices the moſt effectual to appeaſe their angry deities. How ſtrange a thing is it that any nation ſhould be ſo infatuated by their religious prejudices, as to imagine that the ſacrifice of their fellow-creatures, under the notion of a delegated attonement, could be an acceptable offering to their CREATOR!

"them,

" them, ſend a tenth to Phoebus, and heads to Jupiter, " and, to his father, a man."

XX. When the Pelaſgi ſaw the Aborigines advancing with a numerous army, they met them unarmed with olive branches in their hands, and gave them an account of their fortunes, begging they would receive them in a friendly manner, and ſuffer them to cohabit with them; aſſuring them, at the ſame time, they would not be troubleſome; ſince heaven, itſelf, led them into this country, as the only one, that agreed with the oracle, which they explained to them. When the Aborigines heard this, they reſolved to obey the oracle; and, as they laboured under a war, they were, then, carrying on with the Siceli, to receive the aſſiſtance of theſe Greeks againſt the Barbarians, their enemies. To this purpoſe, they entered into an alliance with the Pelaſgi, and granted to them ſuch of their lands as lay near the Holy lake, of which the greateſt part were marſhy, and which, according to the ancient ſtyle of their language, are now called Felia: For it was the cuſtom of the ancient Greeks, generally, to place before thoſe words, that began with a vowel, the ſyllable ϝ, written with one letter: [58] This was like a gamma, formed by two oblique lines joined to one upright line, as Ϝελενη, Felene, Ϝαναξ, Fanax, Ϝοικος, Foicus, and Ϝανηρ, Faner, and many ſuch words. Afterwards, a conſiderable part of them, as the land was not ſufficient to

[58]. Τὸ δ'ην ὡσπερ γαμμα, etc. I ſhall defer the conſideration of this Aeolic letter, till I come to the place, where our author ſhews that the Roman, and Greek characters were, originally, the ſame. See the forty firſt annotation on the fourth book.

ſupport

ſupport them all, prevailed on the Aborigines to join them in the expedition they propoſed; and, making war upon the Umbri, they ſurpriſed Croton, a rich and large city; and made uſe of this city, as a fortreſs to annoy the Umbri, which was, ſufficiently, fortified to defend them in time of war, and had many fertil paſtures lying round it. They made themſelves maſters, alſo, of a great many other places, and, with great alacrity, aſſiſted the Aborigines in the war they were then ingaged in againſt the Siceli, till they drove them out of their country: And the Pelaſgi inhabited in common with the Aborigines many cities, ſome of which were, before, inhabited by the Siceli, and others they built themſelves; of which number, is the city of the Caeretani, then, called Agylla, and Piſa, Saturnia, and Alſion, and ſome others, of which they were, in proceſs of time, diſpoſſeſſed by the Tyrrhenians.

XXI. But Phalerium, and Feſcennia are, to this day, inhabited by the Romans, and preſerve ſome ſmall remains of the Pelaſgian nation; which cities, formerly, belonged to the Siceli. In theſe there remained, for a long time, many of the ancient inſtitutions, formerly, in uſe among the Greeks, ſuch as the [59] faſhion of their arms, Argolic bucklers, and ſpears; and, when they ſent out an army beyond their con-

59. Των ὁπλων των πολεμιςηριων κοσμος. All the tranſlators, both Latin and French, have rendered this, *the ornaments of their arms;* Their reaſon was, I imagine, becauſe κοσμος, ſometimes, ſignifies *an ornament.* Had Dionyſius deſigned to ſpeak of the ornaments, he would, no doubt, have ſhewn us what thoſe ornaments were: Whereas, he mentions only the ſhape of theſe arms; calling the firſt an Argolic buckler, which every one knew, at leaſt in his time, to be round; and this the Romans, who had made uſe

fines,

ſines, either to begin a war, or to reſiſt an invaſion, certain holy men, unarmed, went before the reſt, carrying with them the conditions of peace: Such, alſo, were the ſtructure of their temples, [60] the images of their gods, their purifications, and ſacrifices, and many other things of the ſame nature. But, the moſt conſpicuous monument, by which it appears that thoſe men, who drove out the Siceli, formerly, lived at Argos, is the temple of Juno at Phalerium, built in the ſame form with That at Argos; where the manner of the ceremonies was the ſame; holy women ſerved the temple, and [61] a girl unmarried, called Canephoros, *Baſket-Bearer*, began the ſacrifice, beſides chorus's of virgins, who [62] hymned the goddeſs in ſongs of their country. Theſe people were, alſo, maſters of a conſiderable part of thoſe, they call, the Campanian plains, which afford a moſt pleaſing proſpect, and very fertil paſture, having driven the Aurunci, a barbarous nation, out of part of them. There they built

of this buckler, afterwards, changed for the [g] *Scutum*, which we find by all authors to have been of an oblong figure; as they, alſo, made uſe of the [h] *Pilum*, inſtead of the ſpear. If any one doubts whether the Argolic buckler was round, let him look into Virgil, who compares the only eye of Polyphemus, to an Argolic buckler, or the ſun, which I preſume retains ſtill the ſame figure it had then:

*telo lumen terebramus acuto*
*Ingens, quod torvâ ſolum ſub fronte latebat,*
*Argolici clypei, aut Phoebeae lampadis inſtar* [i].

60. Τα εδη των θεων. The tranſlators have rendered τα εδη *chapels, altars, ſanctuaries*. But, as εδος ſignifies alſo, *an image*, as may be ſeen in Julius Pollux, Heſychius, and others, I have choſen to tranſlate it ſo; becauſe the *chapels*, etc. ſeem to be included in the ſtructure of the temples.

61. Αγνη γαμων παις. Admirably, tranſlated by le Jay; *une jeune vierge irreproachable dans ſes moeurs.*

62. Υμνεσων την θεον. The reader will forgive my tranſlating this *hymning*, when he conſiders that Milton has uſed the word in his Paradiſe loſt.

[g] Livy, B. viii. c. 8. [h] Polyb. B. vi. p. 469. [i] B. iii. ℣. 635.

ſeveral

ſeveral cities, particularly, [63] Lariſſa, giving to it the name of their metropolis in Peloponneſus. Some of theſe cities are ſtanding even at this day, having often changed their inhabitants: But Lariſſa has been long deſerted, and ſhews, at preſent, no other ſign of its ever having been a city, but the name, and, even, this is not, generally, known: It was not far from [64] Forum Popilii. They were, alſo, maſters of a great many other places, as well on the coaſt, as in the midland country, of which they had diſpoſſeſſed the Siceli.

XXII. The Siceli, being warred upon both by the Pelaſgi, and Aborigines, found themſelves incapable of making reſiſtance; and, taking with them their wives and children, and ſuch of their effects as conſiſted in gold or ſilver, they quitted all their country to them: Then, bending their courſe ſouthward, along the mountains, they marched through all the lower part of Italy; and, being driven from every place, they, at laſt, prepared rafts in the Streight; and, taking the advantage of an [65] ebb-tide, paſſed over from Italy to the next iſland;

63. Λαρισσα [k]. Pauſanias ſays that the citadel at Argos was called Lariſſa, from Lariſſa, the daughter of Pelaſgus, from whom, alſo, two cities in Theſſaly were called by the ſame name; which tends very much to confirm the account, given by our author, of the Pelaſgi living in Theſſaly.

64. Αγορας Ποπιλιας. [l] Cluver ſhews the name of this town to have been *Forum Popilii*, which, he ſays, is now called *Forlim populo*, but oftener, *Forli piccolo*.

65. Φυλαξαντες καλιοπλα τον ρον. I have called this *an ebb-tide*, though I am ſenſible that there are no tides in the Mediterranean, as in the ocean: The reaſon of which may, poſſibly, be that the water in the Mediterranean being ſo much leſs in bulk than That of the ocean, it cannot reſiſt the weight of the water in the latter; for which reaſon, this, always, runs into the Mediterranean with great violence at the Streights of Gibraltar, not to mention the water, that comes in through the Helleſpont; and this violence exceeds the effect of the attraction of the moon upon the water of the Mediterranean: For this ſeems to be large enough for

[k] In Corinth. p. 165. Edit. Lipſ. [l] Ital. Antiq. p. 295.

which was then possessed by the Sicani, an Iberian nation; who, flying from the Ligures, were, but lately, settled there, and had given the name of Sicania to that island, which, from

the moon to act more upon one part of it than another, and, consequently, to make one part swell more than another; but, when it subsides, it must extend itself towards the Streights, which the superior weight, and force of the water, perpetually, rushing in there, will not permit. This might, indeed, be answered by the assumption of an under-current, which may run out of the Streights, at the same time, the upper-current runs in. But, even, in that case, so vast a lake as the Mediterranean could neither receive, nor discharge water enough at the Streights, in so short a time as the tide flows and ebbs, to rise, or fall sensibly. I know that [m] Aristotle says the water, in the Streight of Sicily, ebbs, and flows according to the moon. [n] Strabo also, quotes Eratosthenes to shew that the water in that Streight changes its course twice every day, and as often every night, like That of the ocean. Notwithstanding these very great authorities, I much doubt whether the ebbing, and flowing of the water, in the Streight of Sicily, is so regular as they contend for; and, particulary, whether it is governed by the moon. I rather think, that it is owing to the winds, which, sometimes, blow into that Streight from the Tyrrhene sea, that is, from the north; and, at other times, from the Sicilian sea, which lies to the south of it. And [o] Thucydides, who gives the same account of the Siceli passing over from Italy to Sicily, then called Sicania, says they crossed the Streight κατιοντος τȣ ανεμȣ, with *a favourable wind*, or, as Hobbes has, very properly, translated it, *with a fore-wind*. But, there is a difficulty, that occurs in the account given of the Sicani by Thucydides, and followed by our author: The first says, the Sicani were driven out of their country ὑπο Λιγυων αναςαντες, and our author says Λιγυας φευγοντες. Now, we find in no history that the Ligures were ever in possession of any part of Spain. [p] Cluver endeavours to solve this difficulty by supposing that Spain ought here to be understood in a large sense, so as to comprehend France; in which case, those Ligures, who lived between the Rhone, and the Alps, would be near neighbours to the Spaniards. Upon this occasion, I cannot help taking notice of a great mistake committed by this, truly, learned and exact geographer: He imagines that [q] Thucydides, whose words he quotes, applied those words to the passage of the Sicani from Italy to Sicily; whereas, nothing can be plainer than that Thucydides applied them to the Siceli crossing the Streight on rafts, and not to the Sicani. As for the Λιγυες, who are said by Thucydides, and Dionysius to have expelled the Sicani, I suspect they were not the Ligures, as all the translators have called them, and I myself among the rest, but some other ancient people, whose history we are unacquainted with.

[m] Περι θαυμ. [n] B. i. p. 59. [o] B. vi. c. 2. [p] In Sic. Ant. p. 26. [q] P. 27.

its

its triangular figure, was, before, called Trinacria: There were very few inhabitants in it for ſo large an iſland; ſo that, the greateſt part of it was deſert. When, therefore, the Siceli landed there, they, firſt, ſettled in the weſtern parts; and, afterwards, in ſeveral others, and, from theſe, the iſland began to be called Sicely. In this manner, the Sicelian nation left Italy, according to [66] Hellanicus, the Leſbian, the third generation before the Trojan war, and in [67] the twenty ſixth year of the prieſthood of Alcyone at Argos. For he ſays that two Italian colonies paſſed over into Sicely; the firſt conſiſting of the Elymi, who had been driven out of their country by the Oenotri; the ſecond, five years after, of the Auſones, who fled from the Iapyges. He makes Sicelus the king of theſe people, who, he ſays, gave name both to them, and to the iſland. But, according to [68] Phi-

[66] Ελλανικος ὁ Λεσβιος. *Ou de Milet; il fit, ſelon Suidas, une deſcription de la terre,* ſays M * * *: But, here, again, he confounds Hellanicus, the Leſbian, with Hellanicus, the Mileſian: Suidas, expreſsly, ſays, the περιοδος γης was written by the laſt. There is a remarkable paſſage quoted by Gellius out of [r] Pamphila, by which, the ages of Hellanicus, the Leſbian, of Herodotus, and Thucydides will, plainly, appear: In the beginning of the Peloponeſian war, Hellanicus was ſixty five years old, Herodotus fifty three, and Thucydides forty.

[67] Αλκυονης Ιερωμενης εν Αργει. Our author follows the ſame method with [s] Thucydides, who ſays that the firſt year of the Peloponneſian war was the 48th of the prieſthood of Chryſis at Argos. It is ſuppoſed that Hellanicus of Leſbos was the firſt hiſtorian, who introduced the method of computing the years according to thoſe of the prieſteſſes at Argos; as Timaeus was the firſt, who introduced That of computing them according to the olympiads.

[68] Φιλιστος ὁ Συρακουσιος. The age, in which this hiſtorian lived, is very well known by his attachment to Dionyſius the elder, by whom he was, afterwards, baniſhed; a juſt reward for the aſſiſtance he gave to the tyrant of his country. [t] He writ, beſides other works, of the affairs of Sicily, in eleven books. As to his ſentiments, the diſpoſition of his ſubject, and his ſtyle, they are very particularly, and very beautifully deſcribed by our [u] author,

[r] B. xv. c. 23. [s] B. ii. c. 2. [t] Diod. Sicul. B. xiii. p. 387. [u] C. 5.

liſtus, the Syracuſian, the time, when this colony paſſed into Sicely, was the eightieth year before the Trojan war; but the people, who went thither out of Italy, were neither the Siceli, the Auſones, nor the Elymi, but the Ligures, whoſe leader was Sicelus; who, he ſays, was the ſon of Italus; and that, in his reign, the people were called Siceli; and that theſe Ligures had been driven out of their country by the Umbri, and Pelaſgi. Antiochus, the Syracuſian, fixes no time for their paſſage, but ſays the people, who left Italy, were the Siceli, who had been forced to quit their country by the Oenotri, and Opici; and that they choſe Sicelus for their leader. But [69] Thucydides writes that the people, who left the country, were the Siceli, and thoſe, who drove them out of it, the Opici: And that the time, when they left it, was many years after the Trojan war. Theſe, therefore, are the relations, given by authors of credit, concerning the Siceli, who removed from Italy, to ſettle in Sicely.

XXIII. The Pelaſgi, having made themſelves maſters of a large and fertil tract of land, took ſome towns, built others, and, by a ſwift and great advance, roſe to power, riches, and every other proſperity, which they did not long enjoy: But, when all the world looked upon them to be in the moſt flouriſhing condition, they became the object of divine

in his criticiſm on the Greek hiſtorians: He, there, ſays, among other things, that, inſtead of imitating the freedom, and ſpirit of Thucydides, he was a ſervile flatterer of tyranny; that, like Thucydides, he left his ſubject imperfect; and, though inferior to him in dignity and ſtrength, yet he imitated him in the roundneſs, and cloſeneſs of his periods.

[69] Θουκυδίδης δε. See his ſixth book, and ſecond chapter; great part of which paſſage has been quoted in the former notes.

wrath;

wrath; and ſome of them were deſtroyed by calamities, inflicted by the hand of Heaven, others by their Barbarian neighbours: But the greateſt part of them were again diſperſed through Greece, and the country of the Barbarians; concerning whom, if I attempted to give a particular account, it would require a very long diſcourſe. However, a few of them remained in Italy, through the care of the Aborigines. The firſt cauſe of the deſolation of their cities ſeemed to be a drought, which laid waſte the land, the fruit falling from the trees before it came to maturity; neither did the corn, which came up, and flowered, ſtand, as uſual, till the ear was ripe; nor was there graſs ſufficient for the cattle: Some of the waters were not fit to drink, others ſhrunk, during the ſummer; and others were, totally, dried up. [70] The like misfortunes attended the offspring both of

[70] Ἀδελφὰ δὲ τούτοις ἐγίνετο περί τε προβάτων καὶ γυναικῶν γονάς. The reader will obſerve that, in this deſcription of the misfortunes, which happened to the offspring both of women, and cattle, our author has made choice of ſuch terms, as are applicable to both: In which, he has been followed by the Latin tranſlators, particularly, by Portus, as publiſhed by Hudſon, who, I obſerve, has made ſome very proper alterations in this place. Le Jay, alſo, has ſucceeded very well in rendering this paſſage. But the other French tranſlator has taken another courſe: He has made two periods of it; one of which he has applied to the women, and the other to the cattle; which renders his tranſlation tedious by the repetition of the ſame calamities in different terms. There is one thing in his tranſlation, that renders it not only tedious, but ridiculous. It is to be obſerved that our author, after he has deſcribed the corruption, and drying up of the waters, ſpeaks firſt, in general terms, of the misfortunes, that happened to the offspring of women, and cattle; and then goes on to particulariſe them: This general account of thoſe misfortunes this tranſlator has left out, becauſe Sylburgius, his guide, has left it out alſo; whoſe words are theſe; *Nec feliciores erant foeturae mulierum*; which the other has literally tranſlated: *Les femmes n'étoient pas plus heureuſes dans leurs accouchements.* Now, the leaving out

cattle

cattle, and of women. For they were either abortive, or died at their birth; ſome, by their death, deſtroying even thoſe that bore them: And, if any eſcaped the danger of their delivery, they were either lame, or imperfect; or, being hurt by ſome other accident, were not fit to be reared. The reſt of the people, alſo, particularly thoſe, in the vigor of their age, were afflicted with various diſtempers, and uncommon deaths. Upon their conſulting the oracle what god, or genius they had offended, to be thus afflicted, and, by what means, they might hope for relief, the god anſwered that, having obtained what they deſired, they had neglected to give what they had promiſed, but that the moſt valuable things were ſtill due from them: For the Pelaſgi, in a time of [71] general ſcarcity, had made a vow to offer up to Jupiter,

this general account of thoſe misfortunes has given an air of ridicule to his tranſlation of the whole paſſage: But, in order to ſhew this in a proper light, I muſt tranſcribe the period, which, immediately, precedes this. *Les ſources*, ſays he, *étoient preſque épuiſées, ou même entirement à ſec par les chaleurs exceſſives.* And, then, adds, *Les femmes n'étoient pas plus heureuſes dans leurs accouchements.* Now, it is plain, by the common rules of grammar, that this laſt ſentence muſt relate to That, which, immediately, precedes it; becauſe *plus* is a comparative; and muſt relate to ſomething; and there is nothing but the preceding ſentence, to which it can relate. The laſt ſentence, therefore, muſt mean nothing, or it muſt mean this: *Les femmes dans leurs accouchements étoient preſque épuiſées, ou même entirement à ſec par les chaleurs exceſſives.*

[71] Παντων χρηματων. This uſe of the word χρηματα ought to convince the tranſlators that it does not always ſignify *money*; though, I obſerve, that it is, generally, rendered ſo. Nay, what is ſtill more extraordinary, even [w] Ariſtotle's definition of χρηματα, (by which he ſhews that, inſtead of ſignifying *money*, it ſignifies every thing, of which the value is meaſured by *money*) is, however, rendered in the ſame manner by the Latin tranſlator, whoever he is. The words of Ariſtotle are; χρηματα δε λεγομεν παντα, ὁσων ἡ αξια νομισματι μετρειται. Thus tranſlated; *Pecunias autem appellamus omnia, quorum aeſtimationem metitur nummus.*

[w] Ηθικ. B. iv. c. 1.

Apollo,

Apollo, and the [72] Cabiri, the tenths of all their future product. Their prayer being heard, they set apart, and sacrificed to the gods the promised portion of all their fruits, and cattle, as if their [73] vow had related to them only: This, [74] Myrsilus, the Lesbian, relates, using almost the same words,

72. Τοις Καβειροις. Much time, and labour have been thrown away by many men of learning in order to discover the etymology, the origin, the names, and functions of these ridiculous heathen gods, called by the Greeks, Καβειροι. [x] Herodotus speaks of a temple dedicated to them at Memphis, and says, that their images resembled That of Vulcan, whose children, it seems, they were; and that the image of Vulcan represented a pygmy. Upon this foundation, [y] Bochart, and, after him, the author [z] of the history of Heaven, deduce their names from the Phoenician language, in which כבירים signifies *powerful*, in the plural number: And the Phoenician, commonly called the Hebrew, and the Aegyptian language, being, nearly, the same, it will follow that this was the signification of the word in Aegyptian. I have shewn, in a small dissertation inserted in my translation of Xenophon's Anabasis, that there is no sort of affinity between the Hebrew, and Aegyptian languages: To which I shall now add an observation I have since made, which will put this matter out of all doubt: When [a] Joseph's brothers went into Aegypt to buy corn, he spoke to them by an interpreter. Our countryman Hyde, in his [b] history of the religion of the ancient Persians, says, *Cabiri sunt Gabri, voce Persicâ aliquantulum detortâ.* These, he says, paid a civil, not a true worship to fire.

73. Ως δη κατα τȣτων μονων ευξαμενοι. Casaubon, very justly, observes that ευχεσθαι κατα τινος signifies *vovere aliquid*; to support which, he quotes a passage in Demosthenes. To this I shall add the authority of Aristophanes, who uses ευχην ποιησασθαι in the same sense;

Τῃ δ' Αγροτερᾳ κατα χιλιων παρῃνεσα
Ευχην ποιησασθαι χιμαρων ες αυριον
Αι τριχιδες ει γενοιαθ' ἑκατον τȣ 'βολȣ [c].

When any one made a vow to offer up a number of goats, or oxen, the vow was to be performed at the expence of those poor animals: For which reason, the preposition κατα was very proper. This custom of sacrificing oxen, by way of thanksgiving for a victory, was, like all other follies, carried to an extravagant height by the Roman emperors, to one of whom the white oxen are supposed to have sent a Greek epistle, in which they are made to say, αν συ νικησεις, ἡμεις απολȣμεθα, *if you conquer, we die.*

74. Μυρσιλος ὁ Λεσβιος. This historian is quoted by many ancient authors,

[x] In Thal. c. 37. [y] P. ii. Geog. sacr. B. i. c. 12. [z] C. 27. [a] Genesis, c. xlii. ℣. 23. [b] C. 29. [c] εν Ιππευ. ℣. 657, 8, 9.

which

which I now do, only, that he does not call the people Pelaſgi, but Tyrrhenians, of which I ſhall, preſently, give the reaſon.

XXIV. When they heard the oracle was brought to them, they were at a loſs to gueſs at the meaning of it. While they were in this perplexity, one of the elders, conjecturing the ſenſe of it, told them, they were very much miſtaken, if they thought the gods complained of them without reaſon: That they had, indeed, rendered to the gods the firſt fruits of every thing with punctuality, and juſtice, except Thoſe of the human offspring, a thing, of all others, the moſt precious in the ſight of the gods, which yet remained due; and that, if the gods received their ſhare of this alſo, the oracle would be [75] fulfilled. Upon this, ſome were of opinion that he was in the right, others that there was treachery couched under his diſcourſe: But, ſomebody propoſing to aſk the god, whether he deſired to receive the tenths of the men, they ſent their prieſts a ſecond time, and the god ordered it ſhould be ſo. In conſequence of this, a ſedition aroſe among them concerning the manner of this decimation; and thoſe, who had the government of the cities, firſt quarrelled among themſelves; after that, the reſt of the people conceived a jealouſy of their magiſtrates. Thence, followed diſorders, and inſurrections, ſuch as might well be expected from a people, ſeized with a madneſs, inflicted by the hand of Heaven: Many houſes

but without any circumſtances, that can acquaint us, certainly, either with his writings, or the age, in which he lived.

[75] Τελος ἐξειν σφισι το λογιον. See the 56th annotation.

became,

became, intirely, abandoned, when, only, part of the inhabitants removed: For their relations were unwilling to [76] forſake their deareſt friends, and remain among their greateſt enemies. Theſe, therefore, were the firſt, who, leaving Italy, wandered about Greece, and many parts of the Barbarians country: After theſe, others did the ſame, and this continued every year. For the magiſtrates in the cities ceaſed not to ſelect the firſt fruits of the youth, as faſt as they arrived to manhood, deſiring to render what was due to the gods; and, at the ſame time, to free themſelves from thoſe, [77] who, lurking in the cities, were the moſt likely to raiſe tumults: Many, alſo, under ſpecious pretences, were ſent away by their enemies through hatred. So that, there were many [78] emigrations, and the nation of the Pelaſgi was ſcattered over the greateſt part of the earth.

XXV. They were ſuperior to many in the knowledge of military diſcipline, which they had acquired by [79] practiſing it in the midſt of dangers, while they lived among warlike

[76] Απολειπεσθαι των φιλτατων. The generality of the tranſlators have miſtaken the ſenſe of this paſſage: απολειπεσθαι τινος ſignifies *to forſake any one*, rather than *to be forſaken by others*. Many inſtances of which may be found in Xenophon, and other writers of the beſt authority.

[77] Και στασιασμους εκ των διαλαθοντων δεδιοτες. Here muſt be ſome error in the text. Sylburgius thinks it ought to be διαλαχοντων. This will certainly help the defect, but not cure it. I ſhould chuſe to read it thus: Και στασιασμους εκ των διαλαχοντων, και ουκ εκπεμφθεντων δεδιοτες.

[78] Επαναστασεις. Here Sylburgius, Portus, and Stephens, with great reaſon, read, απαναστασεις.

[79] Εκ τε μελα κινδυνων ποιεισθαι τας μελετας. In this, our author has imitated Thucydides, who, in ſpeaking of the experience, which the Lacedaemonians, and Athenians had acquired in military affairs, before they entered upon the Peloponneſian war, ſays, μελα κινδυνων τας μελετας ποιουμενοι [d].

[d] B. i. c. 18.

nations; and, by their cohabitation with the Tyrrhenians, became, intirely, maſters of ſea affairs: And, Neceſſity, alone ſufficient to give reſolution to thoſe in want, was their leader, and director in every dangerous enterpriſe. So that, whither ſoever they went, they conquered with eaſe: And the ſame people, from the name of the country, out of which they had been driven, and, alſo, in memory of their ancient extraction, were called by the reſt of the world, both Tyrrhenians, and Pelaſgi; which I have mentioned for this reaſon, that, when the poets, and hiſtorians call them Tyrrhenians, and Pelaſgi, none may wonder how the ſame people ſhould have both theſe names. For [80] Thucydides ſpeaks of them as living in that part of Thracia called Acte, and of the cities there as inhabited by men, who ſpoke two languages: He, then, makes mention of the Pelaſgian nation in the following manner: "There are ſome Chalcidians, but the greateſt "part are Pelaſgi, the ſame nation with the Tyrrhenians, "who, once, inhabited Lemnos, and Athens." And Sophocles makes the chorus, in his drama of [81] Inachus, ſpeak the following anapaeſtic verſes, "Father Inachus, ſon of the

[80] Θυκυδιδης. This paſſage of Thucydides relates to the expedition of Braſidas againſt the coaſt of Thrace, called *Acte:* The firſt part of which paſſage our author does not tranſcribe, but only gives the ſenſe of ſo much of it, as he thought neceſſary to his ſubject: The latter part of it he has tranſcribed in the manner, I ſuppoſe, he read it in his copy of that author. But, as there are ſome ſmall differences between the words, as he quotes them, and thoſe in the preſent editions of Thucydides, I ſhall lay the paſſage before the reader. [c] Και τι και Χαλκιδικον ενι βραχυ, το δε πλειστον, Πελασγικον των και Λημνον ποτε και Αθηνας Τυρσηνων οικησαντων.

[81] Εν Ιναχῳ. This tragedy of Sophocles is loſt.

[c] Thucyd. B. iv. c. 109.

"fountains

" fountains of old Ocean, who art held in great venera-
" tion in the ſtreets of Argos, and the hills of Juno, and
" among the Tyrrhene Pelaſgi." The name of Tyrrhenia was then known throughout Greece. And all the weſtern part of Italy was called even by that name; the ſeveral nations, of which it was compoſed, having loſt their reſpective appellations: The ſame thing happened to many parts of Greece; and, particularly, to that part of it, which is now called Peloponneſus: For the whole peninſula, in which are compriſed Arcadia, and Ionia, and many other nations, was called Achaia, from the Achaians, one of the nations, that inhabited it.

XXVI. However, the time, when the calamities of the Pelaſgi began, was about the ſecond generation before the Trojan war: But this people ſubſiſted, even, after that war, till their nation was reduced to a very inconſiderable number. For, beſides Croton, a town of ſome note in Umbria, and ſome others founded by the Aborigines, all the reſt of the Pelaſgian cities were deſtroyed. But Croton preſerved its ancient form a great while; neither is it long, ſince it changed both its name, and inhabitants; and is, now, a Roman colony, called Corthonia. After the Pelaſgi left the country, their cities were ſeized by many people, as each happened to live near them; but, chiefly, by the Tyrrhenians, who made themſelves maſters of the greateſt part, and the beſt, of them. Some are of opinion that the Tyrrhenians are natives of Italy; others, that they are foreigners: Thoſe, who maintain the firſt, ſay this name was given them

from the towers, which they built before any of the inhabitants of this country: For covered buildings, when fortified, are called by the Tyrrhenians, as well as by the Greeks, [82] Τυρσεις, *Towers*. From this incident, they will have it that they received their name, in like manner as the Moſynoeci in Aſia: For theſe, alſo, live in a kind of wooden towers, raiſed on high piles, which towers they call [83] Μοσσυνες.

XXVII. But thoſe, who, fabulouſly, affirm them to be foreigners eſtabliſhed there, ſay, that Tyrrhenus, who was the leader of the colony, gave his name to the nation: That he was a native of Lydia, and had, formerly, removed thither from the country, anciently, called Moeonia; and that he was the fifth from Jupiter: They ſay, further, that Manes was the ſon of Jupiter, and Terra, and the firſt king of that country; and that his ſon by Callirhoe, the daughter of Oceanus, was Cotys, who, by Alie, the daughter of earth-born Tullus, had two ſons, Aſies, and Atys; from the laſt of whom, by Callithea, the daughter of Choraeus, came Lydus, and Tyrrhenus; and that Lydus, remaining there, inherited his father's kingdom, from whom the country was called Lydia: But Tyrrhenus, who was the leader of the colony, conquered great part of Italy, and gave the name

[82] Τυρσεις. Τυρσις, πυργος, επαλξις, προμαχων. Heſychius. This word is uſed more than once, in this ſenſe, by Xenophon, in his expedition of Cyrus.

[83] Μοσσυνοικες· Μοσσυν, or Μοσυν. Πυργος. Heſychius. [f] Xenophon gives a very extraordinary account of theſe people.

[f] In. Κυρ. Αναβ. B. v. p. 393. Edit. of Hutchinſ.

of

of Tyrrhenians to his followers. However, [84] Herodotus ſays that Tyrrhenus was the ſon of Atys, who was the ſon of Manes, and that the Maeonians did not come, voluntarily, into Italy: For he ſays that, in the reign of Atys, there was a dearth in the country of the Maeonians: And that the inhabitants, from a fondneſs for their native country, contrived a great many methods to reſiſt this calamity: One day, they allowed themſelves but a moderate ſuſtenance; the next, they faſted: But, the miſchief continuing, they divided the people into two parts, who were to draw lots which ſhould go out of the country, and which ſhould ſtay in it: That one of the ſons of Atys ſtaid, and the other went forth; and that the [85] happier lot fell to that part of

[84] Ηροδοτῳ δε ειρηται. See his firſt book; chapter the 94th.

[85] Λαχυσης δε της αμα Λυδῳ μοιρας την αμεινω τυχην εκχωρησαι. Caſaubon has, with his uſual ſagacity, both diſcovered, and reformed the errors of this paſſage: He has, very juſtly, ſaid that εκχωρησαι can, by no means, be applied to the people under Lydus: He adviſes, therefore, to read the paſſage thus: Λαχυσης της αμα Λυδῳ μοιρας την μεν αμεινω τυχην, μειναι· εκχωρησαι δε την ἑτεραν, etc. or thus, λαχυσης δε της αμα Λυδῳ μοιρας την μεν τυ μενειν τυχην, εκχωρησαι δε την ἑτεραν. Either of theſe readings makes the ſentence agreeable to the reſt of this hiſtory. I ſhall, therefore adhere to the firſt part of Caſaubon's alteration; and ſupply the ſecond from the words of Herodotus, many of which it is plain our author has made uſe of in this relation. [g] Herodotus ſays, λαχοντας δε αυτων τυς ἑτερυς εξιεναι εκ της χωρης: Upon this foundation, I would read the whole ſentence thus: λαχυσης δε της αμα Λυδῳ μοιρας την μεν αμεινω τυχην, μειναι· εκ δε της χωρας την ἑτεραν εξιεναι απολαχυσαν των χρηματων τα μερη. This makes the ſenſe complete; and the reader will obſerve that the words I have inſerted, are thoſe of Herodotus: Beſides, by reading εκ δε της χωρας, inſtead of εκχωρησαι, there is little violence done to the text; and, as εκχωρησαι, according to the preſent reading, belongs to the former ſentence, there is a verb wanting in the latter to lead to the conſequence of απολαχυσαν, the ſenſe of which will, otherwiſe, be too much ſuſpended: And this verb is ſupplied by εξιεναι, the very word

[g] In Clio, c. 94.

the

the people, which was under Lydus, to remain in the country; and the other left it, after they had received that ſhare of their fortunes, which fell to them; and arrived on the weſtern parts of Italy, which were inhabited by the Umbri, where they remained, and built thoſe cities, that were in being, even, in his time.

XXVIII. I am ſenſible that ſeveral other authors, alſo, have given this account of the Tyrrhenians; ſome, in the ſame terms; others, changing both the name of the leader of the colony, and the time of their migration. For ſome have ſaid that Tyrrhenus was the ſon of Hercules, by Omphale, the Lydian; and that he, coming into Italy, diſpoſſeſſed the Pelaſgi of their cities, though not of all, but of thoſe only, that lay on the north ſide of the Tiber. Others ſay that Tyrrhenus was the ſon of Telephus; and that, after the taking of Troy, he came into Italy. But [86] Xanthus the Lydian, who was as much acquainted with ancient hiſtory as any man; and whoſe teſtimony [87] may be as much relied

made uſe of by Herodotus, which anſwers the other word, uſed immediately before, both by Herodotus, and our author, that is επ' εξοδῳ της χωρας. I find the former makes the king, who was Atys, place himſelf at the head of that part of the people, which was to ſtay at home, and his ſon Tyrrhenus, or Tyrſenus, as he calls him, at the head of That, which was to leave their country.

86. Ξανθος ὁ Λυδος. This Lydian hiſtorian was the ſon of Candaules, and a citizen of Sardes, the capital of Lydia, which was taken by the Ionians, and Athenians in his time, as Suidas ſays from Heſychius. This happened in the 3d year of the 70th olympiad, and the 4214th of the Julian period [h]. By this it appears that Xanthus writ before Herodotus.

87. Της δε παλαιης και βεβαιωτης αν ουδενος ὑποδεεστερος νομισθεις. Not one of the tranſlators has taken the leaſt notice of the potential word αν in rendering this paſſage; a word peculiar to the Greek language, and, very elegantly, made uſe of by our author upon this occaſion.

[h] Uſher, p. 93.

on

on in That of his own country, does not, in any part of his hiſtory, either name Tyrrhenus, as a prince of the Lydians, or know any thing of the arrival of a colony of Maeonians in Italy; neither does he make the leaſt mention of Tyrrhenia, as a Lydian colony, though he takes notice of ſeveral things of leſs importance: But ſays that Lydus, and Torebus were the ſons of Atys; that they, having divided the kingdom they had inherited from their father, remained both in Aſia, from whom, he ſays, the nations, over which they reigned, received their names; his words are theſe; "From Lydus, the Lydians, and, from Tore-"bus, the Torebi are ſo called. There is a little dif-"ference in their language, and they ſtill borrow many "words from one another, like the Ionians, and Dorians." Hellanicus, the Leſbian, ſays, that the Tyrrhenians, who were before, called Pelaſgi, received the name they are now known by after they had ſettled in Italy. Theſe are his words, in his Phoronis; "Phraſtor was the ſon of Pelaſgus, "their king, by Menippe the daughter of Peneus; his ſon "was Amyntor; Amyntor's Teutamides; whoſe ſon was "Nanas: In whoſe reign, the Pelaſgi were driven out of "their country by the Greeks; and, leaving their ſhips in the "river Spines in the Ionian gulph, took Croton, an inland "town; from whence, advancing, they [88] peopled the

[88] Την νυν καλουμενην Τυρρηνιαν εκλισαν. *Ils batirent la Ville, qu'on nomme Tyrrhenie*, ſays le Jay: I will not ſay that he has miſtaken the ſenſe of the word εκλισαν in this place, becauſe I dare ſay he never conſidered it at all; but applied himſelf, ſolely, to tranſlate the Latin of Portus, which he has miſunderſtood: *Eam, quae nunc Tyrrhenia vocatur, condiderunt*, does not ſignify *ils batirent la ville, qu'on nomme Tyrrhenie*, but, *ils peuplerent le pays, qu'on*

"country,

"country, now called, Tyrrhenia." But the account Myrſilus gives is the reverſe of That given by Hellanicus: The Tyrrhenians, ſays he, after they had left their own country, were, from their wandering, called Πελαργοι, that is, *Storks*, as reſembling, in that reſpect, the birds, called by that name, that come over in flocks both into Greece, and the country of the Barbarians; and he adds, that theſe people built the wall round the citadel of Athens, which is called the [89]Pelargian wall.

XXIX. But I look upon it that all thoſe, who take the Tyrrhenians, and the Pelaſgi to be one, and the ſame nation, are under a miſtake. It is no wonder they were, ſometimes, called by one another's names; ſince the ſame thing has happened to other nations alſo, both Greeks, and Barbarians; as to the Trojans, and Phrygians, who live near to one another: Both which nations many have thought to have been but one, differing in name only, not in reality. And, of all the nations, that have been confounded by being called by the ſame names, thoſe, that inhabit Italy, have not been

*nomme Tyrrhenie.* In this ſenſe, [i] Virgil has uſed the word *condo*,

*Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.*

Had le Jay been a little more ſkilled in geography, he would have known that there never was a city called Tyrrhenia; but, I imagine, he had a mind to build one. The other French tranſlator has rendered it very well.

89. Το Πελαργικον καλȣμενον. This muſt be the true reading, as Caſaubon has, very well, obſerved, who quotes the *Etymologicon magnum* to ſupport it. To which I ſhall add the authority of Ariſtophanes, who makes himſelf very merry with his countrymen for repreſenting Pallas all armed, and Cliſthenes with a ſhuttle,

Επ. Και πως αν ετι γενοιτ' αν ευτακτος πολις,
– Οπȣ θεος γυνη γεγονȣα, πανοπλιαν
Εςηκ' εχȣσα, Κλεισθενης δε κερκιδα;
ΠΕΙ. Τις δ'αν καθεξει της πολεως το Πελαργικον[k];

Upon which, the Greek ſcholiaſt, very juſtly, obſerves ὁτι Αθηνῃσι το Πελαργικον τειχος εν τῃ Ακροπολει.

[i] Virgil, Aen. i. ℣. 33.

[k] Εν ορνιθ. ℣. 830.

the

the leaſt ſo. For there was a time, when the Latines, the Umbri, the Auſones, and many others, were all called Tyrrhenians by the Greeks; the remoteneſs of the countries, inhabited by theſe nations, making the exact diſtinction of them obſcure to thoſe [90], who live at a diſtance: And many hiſtorians have taken Rome itſelf for a Tyrrhenian city. So that, I am perſuaded theſe nations changed their name, when they changed the place of their [91] abode; but cannot believe they had both the ſame origin, for this reaſon chiefly, among many others, that their languages are different, and preſerve not the leaſt reſemblance to one another. "For, "neither do the [92] Crotoniatae, ſays Herodotus, nor the

[90] Τοις πρόσω. This ſeems very like a tautology, which it was very eaſy to remove, by leaving out τοις πρόσω, as it is in the Vatican manuſcript, or τε πρόσω, as it ſtands in all the editions. But I have not allowed myſelf this liberty in tranſlating it, though I find the other tranſlators have not been ſo ſcrupulous.

[91] Επει και βιων. I do not think that an alteration in the manner of living of a people is ſufficient to give room for an alteration in their name: But a removal from one country to another may have this Effect. And this is the ſenſe I have given to βιος in this place: In which I am juſtified by the authority of the *Etymologicum magnum*, which gives this ſignification to the word among many others: βιος, και εν ω τις διαιτᾶται.

[92] Ουτε Κροτωνιαται. It appears, by comparing this quotation with the words of Herodotus, that our author contented himſelf with expreſſing his ſenſe without confining himſelf to his words. It is, therefore, no wonder that he ſhould call theſe people Κροτωνιαται, in vulgar Greek, inſtead of the Ionic Κρηςωνιηται in [l] Herodotus. It is plain that both Dionyſius, and Herodotus mean the inhabitants of Croton in Italy. So that, I ſee no reaſon to correct Herodotus from our author, notwithſtanding the authority of Glareanus, and Caſaubon, and even of [m] Cluver, who all contend for that correction. The reaſon given by the laſt for it, is, that Herodotus ſpeaks of a town in Thrace called Κρηςωνη in his ſeventh and eighth books. But this is a miſtake: For, in the ſeventh, Herodotus calls this town Κρηςωναιη, or, as the [n] Medicean manuſcript has it, Κρηςωνεη; and, in the eighth, he ſpeaks of χωρη Κρηςωνικη; but, in neither,

[l] In Clio, c. 57. [m] Ital. Antiq. B. ii. p. 575. [n] C. 127.

" Placiani, who ſpeak the ſame language, uſe the ſame with " any of their neighbours: By which, it appears that they " preſerve the ſame language they brought with them into " thoſe countries." However, it is [93] ſurpriſing that, notwithſtanding the Crotoniatae ſpoke the ſame language with the Placiani, who lived near the Helleſpont, ſince both were, originally, Pelaſgi, the language of the former ſhould be quite different from That of the Tyrrhenians, their neareſt neighbours: Becauſe, if conſanguinity is to be looked upon as the cauſe, why two nations ſpeak the ſame language, the contrary muſt occaſion their ſpeaking a different one: For there is no room to think that both theſe cauſes can produce the ſame effect. It may, indeed, be, reaſonably, ſuppoſed, that men of the ſame nation, living at a diſtance from one

does he call this town in Thrace [o] Κρηϛων, which is the name, he gives to this city in Italy a few lines before this paſſage quoted by our author.

[93] Καίτοι θαυμασειεν αν τις, etc. Both the French tranſlators have ſtruck upon the ſame rock in rendering this paſſage. The reader will obſerve that our author ſays the Placiani lived near the Helleſpont, in which he has followed [p] Herodotus. This circumſtance thoſe two tranſlators have not attended to, which has led them into the miſtakes they have committed. But I ſhall myſelf be guilty of a diſingenuity, leſs pardonable than a miſtake, if I cenſure them without tranſcribing their words. Thoſe of M * * * are as follows; *or ne ſeroit il pas ſurprenant que les Crotoniates et ceux de Placiene, qui habitent auprès du Peloponneſe, parlaſſent la même langue comme étant les uns et les autres Pelaſgues d'origine, et qu'au contraire ils en euſſent une toute differente de celle des Tyrrheniens leurs voiſins?* Here, this gentleman, firſt, makes the Placiani live near the Peloponneſe, when our author ſays they lived near the Helleſpont; and then, he makes the Tyrrhenians to be neighbours to the Crotoniatae, and the Placiani. Le Jay, in order to render his miſtake ſtill more conſpicuous, after mentioning the Crotoniatae, and the Placiani, calls the Tyrrhenians *voiſins des uns et des autres.*

[o] In Clio, c. 57.

[p] In Clio, c. 57.

another,

another, may, by converſation with their neighbours, no longer, preſerve the ſame dialect; but, it cannot be imagined that people of the ſame nation, living in the ſame country, ſhould not, in the leaſt, agree with one another in their language.

XXX. For this reaſon, therefore, I am perſuaded that the Tyrrhenians, and the Pelaſgi are a different people. However, I do not think the Tyrrhenians were a colony of the Lydians: For they do not uſe the ſame language with the latter; neither can it be alledged that, though they agree, no longer, in that reſpect, they, ſtill, retain ſome other indications of their mother country. For, they neither worſhip the ſame gods with the Lydians, nor make uſe of the ſame laws, or inſtitutions; but, in theſe, they differ more from the Lydians, than from the Pelaſgi: And thoſe ſeem to come neareſt to the truth, who do not look upon them as a foreign people, but as natives of the country; ſince they are found to be a very ancient nation, and to agree with no other, either in their language, or in their manner of living: And there is no reaſon why the Greeks may not be ſuppoſed to have called them by this name, both from their living in towers, and from the name of one of their kings. The Romans give them different appellations: For, from the country, they, once, inhabited, named Etrutria, they call them Etruſci; and, from their knowledge in the ceremonies relating to divine worſhip, in which they excel all others, they call them, at this time, though leſs accurately,

[94] Tuſci; but, formerly, with the ſame accuracy, as the Greeks, they called them Thyſcoi: However, they call themſelves from the name of one of their leaders, Razenua. But, I ſhall ſhew, in another place, what cities the Tyrrhenians inhabited; what forms of government they eſtabliſhed; how great [95] power the whole nation acquired; what actions, worthy of memory, they performed; and what fortune attended them. The Pelaſgi, therefore, who were not deſtroyed, or diſperſed in colonies, there being but few left out of a great many, remained in theſe parts, as fellow-citizens to the Aborigines; where, in proceſs of time, their poſterity, together with others, built the city of Rome. And this is the account hiſtory gives of the Pelaſgi.

XXXI. Soon after, another colony of Greeks landed on this part of Italy from [96] Pallantium, a town of Arcadia,

94. Απο της εμπειριας των περι τα θεια σεβασμαλα λειτεργιων. They called them Thuſci απο τυ θυειν. It is to be obſerved that the word Thuſci is oftener found in Roman inſcriptions without the aſper, than with it.

95. Δυναμιν τε ὁποσην οἱ συμπανλες. It is viſible that ſomething is wanting to complete the ſentence: For neither διεδεξανλο in the vulgar editions, nor διεπεραξανλο, in the Vatican manuſcript, which is much better, can be applied to this. I would, therefore read εκλησανλο, which the learned reader will, I believe, think not improper in this place. I am ſurpriſed that the commentators, who, often, labour points of leſs conſequence, have taken no notice of this.

96. Εκ Παλλανλιυ πολεως Αρκαδικης. [q] Pauſanias ſays that Antoninus Pius erected this village into a city in memory of the Arcadians, who came from thence, and ſettled on the ſpot, where the city of Rome was, afterwards, built; and that he granted to the citizens of Pallantium their liberties, and exempted them from paying tribute. He, further, ſays that the town, built by Evander and his people near the Tiber, afterwards, changed its name by the loſs of the two letters λ and ν. Which, by the way, ſhews the correctneſs of the Vatican manuſcript in a point, in which all the editions are faulty. M*** ſays that all the palaces of princes have taken their name from this town, for which he

[q] In Arcad. c. 43.

about

about threeſcore years before the Trojan war, as the Romans themſelves ſay. This colony had for its leader Evander, ſaid to have been the ſon of Mercury, and of ſome Arcadian nymph, whom the Greeks call Themis, and ſay ſhe was inſpired: But the writers of the Roman antiquities, call her, in the language of their country, [97] Carmenta, which implies the ſame as θεσπιωδος, in Greek, *a Propheteſs in verſe*. For the Romans call ᾠδας, *verſes*, Carmina. However, they agree that this woman, poſſeſſed by divine inſpiration, propheſied, in verſe, to the people of things to come. This colony was not ſent out by the common conſent of the nation; but, a ſedition having ariſen among the people, the faction, which was defeated, left the country of their own accord. Faunus, a deſcendant of Mars, happened, at that time, to have [98] inherited the kingdom of the Aborigines, a man, as it is

quotes Pliny, B. iv. c. 6. I have before me Harduin's [r] Pliny, and all I can find in that place are theſe words, *Palantium, unde Palatium Romae.*

97. Καρμενταν ονομαζουσιν. It appears by this, and many other paſſages in our author, that he, and Virgil derived their accounts from the ſame authorities. The latter makes Aeneas go to Evander to implore his aſſiſtance againſt the Rutuli. After Evander had promiſed to aſſiſt him, and given him an account of the ancient inhabitants of the country, he ſays [s],

*Me pulſum patriâ, pelagique extrema ſequentem*
*Fortuna omnipotens, et ineluctabile fatum*
*His poſuere locis: matriſque egere tremendâ*
*Carmentis nymphae monita, et deus auctor Apollo.*

I cannot omit taking notice of the truly poetical dreſs Virgil has given to a plain hiſtorical fact, *viz.* that Evander, and his Arcadians were ſettled in the very ſpot, where Rome, afterwards, ſtood,

*paſſimque armenta videbant*
*Romanoque foro, et lautis mugire carinis* [t].

98. Ετυγχανε δε τοτε την βασιλειαν των Αβοριγινων παρειληφως ὁ Φαυνος. M *** is the only one of all the tranſlators, who has not expreſſed the ſenſe of the word παρειληφως. Thoſe, who are well acquainted with the Greek language, know there is a great difference between λαμβανειν, and παραλαμβανειν; the firſt ſignifies *to receive* ſimply, and the other *to receive by inheritance*. In

[r] B. iv. c. 6. [s] Virgil, Aen. viii. ℣. 333. [t] ℣. 360.

ſaid,

ſaid, of activity, as well as prudence, whom the Romans, in their ſacrifices, and ſongs, honor, as one of the gods of their country. This man received the Arcadians, who were but few in number, with great friendſhip, and gave them as much of his own lands as they deſired. And the Arcadians, as Themis, by inſpiration, had adviſed them, choſe a hill, not far from the Tiber, which is, now, near the middle of the city of Rome; and, at the foot of this hill, built a ſmall village, ſufficient for the complements of the two ſhips, in which they came from Greece: This village was ordained by fate to excel, in proceſs of time, all other cities, whether Greek, or Barbarian, not only in its extent, and the majeſty of its empire, but, in every other inſtance of proſperity; and to be celebrated, above them all, as long as human nature ſhall ſubſiſt. This village they called Pallantium from their mother city in Arcadia: However, the Romans now call it Palatium, time having introduced this inaccuracy, which has given occaſion to many abſurd etymologies.

XXXII. But ſome have written, of whom Polybius the Megalopolitan is one, that it was called ſo, from a young man, named Palas, who died there; that he was the ſon of Hercules by Dyna, the daughter of Evander; and that his grandfather by the mother's ſide, having raiſed a monument for him on the hill, called the place Palantium from this

this laſt ſenſe, [n] Plato has uſed the word in the diſcourſe between Socrates, and Cephalus; where the former aſks the latter, πότερον, ω Κεφαλε, ὠν κεκλησαι τα πλειω παρελαβες, η επεκλησω.

[n] In πολιτ. B. i. p. 573.

youth.

youth. But I have never ſeen any monument of Palas at Rome, neither could I hear of any ſacrifices, or any thing of that nature, performed in memory of him; although this family is not unremembered, or without thoſe honors, with which divine natures are worſhipped by men: For I find that public ſacrifices are performed, yearly, by the Romans, to Evander, and Carmenta, in the ſame manner, as to the other heroes, and genius's; and I have ſeen two altars raiſed; one to Carmenta, under the Capitoline hill, near the Carmental gate; and the other to Evander, at the foot of another hill, called the Aventine hill, not far from the gate Trigemina. But I know of nothing of this kind done in honor of Palas. The Arcadians, therefore, being ſettled all together under the hill, planned houſes according to the manner of their country, and, alſo, built temples. And, firſt, they erected a temple to the Lycaean Pan, by the direction of Themis: For, among the Arcadians, [99] Pan is

[99] Αρκασι γαρ θεων αρχαιολαος τε και τιμιωλαος ὁ Παν. [w] The author of the hiſtory of Heaven derives the name of this god, who was worſhiped by the Egyptians at [x] Mendes, from an Hebrew word פנים *Panim*, ſignifying *maſks*, which the perſons, dreſſed like Fauns, uſed to hang upon trees after the proceſſions performed in honor of Bacchus. This etymology depends upon a ſuppoſed affinity between the Egyptian and Hebrew languages, which, I dare ſay, is, intirely, groundleſs: For, I think, I have convinced the reader, in a former [y] note, that theſe two nations did not underſtand one another. But, if we ſhould read the Hebrew word, which that author has brought to ſupport this extraordinary etymology, as my truly learned friend, Dr. Gregory Sharpe, in his curious diſſertation on the Hebrew language, ſays we ought to read it, what will become of this etymological word, *Panim?* For he plainly ſhews that, in all Hebrew words, where no vowel occurs, we ought to ſupply it by an ε. This he, very judiciouſly, confirms by reading קרא *a partridge*, *quera*, which all ſportſmen will ac-

[w] B. i. c. 17. [x] Herod. In Euterp. c. 46. [y] See 72d Ann.

the

the moſt ancient, and the moſt honoured of all the gods: Here they found a proper place for this purpoſe, which the Romans call the Lupercal, we ſhould call it [100] Λυκαιον, *Lycaeum*: But the ground about the temple, being, now, all built upon, the ancient diſpoſition of the place is not eaſy to be gueſſed at. However, there was, as it is ſaid, formerly, a vaſt [101] cavern under the hill, covered with a grove of ſpreading oaks; deep fountains iſſued from the foot of the

knowledge to be the call of that bird. Inſtead of *Panim*, therefore, it muſt be read, and written in Roman letters, *Penim*; and this, at once, deſtroys both the etymology, and the ſyſtem, that is built upon it. But there is another misfortune, that attends this etymology. [z] Herodotus tells us, that the Egyptian word *Mendes* ſignified both the god Pan, and *a goat*. And, for this reaſon, the Egyptian painters, and, after them, the Greek painters, repreſented Pan with the face and legs of a goat. By this, it is plain that Pan was not the Egyptian name of this god. Is it not, therefore, more natural to ſuppoſe the word to be what it, plainly, appears, a Greek word, and to denote the *univerſe*; and that the Greeks, and, particularly, the Arcadians, in adoring Pan, paid a moſt reaſonable worſhip to the great CREATOR and PRESERVER of *all things?*

100. Λυκαιον. It is very plain from this paſſage, as well as from many others in the beſt authors, that thoſe, who derive the word *Lupercal* from the wolf, that ſuckled Romulus, and Remus, are under a great miſtake. And, yet, I have met with this derivation in ſome authors, particularly, in Ovid, who ſays of this wolf [a],

*Illa loco nomen fecit; locus ipſe Lupercis.*
*Magna dati nutrix praemia lactis habet.*

It is true he gives the true etymology preſently after;

*Quid vetat Arcadio dictos a Monte Lupercos?*
*Faunus in Arcadiâ templa Lycaeus habet.*

There is no doubt but the Lycaean hill in Arcadia, on which, [b] Pauſanias ſays, the temple of Pan ſtood, gave name to the *Lupercal*, as, I dare ſay, the Lycaean games, there celebrated, gave occaſion to the Roman *Lupercalia*.

101. Σπηλαιον ὑπο τῳ λοφῳ μεγα, etc. The reader will obſerve this deſcription to be a little poetical. It ſeems to be introduced by our author to inliven his narration. Le Jay, and the two Latin tranſlators have contented themſelves with giving the naked ſenſe of it. The other French tranſlator has rendered it with greater vivacity.

[z] In Euterp. c. 46. [a] Faſtor. B. ii. ℣. 421. [b] In Arcad. c. 38.

rocks,

rocks, and the valley adjoining to the precipices was ſhaded with thick and ſtately trees. In this place, they raiſed an altar to this god, and performed a ſacrifice according to the cuſtom of their country, which the Romans offer up to this day, in the month of February, after the winter ſolſtice, without altering any thing in the rites then performed. The manner of this ſacrifice will be related afterwards: Upon the top of this hill, they ſet [102] apart a piece of ground, which they dedicated to Victory, and inſtituted annual ſacrifices to be offered up to her alſo, which the Romans perform, even, in my time.

XXXIII. The Arcadians, fabulouſly, ſay this goddeſs was the daughter of Palas, the ſon of Lycaon; and that ſhe received thoſe honors from mankind, which ſhe now enjoys, at the deſire of Minerva, with whom ſhe had been educated: For they ſay that Minerva, was delivered, as ſoon as ſhe was born, to Palas, by Jupiter, and that ſhe was brought up by him, till ſhe was received into Heaven. They built, alſo, a temple to Ceres, to whom, by the miniſtry of women,

[102] Το της νικης τεμενος εξελουϑες. I ſhould have imagined that εξελουϑες, which cannot be applied to *a temple*, might have taught Portus, and his follower, le Jay, that τεμενος, in this place, does not ſignify *a temple*. That it often has this ſignification cannot be denied: But the genuine ſenſe of the word, and the only one it can bear here, is *a place ſet apart, and conſecrated to victory*. Τεμενος is derived from τεμνω, which ſignification it preſerves, when it is uſed in the ſenſe our author has given it upon this occaſion. Τεμενος, πασα ὁ μεμερισμενος τοπος τινι εις τιμην. Heſychius. And this is the ſenſe, and the only ſenſe it can bear in the following paſſage of [c] Homer,

οφρ' αν αγοιεν
Δμωες Οδυσσηος ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ μεγα κοπρησονδες.

Sylburgius, and the other French tranſlator have rendered it very properly.

[c] Odyſ. ρ. ψ. 299.

they performed [103] ſacrifices without wine, according to the cuſtom of the Greeks; none of which rites have been changed by time to this day. Beſides, they dedicated a temple to the Hippian Neptune, and inſtituted a feſtival, called, by the Arcadians, Hippocratia, and, by the Romans, [104] Conſualia, during which, it is cuſtomary among the latter, for the horſes, and mules to reſt from work, and to have their heads crowned with flowers. They, alſo, conſecrated many other temples, altars, and images of the gods; and inſtituted purifications, and ſacrifices, according to the manner of their own country, which, at this time, are performed without any alteration. But I ſhould not wonder if ſome

[103]. Νηφαλιοι θυσιαι. Theſe ſacrifices were performed wi hout any libations of wine, from whence they had their name. There is a paſſage in the Oedipus Coloneus of Sophocles, which, with the obſervation of the ſcholiaſt upon it, will ſerve to clear up this ſentence.

ȣ γαν αν ποτε
Πρωταισιν ὑμων αντεκυρσ' ὁδοιπορων
Νηφων αοινοις [d].

Upon which, the ſcholiaſt ſays, he calls the Eumenides αοινȣς, ὁτι ȣ σπενδεται οινος αυταις, αλλ' ὑδωρ· διο και νηφαλιαι καλȣνται αἱ σπονδαι αυτων. After this explanation of νηφαλιοι θυσιαι, the reader, I believe, will wonder as much as myſelf to find this paſſage tranſlated by le Jay, *des ſacrifices qui n'étoient point ſuivis de repas.*

[104]. Κωνσȣαλια ὑπο Ρωμαιων λεγομενα. Theſe were, afterwards, called [e] *Ludi Circenſes*, after the Circus was built by Tarquinius Priſcus: They are, generally, ſuppoſed to have been inſtituted by Romulus, after the raviſhment of the Sabine women. Though it is very poſſible that he might only revive them. Every one, who has read the hiſtory of the Roman emperors, muſt know with what magnificence theſe games were celebrated, and what heats the fondneſs for this, or that faction (that was the term) created among the ſpectators. It is thought that the chariot races, inſtituted by Oenomaus at [f] Elis, gave the firſt riſe to theſe Circenſian games. But, as thoſe races were, alſo, celebrated in [g] Arcadia ſo early as the funeral of Azan, the ſon of Arcas, the fourth king of that country; and, as Evander was an Arcadian, it is very probable that he inſtituted theſe games in Italy after Thoſe of his own country.

[d] ỳ. 98. [e] Val. Max. B. ii. c. 4. [f] Pauſanias in Eliac. c. 10. [g] Id. in Arcad. c. 4.

of

of theſe ceremonies, from their great antiquity, were neglected, and forgotten by their poſterity. However, thoſe that are ſtill practiſed, are ſufficient proofs of the cuſtoms, formerly, in uſe among the Arcadians, of which we ſhall ſpeak more at large in another place. The Arcadians are ſaid, alſo, to have been the firſt, who brought into Italy the uſe of [105] Greek letters, which had, lately, appeared among them, and inſtrumental muſic, performed on the Lyre, and thoſe inſtruments, called the [106] Trigon, and the Lydian: For

[105] Γραμμάτων Ελληνικων χρησιν. This ſubject will be treated at large in the forty firſt annotation on the fourth book. In the mean time, it is not poſſible for me to paſs by the tranſlation le Jay has given us of this paſſage: His brethren of Trevoux will, I believe, find great difficulty to interpret away the abſurdity of it: Theſe are his words: *On dit qu'ils ont apporté les premiers en Italie l'uſage de la langue Grecque, qui pour eux meſmes eſtoit alors toute nouvelle.* Nothing can be plainer than that our author ſays the Arcadians brought *the Greek letters*, and not *the Greek language*, into Italy. Has he not ſaid often enough that the Aborigines, who were Greeks, came into Italy many generations before Evander, and that the Pelaſgi, who were, alſo, Greeks of Peloponneſus, came into Italy ſome generations before Evander? And, yet, if we believe le Jay, none of theſe Greeks brought their language into Italy; becauſe, I ſuppoſe, theſe Greeks could not ſpeak Greek: Nay, the Arcadians themſelves under Evander, according to him, had but juſt learned their language, before they came into Italy. I wiſh I knew what language theſe Greeks ſpoke before they learned Greek. What would Dionyſius have ſaid, could it have been poſſible for him to know that his judicious, learned, and elegant hiſtory would, one day, be, thus wretchedly, mangled by a man, who has been celebrated with all the power of partial eloquence for his tranſlation of it?

[106] Τριγωνα και Λυδοι. The firſt of theſe muſical inſtruments is mentioned by Pollux: So that, we have reaſon to look upon this as the true reading. As to the other, Caſaubon refers us to the following verſe of Ion, mentioned by [h] Athenaeus, and ſays no more of it:

Λυδος τε μαγαδις αυλος ηγειθω βοης.

I am the more inclined to think Λυδος the name of this inſtrument, becauſe [i] Athenaeus ſays, in another place, that the Peloponneſians were taught muſic

[h] B. xiv. c. 8.

[i] Ib. c. 5.

the ſhepherd's pipe was the only muſical invention then, in uſe. They are ſaid, alſo, to have inſtituted laws; to have brought mankind over from the ſavageneſs, which, then, generally, prevailed, to a ſenſe of humanity; and likewiſe, to have introduced arts, and ſciences, and many other things conducive to the public good: And, for theſe reaſons, they were very much cheriſhed by thoſe, who had received them. This was the ſecond Greek nation, that came into Italy after the Pelaſgi; and, living in common with the Aborigines, fixed their habitation in the beſt part of Rome.

XXXIV. A few years after the Arcadians, another colony of Greeks came into Italy, under the command of Hercules, then returned from the conqueſt of Spain, and of thoſe parts, that extend to the weſtern ocean; ſome of his followers, deſiring Hercules to diſmiſs them from his ſervice, remained in this country; and built a town on a hill, proper for that purpoſe, diſtant from Pallantium about three ſtadia. This is now called the Capitoline hill, but, by the men of that time, the Saturnian, and, in Greek, it may be called the Cronian, hill. The greateſt part of thoſe, who ſtaid behind, were Peloponneſians, Pheneatae, and Epeii of Elis, who were, no longer, deſirous to return home, becauſe their country

by the Phrygians, and Lydians, who followed Pelops into Peloponneſus. As to the muſic expreſſed by theſe inſtruments, it would be a vain thing to inquire into it; becauſe the muſicians, in all ages, have been great innovators, and were, ever, inventing new inſtruments, and new taſtes; which made Anaxilas ſay that muſic, like Africa, was every year, producing ſome new monſter:

Η μουσικη, δ'ωσπερ Λιβυη, τερος των θεων,
Αει τι καινον καλ' ενιαυσιον τικτει θηριον.

had

had been laid waſte in the war againſt Hercules. Some Trojans, likewiſe, were mixed with theſe, who, in the reign of Laomedon, had been taken priſoners at Ilium, when Hercules made himſelf maſter of that city. And I am of opinion that all the reſt of the army, alſo, who were either tired out with labor, or weary with wandering, having obtained a diſmiſſion, remained here. Some think this hill had, anciently, the ſame name, as I have ſaid, and that the Epei were very well pleaſed with the ſituation in memory of the Cronian hill in Elis, which ſtands in the Piſaean country, near the river Alpheus; and which the Elei look upon as conſecrated to Saturn; and, aſſembling together at certain times, they honour it with ſacrifices, and other marks of reverence. But [107] Euxenus, an ancient poet, and ſome other Italian mythologiſts, are of opinion that the name was given to the place by the Piſaei themſelves, from its likeneſs to their Cronian hill; that the Epeii, together with Hercules, erected the altar to Saturn, which remains, to this day,

[107] Ευξενος. I think Lapus was in the right in reading Εννιος inſtead of Ευξενος, though I find [k] Voſſius is of another opinion. However, I do not only think that Ennius was the ancient poet here meant by our author, but that the following paſſage in Ennius is the very place he alludes to;

*Saturnius illi*
*Nomen erat, de quo late Saturnia terra.*

All authors agree that Saturnus reigned in Italy; and that, in his reign, his ſubjects enjoyed great proſperity, which gave occaſion to the poets to call that aera the golden age:

*Aureaque, ut perhibent, illo ſub rege fuere*
*Saecula; ſic placidâ populos in pace regebat,*

ſays [l] Virgil, who, every where, ſhews he was, perfectly, verſed in the antiquities of his country. It is no wonder, therefore, that the ſubjects of Saturnus, in gratitude for the happineſs they enjoyed under his beneficent government, ſhould give his name to their country.

[k] De hiſt. Graec. B. iii. p. 368.

[l] Aeneid B. viii. ℣. 324.

at

at the foot of the hill near the aſcent, that leads from the Forum to the Capitol; and that they inſtituted the ſacrifice, which the Romans, even at this time, perform after the manner of the Greeks. But, from the beſt conjectures I have been able to make, I find that, even before the arrival of Hercules in Italy, this place was conſecrated to Saturn, and called, by the people of the country, the Saturnian hill; and all the reſt of the coaſt, which is, now, called Italy, was conſecrated to this god, and, by the inhabitants, called Saturnia, as may be ſeen in the Sibylline books, and other oracles delivered by the gods: And, in many parts of the country, there are temples dedicated to this god, and many cities bear the ſame name, by which the whole coaſt was known at that time: And ſeveral places are called by the name of that god, particularly rocks, and eminences.

XXXV. But, in proceſs of time, it was called Italy, from Italus, [108] a man of great power; who, according to Antiochus, the Syracuſian, being both a wiſe and good prince, and, having prevailed on ſome of his neighbours by his eloquence, and ſubdued the reſt by force, he made himſelf

[108] Επ' ανδρος δυναϛε. Both the Latin tranſlators have rendered επι in this place, as if it ſignified *in the time*, or *under the reign*, as επι Αλεξανδρε, *in Alexander's reign*; and, to expreſs this ſenſe of the prepoſition, they have both ſaid, *ſub viro praepotente*. But they ought to have conſidered that Dionyſius often imitates Herodotus in the uſe of this word, who almoſt always writes επι for απο. They have, alſo, miſled M * * *, who, in his marginal note, ſays, *ou ſous le regne d'un prince*. The Latin tranſlators might have conſidered how [m] Virgil has expreſſed himſelf in ſpeaking of the ſame thing:

*nunc fama minores*
*Italiam dixiſſe, ducis* de *nomine, gentem.*

[m] Aeneid. B. iii. ℣. 165.

maſter

maſter of all that country, which lies between the [109] Lametine and Scylletic bays; which part, he ſays, was the firſt, that was called Italy from Italus. After he had poſſeſſed himſelf of this tract, and had many ſubjects under his command, he, immediately, aimed at ſubduing thoſe nations, that lay contiguous, and united many cities under his government; he ſays, alſo, that Italus was an Oenotrian. But Hellanicus, the Leſbian, ſays, that, when Hercules was driving Geryon's cows to Argos, and, already, in Italy, a calf left the herd; and, running away, wandered over all that coaſt; and that it ſwam over the intermediate ſtreight, and went into Sicily; that Hercules, following the calf, inquired of the inhabitants wherever he came, if they had ſeen it; and that they, underſtanding but little Greek, and, from the deſcription he gave them of the animal, calling it by the name of [110] Vitulus, by which it is ſtill known, he, from that animal, called all the country the calf had wandered over, Vitalia; and he adds, that it is no wonder the name has been changed by time, ſince the like alteration has, alſo, happened to

[109] Τὸ τε Ναπητινὸν καὶ τὸ Σκυλλήτινον. [a] Cluver, plainly, ſhews that we muſt read Λαμητῖνον and Σκυλλητικὸν: The firſt gulph, here mentioned by our author, begins at the promontory, anciently, called Lametum, or Lampetes, from a neighbouring city, that was called by both theſe names: This promontory, he ſays, is now called *Capo Sovano*; and, from thence, the κόλπος Λαμητῖνος, now called, *Golfo di S. Eufemia*, extends to another foreland, called, *Portus Herculis*. Here the Scylletic gulph begins, and reaches to the promontory, anciently, called Scyllaeum, now, *Coda della Volpe*.

[110] Οὐίτλον. Timaeus, according to [c] Varro, ſays that, in ancient Greece, bulls were called Ἰταλοί: *Graecia enim antiqua (ut ſcribit Timaeus) tauros vocabat* Ἰταλούς. Our author had great reaſon to reject this etymology of Hellanicus, and to conclude that Italy received its name from Italus.

[a] In Ital. Ant. B. iv. p. 1290, and 1294.

[c] Varro de re ruſt. B. ii. c. 5.

many

many Greek names. But, whether, as Antiochus ſays, the country took this name from a commander, which, perhaps, is the moſt probable; or, according to Hellanicus, from the calf, yet, this, at leaſt, is manifeſt from both their accounts, that, in Hercules time, or very little before, it was called Italia: For, before this, the Greeks called it Heſperia, and Auſonia, and the people of the country, Saturnia, as I ſaid before.

XXXVI. There is another fable related by the inhabitants, that, before Jupiter's reign, Saturn was king of this country, and that the celebrated age in his reign, [111] abounding in the produce of every ſeaſon, was enjoyed by none more than by them. And, indeed, if any one, ſetting aſide the fabulous part of this account, will examine the merit of any particular country, from which mankind, immediately after their birth, received the greateſt enjoyments, whether they ſprung from the earth, according to the ancient tradition, or were formed by any other means, he will find none more beneficent to them than this. For, if we compare one country with another of the ſame extent, in my opinion, Italy is the beſt, not only of Europe, but even of all others. Though I am not ignorant, that I ſhall not be believed by many, when they reflect on Egypt, Libya, Babylonia, and many other [112] fruitful countries. But I do not confine the

[111] Βιος ἁπασι δαψιλης, ὁποσοις ὡραι φυσσιν. Thus has le Jay tranſlated this paſſage; *ces Siecles ſi connus, et ſi fortunez, pendant leſquels toutes les ſaiſons de l'année produiſoient une égale abondance.* It is hard to ſay which is moſt extraordinary, ſuch an age, or ſuch a tranſlation.

[112] Χωροι ευδαιμονες. If, by *felicitas*, the Latin tranſlators meant *fertility*, richneſs

richneſs of the ſoil to one ſort of fruits; neither am I fond of living in a place, where there are, only, fat arable lands, and nothing, or little elſe, uſeful: But I look upon that country, as the beſt, which is the moſt ſelf-ſufficient, and, generally, ſtands leaſt in need of foreign commodities: Now, I am perſuaded that Italy enjoys this univerſal fertility, and plenty of every thing uſeful beyond any other country in the world.

XXXVII. [113] For it contains a great deal of good arable land, without wanting wood, like a corn-country: On the

which I much doubt, they have rendered εὐδαίμονες properly. It is plain le Jay did not think they took the word in that ſenſe; becauſe he has tranſlated it, *lieux ſi célébres par les délices qu'on y goute.* That εὐδαίμων, when applied to a country, or to land, ſignifies *fertil*, will not be doubted by any one, who has read the beſt Greek authors, particularly, the poets; and this ſenſe of the word, the Latin writers have, from them, given to *felix*; a remarkable inſtance of which we have in Virgil; who, in deſcribing the fertility of valleys, derives the cauſe of that fertility from the waters, which, in falling from the neighbouring hills, convey into thoſe valleys a fertiliſing ſoil; a circumſtance which all our farmers are very well acquainted with:

*At quae pinguis humus, dulcique uligine laeta,*
*Quique frequens herbis et fertilis ubere campus,*
*Qualem ſaepe cavâ montis convalle ſolemus*
*Deſpicere: huc ſummis liquuntur rupibus amnes,*
Felicemque *trahunt limum*[p].

Upon which, Servius ſays very well, *id eſt, fertilem.* The other French tranſlator has rendered it very properly. But, if there could be any doubt whether our author uſed the word in this ſenſe, that doubt would be cleared up by what he ſays in the next ſentence.

[113] Οὐ γὰρ ἀρούρας ἔχει ἀγαθὰς, etc. This deſcription of Italy is very much laboured: The thoughts are ſo juſt, and the expreſſions ſo cloſe, that I am apt to believe it coſt our author ſome pains: I am ſure it coſt me a great deal to tranſlate it; neither can I ſay I have ſatisfied myſelf; much leſs, I fear, have I ſatisfied the learned reader, after he has compared it with the original. The Latin tranſlators have given the ſenſe of it, and that is all. Le Jay has made a florid period, and given us ſomething like the author's ſenſe in very good language. The other French tranſlator has given the whole ſenſe; but as he has made three periods of one, the cloſeneſs of the

[p] Virgil, Georg. B. ii. ℣. 184.

other ſide, the ſoil is proper for all ſorts of trees, without being reduced to a ſcarcity of corn, like a wood-land; or, by yielding plenty of both, rendered unfit for paſture: Neither can it be ſaid that it is rich in corn, wood, and paſture, yet unpleaſant to live in; but abounds, as I may ſay, in all ſorts of delights, and advantages. To what corn-country, [114] watered, not with rivers, but with rains from Heaven, do the plains of Campania yield; in which I have ſeen land, that bears, even, [115] three crops in a year,

deſcription is loſt in the length of it. The reader will obſerve that I have extended the ſignification of πολυκαρπος to *wood*, as well as *corn*, in order to make this part as comprehenſive as the other, which our author, certainly, deſigned.

[114] Α δομενης. Thus I read it, after the Vatican manuſcript, inſtead of αρδομενα. The Latin tranſlators, who had never ſeen this manuſcript, are to be excuſed: But the French tranſlators, who both tranſlated, as they themſelves ſay, from Hudſon's edition, in which the readings of this manuſcript are all along ſet down at the foot of every page, will not, I believe, be, ſo eaſily, excuſed for having preferred a reading that, viſibly, takes off from the merit of Campania, which our author is here commending. In the firſt place, there is ſcarce any country, which is not a fen, or recovered from a fen, like Holland, that is watered with more rivers, than Campania. And ſecondly, I deſire the reader's opinion, whether our author would have omitted this circumſtance ſo favorable to the country he recommends, and have given it to Thoſe with which he compares it. Every one who has travelled in the ſummer through hot countries, that are not well watered with rivers, muſt remember how the corn languiſhed, the graſs was burnt up, and the cattle pined for want both of food, and water. With theſe countries, therefore, our author compares Campania, and aſks very juſtly; To what corn-countries, that are watered, only with rains, and not with rivers, do the plains of Campania yield?

[115] Τριακαρπους αρουρας. No Engliſh farmer would believe that any land could bear three crops in a year; and yet there are no farmers in the world, who underſtand agriculture better, or practiſe it with greater ſucceſs. However, [q] Strabo ſays the ſame thing, nay more, of the Campanian plains: For he ſays that ſome of them, even bear a fourth crop of cabbages, and other things of that nature. If Campania is ſo fertil, how comes it to paſs that we, frequently, ſend corn thither? —The ſoil is not changed, but the government is.

[q] B. v. p. 372.

bringing,

bringing, ſucceſſively, to perfection the winter, ſummer, and autumnal grain? To what olive-grounds are Thoſe of the Meſapii, the Daunii, the Sabines, and many others, inferior? To what vineyards, Thoſe of Tyrrhenia, Alba, and Falernus; where the ſoil is, wonderfully, kind to vines, and, with the leaſt labor, produces plenty of the fineſt grapes? Beſides the land, that is cultivated, Italy abounds in paſtures for ſheep, and goats; yet more extenſive, and more wonderful are Thoſe aſſigned to horſes, and neat cattle: For, not only the marſh, and meadow graſs, which is very plentiful, but the infinite quantity of That, growing in [116] uncultivated places, on which the cattle feed in ſummer, by being dewy, and moiſt, preſerves them, always, in good condition. But, above all theſe things, the woods, growing upon precipices, in vallies, and on uncultivated hills, are moſt worthy of admiration; from which, the inhabitants are, abundantly, ſupplied with [117] fine timber for the building of ſhips, and for all other works. Neither are any of theſe materials hard to be come at, or at a diſtance from common uſe, but eaſy

116. Των δε οργαδων. To this word the two Latin tranſlators, and M * ** (for le Jay has left it out) have given the ſenſe of *cultivated lands*, which, I think, it will not bear in this place; becauſe the graſs, growing on arable lands, in ſo hot a climate as That of Italy, can never be called, with any propriety, δροσερα και καλαρρυλος, *dewy and moiſt*; but That growing in uncultivated places under the ſhade of buſhes, and trees, may, very well, be called ſo. And I ſhall produce a very great authority to ſhew that οργας ſignifies *uncultivated places overgrown with buſhes and trees.* Οργας καλειται τα λοχμωδη και ορεινα χωρια, και ΟΥΚ ΕΠΕΡΓΑΖΟΜΕΝΑ. Οθεν και η Μεγαρικη οργας προσωνομασθη, τοιαυλη τις υσα, περι ης επολεμησαν Αθηναιοι Μεγαρευσι. Harpocration; who quotes Demoſthenes, περι συλαξεως; where it is plain that he uſes the word in this ſenſe.

117. Και καλης ναυπηγησιμυ. Caſaubon has obſerved that υλης is wanting to complete the ſenſe: But I think it may, very well, be underſtood.

to be employed, and all ready at hand; which is owing to the multitude of rivers, that water all that coaſt; and make the carriage, and exchange of every thing the country produces, very convenient. Springs, alſo, of hot waters have been diſcovered in many places, affording moſt pleaſant baths, and of ſovereign uſe in chronical diſtempers. There are [118] mines of all ſorts, plenty of wild beaſts for hunting, and variety of ſea-fiſh; beſides innumerable other things, ſome uſeful, and others worthy of admiration: But the moſt advantageous of all, is the happy temper of the air, ſuiting itſelf to every ſeaſon: So that, neither the formation of fruits, nor the conſtitution of animals are, in the leaſt, injured by exceſſive cold, or heat.

XXXVIII. It is no wonder, therefore, that the ancients looked upon this country, as conſecrated to Saturn, ſince they eſteemed this god to be the [119] giver, and accompliſher of all happineſs; whether he ought to be called Cronos, with the Greeks, or Saturnius, with the Romans: But, by which

118. Μέταλλα παντοδαπα. It is well known that μέταλλον, in Greek, and *metallum* in Latin, ſignify both *the mine*, and *the metal*. The French tranſlators have taken the word in the laſt ſenſe; I have taken it in the firſt.

119. Πασης ευδαιμονιας δοτηρα και πληρωτην. M*** aſks, how this agrees with the poets, and aſtrologers, who thought that Saturn, and the planet, which bears his name, were the cauſe of evil. To this I anſwer, that our author was neither a poet, nor an aſtrologer, but an hiſtorian; who, with great reaſon, thinks himſelf obliged to inform his readers of the traditions, which prevailed among the people, whoſe hiſtory he writes. I have, in a former note, ſhewn that Saturn was a king of Italy, under whoſe reign his ſubjects enjoyed ſo great a degree of happineſs, that their poſterity looked upon that aera, as the golden age. We muſt, certainly, read Cronos in the firſt part of the following ſentence, and Saturnius in the laſt; becauſe our author told us, a little before, that Cronos was called by the people of Italy, *Saturnius*.

name

name ſoever he is called, he comprehends univerſal nature: It is no wonder, I ſay, if the ancients, ſeeing this country abounding with univerſal plenty, and every charm mankind are fond of; and, judging thoſe places the moſt proper to be conſecrated both to divine and human natures, which are moſt agreeable to them, dedicated the mountains and woods to Pan; the meadows and green lawns to the nymphs; the ſhores, and iſlands to the ſea-gods; and all other places, that were moſt agreeable to each deity. It is ſaid, alſo, that the ancients ſacrificed human victims to Saturn, as it was practiſed at Carthage, while that city ſubſiſted; and among the Celti, at this day, and other weſtern nations: And, that [120] Hercules, deſiring to aboliſh the uſe of this ſacrifice, erected the altar upon the Saturnian hill, and inſtituted a ſacrifice of unſtained victims burning on a pure fire. And, leſt the inhabitants ſhould make it a matter of conſcience to neglect the ſacrifices of their country, he directed them to appeaſe the anger of the god, by making images, reſembling the men they uſed to tie hand and foot,

120. Ηρακλεα δε, etc. [r] Plutarch, alſo, attributes this inſtitution to Hercules, who, by this means, put an end to that deteſtable cuſtom of ſacrificing human victims; and adds, that the Romans called theſe pageants, *Argivi*; either becauſe the Barbarians, who lived in thoſe parts, called all the Greeks, *Argivi*, and put as many of them to death in this manner, as they could take; or, becauſe the Arcadians, under Evander, retaining their ancient enmity, againſt their neighbours, the *Argivi*, called thoſe pageants by that name. If any thing can be ridiculous in cruelty, the method of ſacrificing human victims by the *Albani* muſt be ſo. [s] Strabo ſays, that the high-prieſt of Albania, a country near the Caſpian ſea, pampered a man during a whole year; and, having anointed him with precious oil, he ſacrificed him, with other victims, to the moon, who, it ſeems, was their favorite goddeſs.

[r] In Rom. Quaeſt. [s] B. ii. p. 768.

and

and throw into the Tiber; and, dreſſing them in the ſame manner, to throw them into the river, inſtead of men; to the end that, if any ſcruple remained in their minds, it might be removed, the reſemblance of the ancient tragical ſcene being ſtill preſerved. This ceremony the Romans perform, even, to this day, a little after the vernal aequinox, on the ides of May; which day they account the middle of the month: On which, after the uſual ſacrifices, the pontifs, who are the moſt conſiderable of their order, together with the virgins, who have the care of the perpetual fire, the praetors, and ſuch of the citizens as are allowed to aſſiſt at theſe rites, throw, from the holy bridge, into the river Tiber, thirty pageants, reſembling men, which they call Argivi. But, concerning the ſacrifices, and the other rites, which the Roman people perform, according to the manner both of the Greeks, and of their own country, we ſhall ſpeak in another place. At preſent, it ſeems requiſite to give a more particular account of the arrival of Hercules in Italy, and to omit nothing worthy of notice that he performed there.

XXXIX. The relations, concerning this god, are, partly fabulous, and, partly true. The fabulous account of his arrival, is this; that Hercules, being commanded by Euryſtheus, among other labors, to drive Geryon's cows from Erythea to Argos, performed the work; and, having paſſed through many places of Italy in his return home, came, alſo, into that part of the country of the Aborigines, which lies near Pallantium: Where, finding a great deal of fine paſture for his cows, he let them graſe; and, being oppreſſed

oppreſſed with labor, laid himſelf down to ſleep. In the mean time, a robber of that country, whoſe name was Cacus, happened to ſee the cows feeding without a keeper, and longed to have them: But, ſeeing Hercules lie there aſleep, he imagined he could not drive them all away without being diſcovered; and, at the ſame time, ſaw the thing would be attended with great difficulty: So, he ſecreted a few of them in a cave hard by, in which he lived, dragging each of them thither by the tail, [121] contrary to the natural gait of animals. This might have concealed all proof of the theft, as the way he dragged them, appeared contrary

121. Εμπαλιν της καλα φυσιν τοις ζωοις πορειας. M*** has thought fit to leave out theſe words, and the reaſon he gives for it, is, that the phraſe is uſeleſs, and would be inexcuſable in a Latin author; but may be excuſed in Dionyſius by reaſon of the copiouſneſs of the Greek language; and his diffuſed ſtyle. But I can no more agree with him in the excuſe he makes for our author, than in the fault he imputes to him. For, in my opinion, the copiouſneſs of a language can be no excuſe to a writer for introducing uſeleſs phraſes. But I, greatly, ſuſpect that the Latin tranſlation of Sylburgius, and not the Greek text, gave that gentleman reaſon to think this phraſe uſeleſs. Sylburgius has rendered εμπαλιν, *averſas*, and then adds, *contra ſolitum animalium inceſſum*. After M*** had tranſlated *averſas*, *à reculons*, I do not wonder he looked upon what follows as not deſerving to be tranſlated. But I doubt not to convince the reader that εμπαλιν does not ſignify *à reculons*; and that it is not an adverb, but a prepoſition in this place, and, elegantly, joined with a genitive caſe, and governs της πορειας: If it does not, I would fain know what does. I ſay, then, that εμπαλιν here ſignifies *contrary*, which I ſhall prove from a ſimilar phraſe in Herodotus, who tells us, that he inquired of the Egyptian prieſts, what might occaſion the Nile to overflow its banks in the ſummer, and to run low in the winter; and, by what power, that river was of a nature *contrary* to That of other rivers. Ισορεων αυλος ηϊλινα δυναμιν εχει ὁ Νειλος τα ΕΜΠΑΛΙΝ πεφυκεναι των αλλων πόλαμων. Both [t] Livy, and [w] Virgil relate this adventure of Cacus, the firſt with all the elegance of an hiſtorian, and the other with all the power of poetry.

[t] In Euterp. c. 19. [u] B. i. c. 7. [w] B. viii. ℣. 194.

to

to the traces of their feet. But Hercules, ariſing from ſleep ſoon after; and, having counted the cows, and found how many were miſſing, he was, for ſome time, at a loſs to gueſs whither they were gone; and, ſuppoſing them to have ſtrayed from paſture, he ſought them all over the country: But, not finding them, he came to the cave, and, though he was ſo far [122] deceived by the traces, as not to rely much on their being there, he determined, nevertheleſs, to ſearch the place. But Cacus ſtood before the door, and, when Hercules inquired after the cows, denied he had ſeen them; and, when he deſired to ſearch the cave, would not ſuffer him to do it; but called upon his neighbours for aſſiſtance, complaining of the violence offered to him by a ſtranger. Upon this, Hercules found himſelf in great perplexity; however, he thought of an expedient, which was to drive the reſt of the cows to the cave. When thoſe within heard the well known voice, and perceived the ſmell, of their companions, they bellowed to them again, and their voice diſcovered the theft. Cacus, therefore, when his robbery was thus brought to light, put himſelf upon his defence, and called out to his fellow-ſhepherds. But, Hercules, in a rage, killed him with his club, and drove out the cows; when, finding the cave a convenient receptacle for thieves, he demoliſhed it, and [123] buried the robber under its ruins. Then, having purified himſelf in the river from

[122] Διαβλωμενος· Εξαπαλωμενος. Suidas; who quotes this very paſſage to ſupport that ſenſe of the word.

[123] Επικαλασπαπλει τῳ κλωπι. I have followed the Vatican manuſcript, becauſe I do not think it very probable that Hercules ſhould demoliſh this cave with a ſhepherd's crook.

the

the murder, he erected an altar near the place to Jupiter the diſcoverer, which is now at Rome, near the gate Trigemina, and ſacrificed a calf to the god, in acknowledgment for his having found his cows. This ſacrifice the Romans perform, even, at this day; in which, they obſerve all the ceremonies of the Greeks, in the manner he inſtituted them.

XL. When the Aborigines, and the Arcadians, who lived at Pallantium, were informed of the death of Cacus, and ſaw Hercules, they thought themſelves exceeding happy, in being rid of the former, whom they deteſted for his robberies; and were ſtruck with admiration at the ſight of the latter, whom they looked upon as ſomething divine: The poorer ſort, cutting branches of laurel, which grows there in great plenty, crowned both him, and themſelves with it: Their kings, alſo, came, and deſired Hercules to be their gueſt. But, when he informed them of his name, his extraction, and his achievements, they recommended both their country, and themſelves to his friendſhip. And Evander, who had long before, learned from Themis, that it was ordained by fate, that Hercules, the ſon of Jupiter, and Alcmena, changing his mortal nature, ſhould become immortal by his virtue, as ſoon as he knew who he was, reſolved to be the firſt in rendering Hercules propitious to him, by paying him divine honors; and, through haſte, erected an extemporary altar, near which, he ſacrificed an unreclaimed heifer, having firſt communicated the oracle to

Hercules, and desired him to [124] begin the sacrifice. Hercules, admiring their hospitality, entertained the people with a feast, having sacrificed some of the cows, and set apart the tenths of the rest of his booty; and, to their kings, he gave a large country belonging to the Ligures, and to some others of their neighbours, the command of which they very much desired, and, from which he had, before, expelled some [125] lawless persons. It is said, also, that he desired the inhabitants, since they were the first, who had acknowledged his divinity, that they would perpetuate the honors, they

124. Των ἱερων καλαρξασθαι. I have translated this, generally, *to begin the sacrifice*; but that is not sufficient to let the reader into the sense of the word καλαρχεσθαι, which is thus explained by Hesychius καλαρξασθαι τα ἱερεια, των τριχων αποσπασαι: It seems, this ceremony was not unknown to Homer; who, in speaking of the sacrifice preparatory to the single combat between Paris, and Menelaus, says of Agamemnon,

Αρνων εκ κεφαλων ταμνε τριχας [w].

But this is, more fully, explained by Virgil in the sacrifice performed by the infernal priestess,

*Et, summas carpens media inter cornua setas,*
*Ignibus imposuit sacris* libamina prima [x].

125. Παρανομους τινας εξ ανλης εκβαλων ανθρωπους. I was wondering how M*** came to render this passage, *il en chassa les anciens habitants, qui n'ayant ni loix ni police menoient une vie aussi déreglée que leur taille étoit énorme:* I could not conceive, I say, how the Greek text could lead him to inform us, that this country was inhabited by a race of giants; when, casting my eye on this passage, as translated by Sylburgius, I found he had rendered it thus; *expulsis prius inde viris quibusdam immanibus:* So that, he has translated the Latin translation; but with this misfortune, that he has applied *immanis* to the size of these men, as well as to their behaviour, which word, I am persuaded, Sylburgius designed to apply only to the latter: And yet this gentleman has thought fit to conclude his preface with this remarkable period; which, by the way, visibly squints at le Jay's translation; *j'espere au moins qu'on ne me convaincra pas d'avoir traduit sur les versions Latines sans consulter le texte Grec.* It is certain that, upon this occasion, he cannot be *convicted* of translating the Latin version, because he has mistaken it; but it is as certain that he never *consulted the Greek text*; if he had, he would not have imagined that παρανομοι ανθρωποι could signify *men of an enormous size.*

[w] Iliad. τ. ῥ. 273.

[x] Aeneid. vi. ῥ. 245.

had

had paid him, by offering up, every year, an unreclaimed heifer, and [126] performing the ſacrifice with Greek ceremonies; and, that he taught them thoſe rites, to the end their offerings might, always, be acceptable to him, chuſing two noble families for that miniſtry: And that thoſe, who were, then, inſtructed in the Greek diſcipline, were the Potitii, and Pinarii, whoſe deſcendants continued, a long time, in the adminiſtration of theſe ſacrifices, performing them in the manner he had appointed; the Potitii preſiding at the ſacrifice, and taking the firſt part of the [127] burnt-offering, while the Pinarii were excluded from taſting the intrails, and admitted, only, to the ſecond rank in thoſe ceremonies, which were to be performed by both of them; and it is ſaid, that this diſgrace was fixed upon them, for having been late in their attendance; ſince, being ordered to be preſent, early, in the morning, they did not come till the intrails were eaten. Now, the poſterity of theſe families have, no longer, the ſuperintendance over theſe ſacrifices; but [128] ſlaves, purchaſed with the public money, perform them

126. Αγισευονλες. Τα της θυσιας επιλελεσανλες. Suidas. Le Jay has inverted the ſenſe of this whole period: For, contrary to the expreſs words of the text, he has made the Arcadians deſire Hercules to perpetuate the honors they had paid him, and to do every thing elſe, which, in the text, Hercules deſires them to do.

127. Εμπυρα, τα καιομενα ιερα. Heſychius; whom Portus has, alſo, quoted upon this occaſion.

128. Αλλα παιδες εκ τυ δημοσιυ ωνηλοι δρωσιν αυλοις. Παις τασσελαι και επι δυλυ. Heſychius. But this ſignification of the word παιδες is ſo common in all Greek authors, that it was, almoſt, unneceſſary to ſupport it by a quotation. After the example of the Greeks, the Romans gave this ſenſe, alſo, to the word *pueri*, many inſtances of which are to be found in their beſt writers. [y] Cicero ſays to Atticus, puer *feſtivus anagnoſtes noſter Soſitheus deceſſerat*,

y B. i. Epiſt. 12.

in their room. For what reaſons, this cuſtom was changed, and how the god manifeſted himſelf concerning this change of the prieſts, I ſhall relate when I come to that part of the hiſtory. The altar, on which Hercules offered up the tenths, is called by the Romans, ara [129] maxima, *the greateſt altar:* It ſtands near the market, called Boarium, and is held in the greateſt veneration by the inhabitants: For, upon that altar, oaths are taken, and agreements made by thoſe, who are deſirous to tranſact any thing unalterably; and the tenths of different things are there, frequently, offered up, purſuant to vows. However, the ſtructure of it is much inferior to its reputation. In many other places, alſo, in Italy, temples are dedicated to this god, and altars erected to him in cities,

*meque plus quam* ſervi *mors debere videbatur, commoverat.* I am, therefore, ſurpriſed that Sylburgius ſhould correct his own tranſlation, unleſs he there means to correct this error in Gelenius, and ſubſtitute *pueri*, in the room of *ſervi*; which ſhews he did not take *pueri* in the ſenſe I have mentioned. Livy, in ſpeaking of this very affair of the Potitii, calls the men who officiated in their room, *ſervi publici*; which ſignifies, literally, παιδες εκ τε δημοσιε ωνητοι. But this is not all: For I obſerve that the faults, and merits of the Latin, communicate themſelves to the French, tranſlators; Sylburgius, by ſubſtituting *pueri* to *ſervi* has miſled M*** who has rendered it, *de jeunes gens*; and Portus, by ſaying *ſervi*, has conducted his tranſlator, le Jay, to the true ſenſe of the word: For, he has tranſlated it, *des eſclaves.* Our author ſays he deſigns, afterwards, to give an account of the conſequences, that attended this ſubſtituting of ſlaves to officiate in the room of the Potitii; as nothing of this kind appears in the eleven books, that remain, it may, in ſome degree, be ſupplied by [z] Livy, who ſays their whole family became extinct; *tradito ſervis publicis ſolenni familiae miniſterio, genus omne Potitiorum interiit:* So their religious prejudices taught them to think.

[129] Μεγιστος. This circumſtance, alſo, is taken notice of by [a] Virgil; who, in ſpeaking of Hercules, when he was in Italy, makes Evander ſay to Aeneas:

*Hanc aram luco ſtatuit; quae* maxima *ſemper*
*Dicetur nobis, et erit quae* maxima *ſemper.*

[z] B. i. c. 7. [a] Aeneid. B. viii. ℣. 271.

and

and highways, there being ſcarce any part of Italy, in which this god is not honoured. And this is the fabulous tradition concerning him.

XLI. But That, which comes nearer to the truth, and which many, who have written the hiſtory of his actions, have imbraced, is as follows: That Hercules, being the greateſt commander of his age, and, at the head of a conſiderable army, marched over all the tract, that lies on this ſide of the ocean, deſtroying all ſuch [130] monarchies, as

[130] Τυραννις βαρεια και λυπηρα τοις αρχομενοις. I obſerve that all the tranſlators have rendered Τυραννις *Tyranny*, without conſidering that the word in Greek is not, always, taken in a bad ſenſe, and ſignifies no more than the government of a ſingle perſon, that is, monarchy: And, I think, it is plain enough that our author underſtood it in this ſenſe here; otherwiſe, he would not have ſaid that Hercules deſtroyed ſuch tyrannies, as were βαρειαι και λυπηραι τοις αρχομενοις, *grievous and oppreſſive to their ſubjects*; becauſe all tyrannies are ſo in their own nature. It has been obſerved by many writers, and, particularly, by the ſcholiaſt of Sophocles in the argument of Oedipus, the tyrant, that this word is of a later date than the age of Homer, and Heſiod, who never make uſe of it. It is certain that the [b] former, in ſpeaking of Echetus, the moſt wicked of all men, calls him a king, and not a tyrant;

Εις Εχετον βασιληα, βροτων δηλημονα πανων.

In the following verſes of [c] Euripides, which Caeſar had ſo often in his mouth, τυραννις muſt be taken in the ſenſe I have here given it;

Ειπερ γαρ αδικειν χρη, τυραννιδος περι Καλλιστον αδικειν, τ' αλλα δ' ευσεβειν χρεων.

This is ſaid by Eteocles to his mother Jocaſta, who had, in vain, perſuaded him to reſign the crown to his brother purſuant to their agreement. It is well known that [d] Cicero has tranſlated theſe verſes, which, he ſays, Caeſar was often repeating: This tranſlation will prove, much better than I can, that the word ought to be taken in the ſenſe I am contending for,

*Nam ſi violandum eſt jus*, regnandi *gratiâ*
*Violandum eſt: aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

But I cannot omit the reflection which Cicero makes upon this ſentiment. *Capitalis Eteocles*, ſays he, *vel potius Euripides, qui id unum, quod omnium ſceleratiſſimum fuerat, exceperit.* This was ſpoken like a Roman, to whom the very name of a king was odious. But, notwithſtanding his authority, and That of all his countrymen, it is very probable that, if Rome had been governed by a limited monarchy, ſhe had never felt a tyranny.

[b] Odyſſ. Σ. ϒ. 84. [c] In Phoen. ϒ. 527. [d] De Officiis, B. iii. c. 21.

were

were grievous and oppreſſive to the ſubject, and ſuch commonwealths, as inſulted, and injured the neighbouring ſtates, mankind living, at that time, in a ſavage manner, and putting ſtrangers to death without any regard to juſtice; and, in their room, he conſtituted monarchies, limited by law, and well-ordered commonwealths, and introduced cuſtoms full of humanity, and univerſal compaſſion: Beſides this, he mingled with Greek and Barbarous nations, as well thoſe living on the ſea-coaſt, as thoſe inhabiting the inland country, who, till then, converſed with diffidence, and a diſtant behaviour; built cities in deſert places; turned the courſe of rivers, that overflowed the country; cut roads through inacceſſible mountains; and contrived other means, by which every land, and ſea might lie open to the uſe of all mankind. But he came not into Italy alone, or driving a herd of cows; for, neither is this country in the road from Spain to Argos, neither would ſo great honors have been paid to him, merely, for paſſing through it: But, having, already, conquered Spain, he came hither, at the head of a great army, in order to ſubdue, and reign over the inhabitants of this country: And was obliged to ſtay there the longer, both for want of his fleet, which was detained by ſtormy weather; and, becauſe all the nations of Italy did not, willingly, ſubmit to him. For, beſides other Barbarians, the Ligures, a numerous and warlike people, ſeated in the paſſages of the Alps, endeavoured to oppoſe, by arms, his entrance into Italy: Upon which occaſion, a very great battle

battle was fought by the Greeks, who loſt all their [131] weapons in the fight. This war is taken notice of by Aeſchylus, one of the ancient poets, in his Prometheus releaſed: For, there, Prometheus is introduced foretelling to Hercules every thing, that was to befal him in his expedition againſt Geryon; and giving him an account of the difficulties he was to encounter in the war with the Ligures; the verſes are theſe: "You "will meet with the intrepid army of the Ligures; where, "warlike though you are, you will not find fault with the "engagement: For it is decreed that, even, your weapons "ſhall fail you."

131. Των βελων. Βελος, in Greek, like *telum*, in Latin, ſignifies *a weapon*, generally. Βελος, μαχαιρα, ακις. Heſychius. Notwithſtanding this, both the French tranſlators have thought fit to render it *des fléches*, *arrows*, as if Hercules had commanded an army of Indians. The tragedy of Aeſchylus, out of which our author cites the following verſes, is loſt. [e] Strabo, in deſcribing the coaſt of Languedoc, and Provence, ſays the ground, where this battle was fought, lies between Marſeilles, and the mouth, or rather mouths of the Rhone; and adds ſeveral other verſes of Aeſchylus to Thoſe quoted by our author. It ſeems this ſpot, then, was, and now is, full of ſtones, which Prometheus tells Hercules ſhould be ſent down from Heaven to ſupply his army with weapons, after their own had failed them. As theſe verſes are written with a ſpirit peculiar to Aeſchylus, particularly, that part, which mentions the cloud fraught with a ſhower of ſtones; and, as Strabo is the only author, that I know of, in whom they are to be found, I ſhall tranſcribe them for the ſatisfaction of the learned reader:

Ενταυθ' ἑλεσθαι δ'ȣ τιν' εκ γαιης λιθον
Εξεις, επει πας χωρος εςι μαλθακος.
Ιδων δ' αμηχανȣντα σ'ὁ Ζευς, οικτερει,
Νεφελην δ' ὑπερσχων νιφαδι ςρογγυλων πετρων
Υποσκιον θησει χθονα, οἱς επειτα συ
Βαλων δῃωσεις ῥαδιως Λιγυν ςρατον.

I remember to have ſeen this ſtony field in Provence, as I went from Marſeilles to Arles: The people of the country call it in their language, which is very different from French, *las craux*. But a man of learning at Aix told me, the proper name of it was *Le champ Herculien*; which ſhews that the memory of this tradition is ſtill preſerved.

[e] B. iv. p. 276.

XLII.

XLII. After Hercules had defeated this people, and gained the paſs, ſome delivered up their cities to him of their own accord, particularly, thoſe, who were of Greek extraction, or had not forces equal to his; but the greateſt part of them were reduced by war, and ſieges. Among thoſe ſubdued by battle, was this Cacus, ſo much celebrated by the Roman fables; a very barbarous prince, reigning over a ſavage people: He, they ſay, oppoſed Hercules, truſting to the faſtneſſes, from whence, he annoyed the neighbouring people; and, as ſoon as he heard that Hercules lay incamped in a plain not far off, he furniſhed himſelf like a robber, and ſet upon him on a ſudden; and, the army being aſleep, he made himſelf maſter of all their [132] cattle, which he found unguarded, and drove them away. Afterwards, being beſieged by the Greeks, and his forts being taken by ſtorm, he was killed after a ſtout reſiſtance: His caſtles being demoliſhed, the country round them was divided among the [133] followers of Hercules, the Arcadians under Evander, and Faunus, king of the Aborigines. And there is room to believe that the Epei, the Arcadians, who

[132] Λειας. Λεια, ἡ των θρεμμαλων αγελη. Heſychius. I am ſenſible that he ſays it ſignifies alſo, any *booty taken in war*; and that this is the ſenſe, in which many authors uſe the word. But, as it, particularly, ſignifies a booty conſiſting of cattle, and, as our author has added απηλασε, I think the word cannot be applied, upon this occaſion, to any other. For which reaſon, *butin* in M * * * does not ſeem to me a proper tranſlation of λεια.

[133] Καλα σφας ἑτεροι. There ſeems to be ſomething wanting here to complete the ſenſe: If we read και ἑτεροι, I think it will be clear enough. The reader will remember that the Trojans, mentioned in the next ſentence, were thoſe, who, as our author, before, told us, had been taken priſoners by Hercules, when he took Troy, and, after that, attended him in his expedition to Spain; For Aeneas, and his Trojans were not yet arrived in Italy.

came

came from Pheneus, and the Trojans, who all ſtaid behind, were left to guard the country. For, among other actions, which Hercules performed, well becoming the general of an army, none was more worthy of admiration than his employing, for ſome time, in his expeditions, thoſe he drew out of the cities he had taken; and, after they had, chearfully, aſſiſted him in his wars, ſettling them in the conquered countries, and beſtowing on them the riches he had gained from others. Theſe actions, they ſay, rendered the name of Hercules famous in Italy, and not his paſſage through it, which was attended with nothing worthy of veneration.

XLIII. Some ſay, that he left, even, two ſons, by two women, in the places now inhabited by the Romans: One of his ſons was Palas, whom he had by the daughter of Evander; whoſe name, they ſay, was Launa; the other, Latinus, whoſe mother was a certain northern girl, whom he brought with him as an hoſtage, given to him by her father, and preſerved, for ſome time, untouched; but, while he was on his voyage to Italy, falling in love with her, he got her with child: And, when he was preparing to go to Argos, he married her to Faunus, king of the Aborigines: And, for this reaſon, Latinus is, generally, looked upon as the ſon of Faunus, not of Hercules. Palas, they ſay, died before he arrived to puberty; but Latinus, when he came to be a man, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of the Aborigines; and, being killed in a battle againſt his neighbours, the Rutili, without leaving any male iſſue, the government devolved on

Aeneas, the ſon of Anchiſes, his ſon-in-law. But theſe things happened at other periods of time.

XLIV. After Hercules had ſettled every thing in Italy according to his deſire, and his naval forces were arrived in ſafety from Spain, he offered up to the gods the tenths of his booty, and built a[134] ſmall town of the ſame name with

[134] Πολιχνην επωνυμον αυτῳ ἱδρυσας. This is the unfortunate town, that was ſo many hundred years, afterwards, deſtroyed by that fatal eruption of mount Veſuvius, in which Pliny the elder periſhed. The particulars of which, as they were ſeen, and felt at Miſenum, are deſcribed by his [f] nephew in his letter to Tacitus. This horrible conflagration is mentioned by Suetonius in his life of Titus, in whoſe reign it happened, and deſcribed in all its dreadful circumſtances by [g] Xiphilinus, the abſtracter of Dion Caſſius. Some learned men have maintained, that the eruption of Veſuvius, by which Herculaneum was deſtroyed, happened in the laſt year of the reign of Titus: But, though Suetonius has not mentioned the particular year, yet it is certain, that it happened in the firſt of his reign. We know both by [h] Suetonius, and Xiphilinus, that he reigned two years, two months, and twenty days; and, by the latter, that the great fire, which conſumed a vaſt Number of public, and private buildings at Rome, happened the year after this eruption of mount Veſuvius, while Titus was abſent, and making a progreſs through Campania to comfort, and relieve his afflicted ſubjects. The year following, he died on the ides of September, in the conſulſhip of Flavius, and Pollio. But I ſuſpect that either Xiphilinus, or his tranſcriber has miſtaken the name of the firſt conſul: For, in the *Faſti Conſulares*, he is called M. Plautius Silvanus, and his collegue, M. Annius Verus Pollio, who were conſuls the 834th year of Rome, which was the year Titus died. Theſe circumſtances, I believe, will convince the reader, that the great eruption of Veſuvius muſt have happened in the firſt year of his reign. Whatever diverſity of opinions there might, formerly, have been concerning the ſituation of Herculaneum, there can be none now, ſince the diſcoveries made by his Sicilian majeſty's order: For, it, plainly, appears by the temple of Hercules, his ſtatues, and many inſcriptions there found, that this ſubterraneous town was the ancient Herculaneum. I have heard it ſaid, and, moſt heartily, wiſh it may be true, that, among the many curious monuments of antiquity, there diſcovered, ſeveral manuſcripts of the ancient authors have been found; nay, I have heard it aſſerted, that an entire Livy is among them; and why may we not hope, one day, to ſee the nine laſt books of

[f] Pliny, B. vi. Epiſt. 16. [g] p. 225. [h] Sueton. Life of Titus, c. 11.

himſelf,

himſelf, in the place where his fleet lay at anchor (which, being now inhabited by the Romans, and lying in the midway between Pompeii, and Naples, has, at all times, ſecure havens) and having gained glory, worthy of [135] emulation, and received divine honors from all the inhabitants of Italy, he ſet ſail for Sicily. Thoſe, who were left by him, both as guards, and inhabitants, of Italy, and were ſettled on the Saturnian hill, lived, for ſome time, under a ſeparate government. But, not long after, joining with the Aborigines in their manner of living, their laws, and their religion, as the Arcadians, and, before them, the Pelaſgi, had done; and, partaking of the ſame [136] form of government, they came to

our author? If ſuch manuſcripts have been found, and his Sicilian majeſty ſhould think fit to make them public, I will venture to affirm that he will, from that time, be looked upon as a common benefactor to mankind; and his name will be celebrated as long as thoſe great authors, thus reſtored by him to life, ſhall be admired.

[135] Ζηλος. This is a very ſignificant word in Greek, and not eaſy to be tranſlated into Engliſh: The reaſon is, that, in Greek, it is uſed in a greater latitude than our language will allow. For, though we ſay, *ſuch a one deſerved emulation*, we cannot ſay, *he gained emulation*, which the Greeks can; for which, no reaſon can be given, but that there is a humor in all languages, which muſt be complied with. I cannot omit the fine definition given by Suidas of the word ζηλος, though I think it too philoſophical for a grammarian. It is, ſays he, αγαθε τινος επιθυμια φθονε τινος χωρις εγγινομενη τη ψυχη. Le Jay ſhews he ſaw the difficulty of rendering this word, by leaving it out. The other French tranſlator, has, in my opinion, ſaid with great propriety, *après avoir donné de ſi beaux exemples de vertu.*

[136] Πολεως τε της αυτης τοις Αβοριγισι κοινονησαντες. I have given to πολις, in this place, the ſenſe of πολιτεια, as it is, often, uſed by the beſt authors, particularly, by [i] Ariſtotle in this paſſage, φανερον τοινυν ὁτι ἡ ΠΟΛΙΣ και εστι κοινωνια τοπε. And, in this ſenſe, the Latin authors, after the example of the Greeks, have uſed the word *civitas*, as [k] Cicero calls monarchy *regale civitatis genus.* For this reaſon, it is impoſſible to know in what ſenſe the Latin tranſlators have uſed that word in rendering this paſſage; but the French tranſlator, le Jay, whoſe lan-

[i] Περι πολιτ. B. iii. c. 6.

[k] De Leg. B. iii. c. 15.

be looked upon as the ſame nation. So much I thought proper to ſay concerning the expedition of Hercules, and the Peloponneſians, who remained in Italy. The ſecond generation, and about the fifty fifth year, after the departure of Hercules, as the Romans themſelves ſay, Latinus, the ſon of Hercules, and the ſuppoſed ſon of Faunus, was king of the Aborigines, and in the thirty fifth year of his reign.

XLV. At that time, the Trojans, who, with Aeneas, had fled from Troy after it was taken, landed at [137] Laurentum, upon the coaſt of the Aborigines, lying on the Tyrrhene ſea, not far from the mouth of the Tiber: And, having received from the Aborigines ſome land for their habitation, and every thing elſe they deſired, they built a town on a hill, not far from the ſea, and called it [138] Lavinium. Soon

guage leaves no room for that doubt, makes all theſe nations live in the ſame city, though Dionyſius has, already, deſcribed the particular parts of the country inhabited by each of them.

137. Λαυρεντον. M*** ſays that Laurentum is, now, called *San-Lorenzo*. But [l] Cluver ſays that thoſe, who call this town by that name, are miſtaken; the modern name of it being *Paterno*. The ſame tranſlator has rendered theſe words, επι τω Τυρρηνικω πελαγει κειμενον, *ſur les côtes de la Tyrrhenie*, when it is well known that Tyrrhenia lay on the weſt of the Tiber, and Laurentum on the eaſt of it, between Oſtia, and the river Numicius. But, if, by *la Tyrrhenie*, he means the *Tyrrhene ſea*, he has expreſſed himſelf ill, even, in his own language; for he ſhould have ſaid *de la mèr Tyrrhénienne*.

138. Λαβινιον. The hill, on which the Trojans built [m] Lavinium, is three Roman miles from the ſea; and, on this hill, were the ſprings, that fed the river [n] Numicius,

*haec fontis ſtagna Numici.*

Theſe ſprings, and the cavern from whence they flowed, were, afterwards, conſecrated by the Romans, to a goddeſs, called *Anna Perenna*, in whoſe honor there was a feſtival inſtituted; the chearfulneſs of which [o] Ovid ſays he was ſo well pleaſed with, that he thought it deſerved to be related. After he has deſcribed this feſtival, he tells us who this *Anna Perenna* was,

[l] In Ital. Ant. B. iii. p. 883. [m] Cluver, in Ital. Ant. p. 893. [n] Virgil, Aen. vii. ℣. 150.
[o] Faſtor. B. iii. ℣. 523.

after

after this, they changed their ancient name, and were, to-

and how ſhe came to be thus diſtinguiſhed: It ſeems, ſhe was no other than *Anna*, the ſiſter of the unfortunate Dido, her confident in her amour with Aeneas, and a perſon, whom every one, who reads the fourth book of Virgil, muſt wiſh well to. After the tragical end of her ſiſter, Iarba, a Numidian prince, whoſe addreſſes Dido had rejected, took Carthage, and ſent poor Anna to ſeek her fortune: The firſt place ſhe took refuge in, was the iſland of Malta, where Battus, who was then king of the place, as Ovid ſays, received her very courteouſly; but, being threatened by Pygmalion, her implacable brother, he was forced to diſmiſs her. She then went to Italy; and, at her landing, found her old friend Aeneas, who, with Achates, was, then, walking by the ſea ſide. They were both much ſurpriſed at this unexpected meeting. However, Aeneas, after ſome aukward excuſes for his cruel uſage of her ſiſter, takes her home, and recommends her to his wife Lavinia: But ſhe, growing jealous of her, Anna was, again, forced to fly; and, in her flight, the river Numicius fell in love with her, and made the partner of his watery bed. After this, ſhe [p] ſays to thoſe, who were ſent in ſearch of her,

*placidi ſum nympha Numici,*
*Amna perenne latens,* Anna Perenna *vocor.*

But Anna's honors do not end here: For ſhe has, ſince, had the good fortune to be canonized; and there is, at this inſtant, a chapel erected to her upon the ſame ſpot under the title of *Santa Petronella*, which is no great deviation from *Anna Perenna*. As this place was held in great veneration by the old Romans, their ſucceſſors would, by no means, loſe the benefit of that veneration; but choſe rather, to direct it to another object, by the ſame kind of compoſition, as they have changed the deſtination of the Pantheum at Rome, and dedicated the ſame temple to all the ſaints, which their predeceſſors had dedicated to all the gods. And I am perſuaded that the ſame reaſon, which induced them to erect a chapel upon a ſpot of ground conſecrated by the old Romans, induced them, alſo, to coin the name of Petronella, in order to approach as near to the others in the name of the perſon to be worſhiped, as they had done in the place where that worſhip had been paid: And the reaſon, that convinces me of this is, becauſe *Santa Petronella* is as fictitious a perſon as her predeceſſor, *Anna Perenna*; and deſerves as much to be unniched: For, if the reader will trouble himſelf to look into her life, among other abſurdities, he will find, that ſhe is ſaid, without any authority from ſcripture, to have been St. Peter's daughter, and to have died at Rome on the laſt of May in the 98th year of Chriſt, in the reign of Domitian; when it is well known that Domitian himſelf died in the 96th year of Chriſt; and that [q] Nerva, his ſucceſſor, after a reign of one year, four months, and nine days, was dead, and [r] Trajan, his adopted ſon, had ſucceeded to the empire before the laſt day of May in the year 98.

[p] Faſtor. B. iii. ℣. 653. [q] Xiph. in Nerva, p. 242. [r] Petav. Ret. Temp. B. v. c. 4 and 7.

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gether with the Aborigines, called Latines, from the king of that country: And, leaving Lavinium, they, in conjunction with the inhabitants of thoſe parts, built a larger city, which they ſurrounded with a wall, and called it Alba: From whence they went, and built many other cities alſo, called the cities of the ancient Latines; of which, the greateſt part are inhabited, even, to this day. Sixteen generations after the taking of Troy, they ſent out a colony to Pallantium, and Saturnia, where the Peloponneſians, and the Arcadians were, firſt, ſettled, and where there were ſtill left ſome remains of the ancient people; there they built, and incompaſſed Pallantium with a wall, which then, firſt, received the form of a city: This city they called Rome, from Romulus, who was the leader of the colony, and the ſeventeenth in deſcent from Aeneas. But, concerning the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, ſince ſome hiſtorians have been ignorant of it, and others have related it in a different manner, I ſhall treat with accuracy, and make uſe of the hiſtories of thoſe writers, both Greek, and Roman, who are moſt credited. This is the account given of him.

XLVI. Troy being taken by the Greeks, either by the ſtrategem of the wooden horſe, as Homer ſings, or, by the treachery of the Antenoridae, or, by any other means, the greateſt part of the Trojans, and of their allies, then in the city, were ſlain in their beds: For, it ſeems, this misfortune happened to them in the night, when they were not upon their guard. But Aeneas, and his Trojan forces, which he had brought from the city of Dardanus, and Ophrynium, to the

the aſſiſtance of the Ilienſes, and, as many others, as had early notice of the calamity, while the Greeks were taking the lower town, fled together to the ſtrongeſt part of Pergamus, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the citadel, which was fortified with a ſeparate wall, and, in which, were depoſited the holy things belonging to the religion of their country, together with a large quantity of money, as in a ſafe place, and here, alſo, was the flower of their army: There they repulſed the enemy, who were endeavouring to force their way into the citadel; and, ſallying out, privately, through the narrow paſſages, with which they were well acquainted, they ſecured the retreat of thoſe, who were eſcaping from the taking of the city: The number of whom was greater than That of the priſoners. By this diſpoſition, Aeneas checked the firſt fury of the enemy, who deſigned to put all [139] the citizens to the ſword, and prevented them from taking the whole city by ſtorm. But, conſidering what was, reaſonably, to be expected, that it would be impoſſible to preſerve a city, the greateſt part of which was, already, in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, he thought of this expedient; which was, to abandon the citadel to them, and ſave the people, the holy things belonging to the religion of their country, and all the effects they could carry away with them.

139. Ολην διαχρησασθαι την πολιν. Here πολις is taken for πολιται, according to that almoſt proverbial expreſſion, πολις, ανδρες, ϗ τειχη. And, in this ſenſe, Sylburgius has rendered this paſſage, which le Jay has thought fit to leave out. And no body, I believe, will imagine that, by διαχρησασθαι την πολιν, and καταληφθηναι το αστυ, in the next ſentence, our author means the ſame thing. The former, therefore, plainly, relates to the deſtruction of the citizens, and the latter to the taking of the city.

Having

Having thus reſolved, he, firſt, ſent out the children, and the women, with the [140] old men, and all ſuch, whoſe condition required much time to make their eſcape, with orders to take the road, that leads to Ida, while the Greeks, intent on taking the citadel, would never think of purſuing the people, who were eſcaping out of the city. One part of the forces he appointed to convoy thoſe he had ſent away, to the end that their flight might be as ſecure, and as little troubleſome, as the [141] preſent conjuncture would admit: Theſe were ordered to take poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt part of mount Ida: With the reſt, who were the choiceſt men, he ſtaid upon the walls of the citadel, and, while the enemy were diverted from the purſuit by aſſaulting the walls, he rendered the retreat of thoſe he had, before, ſent out, the leſs difficult: But Neoptolemus, with his men, having gained the aſcent to part of the citadel, and all the Greeks ſupporting him, he abandoned the place; and, opening [142] the gates, through which the others had eſcaped, he marched away with the reſt in good order, carrying with him, in the beſt chariots, his father, and the gods of his country, with his wife, and children, and ſuch other perſons, and [143] things, as were moſt valuable.

140. Stephens finds fault with καλαγηραια. I cannot, indeed, ſay that I ever met with the word before, but καλαγηρασκω, and καλαγηρως are common enough.

141. Εκ των ενοντων. I can, by no means, approve of *e praeſente calamitate fuga*, in Sylburgius, and much leſs, of le Jay's leaving out theſe words. This Greek expreſſion is ſo common in all good authors, that I think it needleſs to bring any authorities to ſupport the ſenſe I have given to it.

142. Τας φυγαδας πυλας. It was not poſſible to tranſlate this poetical expreſſion literally. And, indeed, all the tranſlators have been ſo modeſt as not to attempt it.

143. Χρηματα. See the 71ſt annotation.

XLVII. In the mean time, the Greeks took the town by ſtorm; and, being intent on plunder, gave thoſe, who fled, an opportunity of eſcaping with great ſecurity. Aeneas, and his people, overtook their companions on the road; and, being, now, all together, they poſted themſelves on the ſtrongeſt part of mount Ida. They were joined not only by the inhabitants of Dardanus, who, ſeeing a great and unuſual fire break out at Troy, deſerted their town, and all went thither, except thoſe, who, under Elymus, and Aegeſtus, having prepared ſome ſhips, had left it before; but, alſo, by all the inhabitants of Ophrynium, and of the other Trojan cities, who were deſirous to preſerve their liberty: And, in a very ſhort time, the numbers of the Trojan forces, were, very much, increaſed. Thoſe, who, with Aeneas, had, thus, eſcaped from the taking of the city, were, during their ſtay here, in hopes of returning home, as ſoon as the enemy ſhould fail away. But the Greeks, having reduced to ſlavery the [144] inhabitants both of the city, and of the neighbourhood, and demoliſhed the ſtrong places, were preparing to attack thoſe, alſo, who were poſted on the mountains: But the Trojans, ſending heralds to treat of a peace, and deſiring they would not reduce them to the neceſſity of making war, they called a council, and made peace with them upon the following terms: That Aeneas, and his people ſhould tranſport themſelves with all the [145] effects they had

144. Την πολιν. Here, Πολις is, again, taken for πολιται.

145. Τα χρηματα. All the tranſlators have rendered χρηματα properly in this place. I cannot ſay ſo much of their manner of tranſlating κατα τας ὁμολογιας in the next ſentence; which, I think, they have miſplaced, I mean the Latin

ſaved in their flight, out of the territory of Troy within a limited time, and deliver up to the Greeks the places of ſtrength: And that, after they had left the country in purſuance of theſe terms, the Greeks ſhould allow them a ſafe-conduct by ſea, and land throughout all their dominions. Aeneas, having accepted theſe conditions, which he looked upon as the beſt the preſent conjuncture would admit of, ſent away Aſcanius, his eldeſt ſon, with ſome of the allies, the greateſt part of whom were Phrygians, to the [146] Daſcylitic country, in which lies the Aſcanian lake, he having been invited by the inhabitants to reign over them, where he ſtaid not long: For [147] Scamandrius, and the other Hectoridae, who had been diſmiſſed out of Greece by Neoptolemus, coming to him, he returned to Troy in order to reſtore them to their paternal kingdom. And this is all the account, that is given of Aſcanius. As for Aeneas, after his fleet was ready, he imbarked with the reſt of his

tranſlators only, for both the French tranſlators have left out thoſe words. The others have applied καὶα τας ὁμολογιας to ασφαλειαν, when they, plainly, relate to απιεσι, which they, immediately, follow; and, by this wrong application of the words, they have weakened the ſenſe at leaſt, and diſjointed the period. Le Jay has, not only, left out theſe words, as I ſaid, but has tranſlated the reſt of this ſentence in ſo cavalier a manner, that I cannot forbear tranſcribing his words; *Que les Grecs de leur coſté faciliteroient la ſortie d'Enée, et lui preſteroient mainforte ſur terre et ſur mer où ils eſtoient également puiſſants.* All the tranſlators have rendered εκ των ενοντων, in the next ſentence, in the ſenſe I contend for in the 141ſt annotation.

146. Δασκυλίην γην. [r] This country is in Bithynia, as is, alſo, the Aſcanian lake, near to which ſtood Nicaea, the capital of thoſe parts.

147. Σκαμανδριος. He is, more generally, known by the name of Aſtyanax; but Homer ſays that Hector, his father, gave him That of Scamandrius:

Τον ῥ' Εκτωρ καλεεσκε Σκαμανδριον, αυταρ οι αλλοι Αστυανακ'[s].

[r] Strabo. B. xii. p. 861. [s] Il. Z. ν. 402.

ſons,

ſons, and his father, taking with him the [148] images of his gods; and, croſſing the Helleſpont, ſailed to the next peninſula, which lies before [149] Europia, and is called Pallene. This country was [150] inhabited by a Thracian people, named

[148] Και τον πατερα και τα ἑδη των θεων. I have, before, obſerved, and ſhall, often, have occaſion to obſerve, that Virgil, and our author followed the ſame hiſtorians in many things relating to Aeneas: The former has uſed almoſt the ſame words in ſpeaking of this imbarkation of his hero,

*feror exul in altum*
*Cum ſociis, natoque, penatibus, et magnis diis* [t].

I am ſurpriſed that Dionyſius made Aeneas forget his wife, particularly, as he had told us before that he carried her, as well as his children, and his gods out of Troy. Virgil, indeed, had a very good reaſon to diſpoſe of Creuſa before Aeneas ſet ſail, becauſe ſhe would, moſt certainly, have been a very inconvenient perſon both in his amour with Dido, and in his addreſſes to Lavinia.

[149] Η προκειται μεν της Ευρωπιης. So this word muſt be read as Voſſius, quoted by Hudſon upon this occaſion, has, plainly, proved. This country, he ſays, was called Europia from Europus, a town of Macedon, mentioned by many geographers, which was the capital of it. The peninſula, called Pallene, was, at the time our author ſpeaks of, inhabited by a Thracian people, called Thruſaeans, who are ſuppoſed to be the ſame Herodotus means, when he ſpeaks of a country lying near the Thermean gulph, which he calls Κρουσσαιη. The ſame author ſays that the fleet of Xerxes, when they were ſailing to Greece, made the promontory of Pallene, called Canaſtraeum, and received ſhips, and men, from the cities of Pallene, which, he ſays, was, formerly, called, [u] Phlegra. Theſe cities he enumerates: Their names are, Potidaea, Aphytis, Neapolis, Aega, Therambos, Sciona, Mendas, and Sana. Voſſius finds fault with our author for uſing ſuch expreſſions, upon this occaſion, as might induce his readers to think he meant the Thracian Cherſoneſus inſtead of That called Pallene. But Voſſius ought to have conſidered that Dionyſius ſays he takes this account from Hellanicus, and did not allow himſelf to alter any part of his relation. So that, if there is any word in it, that may miſlead the reader, and there is but one, which is εσχισα, it muſt be placed to the account of Hellanicus, and not to That of our author.

[150] Εθνος δ' ειχεν εν αυλη. Thus we muſt read this ſentence, with the Vatican manuſcript. Αυλη, in the vulgar editions, is ſcarce ſenſe: For, if it can be ſuppoſed to relate to Pallene, it is a very ſtrange way of ſpeaking to ſay αυλη ειχεν εθνος, inſtead of εθνος ειχεν αυλην. But, in order, to enter into the accuracy of the Vatican manuſcript, we muſt conſider that εχειν, in this place, ſignifies *to inhabit*, in which

[t] Aeneid. B. iii. ℣. 11.

[u] In Polyh. c. 123.

Cruſaei, who were in alliance with the Trojans, and had aſſiſted them, during the war, with greater alacrity than any of their confederates.

XLVIII. This, therefore, is the moſt credible account, concerning the flight of Aeneas, which is taken from Hellanicus, one of the ancient writers, in his hiſtory of the Trojan affairs: There are different accounts given of the ſame things by ſome others alſo, which I look upon as leſs probable than this. But, let every reader judge as he thinks proper. Sophocles, the tragedy writer, in his drama, called Laocoon, repreſents Aeneas, juſt before the taking of the city, removing with his family to Ida, in obedience to the orders of his father Anchiſes, who remembered the injunctions of Venus; and, concluded from the prodigies, which had, lately, happened to the Laocoontidae, that the ruin of the city was not far off. His iambics, which are ſpoken by another perſon, are as follows: "Now Aeneas, the ſon of "the goddeſs, is at the gates, bearing his father on his "ſhoulders, whoſe back, ſtruck with thunder, diſtills on "his linen garment: He carries with him, [151] on chariots,

ſenſe, it is is taken by the beſt authors. Εχων, οικων. Heſychius. And this uſe of the word the Latin writers have borrowed from the Greeks;

*Quare agite, et, primo laeti cum lumine ſolis,*
*Quae loca, quive* habeant *homines, ubi moenia gentis,*
*Veſtigemus* [w];

ſays Aeneas in Virgil, juſt after he landed in Italy.

151. Κυκλει δε πασαν οικετων παμπληθιαν. I am obliged to depart from all the tranſlators, both French and Latin, in rendering this verſe. And, notwithſtanding my great veneration for Caſaubon, who has taken great pains to correct it, I think the verſe, as it ſtands in all the editions, carries with it a very obvious ſenſe. Had Caſaubon attended a little more to the force

[w] Aeneid. B. vii. ℣. 130.

"all

"all his family: There follow a multitude, but, not so "many, as you desire, and those who wish well to this "Phrygian colony." But [152] Menecrates, the Xanthian, says, that Aeneas betrayed the city to the Greeks, from his enmity to Alexander; and that, upon the strength of this merit, he was allowed, by the Greeks, to save his family. His account, which begins from the funeral of Achilles, is delivered in these terms: "The Greeks were oppressed "with grief, and thought the army had lost its head:

of the word κυκλει, he would not have thought it necessary to alter it to κυκλοι, which has obliged him, also, to alter the whole structure of the verse. Κυκλειν signifies *to carry on chariots*, which our author has, himself, explained by telling us that Sophocles represents Aeneas ανασκευαζομενον: And this is the signification Hesychius, whose authority is often quoted by Casaubon, gives to the word. Κυκλησομεν, εφ' ἁμαξων κολιȣμεν. Neither can I agree with [x] Plutarch in reading μοτȣ for νωτȣ, because μοτος, which signifies *a tent*, is below the dignity of tragedy. This tradition, that Anchises was struck with thunder, is followed by Virgil, who makes him say to his son, when he was pressing his father to accompany him in his flight,

*Jampridem invisus divis, et inutilis annos*
*Demoror; en quo me divûm pater, atque hominum rex*
Fulminis *afflavit ventis, et contigit igni*[y].

I cannot conceive what le Jay could, possibly, mean by translating the verse before us in this manner, *sa robe de pourpre reluit de la lumiere qui l'environne.* This has not the least pretence to a translation, and may be applied to any other verse in Sophocles, as well as to this. The ignorance we are in concerning the person in this drama, who speaks these verses, and the person, to whom they are addressed, makes it impossible to translate them with any tolerable beauty: So that, it is hoped the reader will content himself with a literal version of them.

[152]. Μενεκρατης ὁ Ξανθιος, Κεφαλων Γεργηθιος, Ηγησιππος. The [z] first of these historians is seldom mentioned, and all we know of him is that he treated of the affairs of Lycia. The second is as little known. [a] Strabo says he was born in a town near Cuma, called αι Γεργηθες. He writ of the Trojan affairs. Hegesippus is more known by this passage of our author than by any thing else we can find concerning him. As to Hellanicus, mentioned a little before, see the 66th annotation.

[x] Περι αρετ. και κακ. [y] Aeneid. B. ii. ℣. 647. [z] Vossius de Hist. Graec. B. iii. p. 387.
[a] B. xiii. p. 882.

"How-

"However, they ſolemnized his funeral, and made war "upon all the country, till Ilium was taken by the "treachery of Aeneas, who delivered it up to them. For "Aeneas, being diſregarded by Alexander, and excluded "from the honours of the prieſthood, ruined Priamus; "and, having done this, he became one of the Greeks." Others ſay, that he reſided, at that time, at the ſea port, where the Trojan ſhips lay: And others, that he had been ſent, with a body of forces, into Phrygia by Priamus, upon ſome military expedition. Some give a more fabulous account of his departure. But, let it be, as every one thinks.

XLIX. What happened after his departure creates ſtill a greater doubt in moſt people: For, ſome, after they have brought him as far as Thrace, ſay he died there: Of which number are Cephalo Gergithius, and Hegeſippus, who writ concerning Pallene, both ancient hiſtorians, and of great authority. Others convey him, from Thrace, to Arcadia, and ſay he lived in the Arcadian Orchomenus, and, in a place, which, though in the midland country, yet, by reaſon of the fens, and a river, is called Νησος, *an iſland:* And, that the town, called [153] Capyae, was built by Aeneas, and the Trojans, and took its name from Capys, a Trojan.

153. Καπυαι. This town is called by the ſame name in [b] Strabo, who ſays that it was reported to have been built by Aeneas, and called Capuae, from Capys; and that it ſtood near Mantinea in Arcadia. It appears, by many paſſages in Virgil, that Capys was one of the companions of Aeneas; and [c] Virgil, alſo, ſays that Capua in Italy received its name from him:

*Et Capys: hinc nomen Campanae ducitur urbi.*

[b] B. xiii. p. 905. [c] Aeneid. B. x. ℣. 145.

Ariſthus,

[154] Ariſthus, who has written of the affairs of Arcadia, and, others, give this account. Some affirm, that, indeed, he came hither; but that he died in Italy, and not here, as many relate, particularly, Agathyllus, an Arcadian, the poet, who, in an elegy, ſays thus: "He came "into Arcadia, and, in Neſus, married his two daughters "Codone, and Anthemone: But he himſelf haſtened to the "Heſperian land, where he begot Romulus." The arrival of Aeneas, and the Trojans in Italy, is atteſted by all the Romans, and confirmed by the ceremonies, obſerved by them, both in their ſacrifices, and feſtivals; by the [155] Sibyl's books, the Pythian oracles, and many other things; which none ought to reject, as contrived for the ſake of embelliſhment. Many monuments, alſo, evident to this day, are ſubſiſting, even among the Greeks, on thoſe coaſts, where they landed, and among thoſe people, with whom they

154. Αριθος, Αγαθυλλος. Ariaethus, or Ariſthus is ſcarce known but by this paſſage of Dionyſius; to which, alſo, Agathyllus is obliged for the little we know of him.

155. Σιβυλλης τε λογια, και χρησμοι Πυθικοι. [d] Thucydides makes the ſame diſtinction between prophecies in proſe, and oracles in verſe, when he ſpeaks of the ominous ſigns, that uſhered in the Peloponneſian war; πολλα μεν λογια ελεγετο, πολλα δε χρησμολογοιηδον: Upon which, the Greek ſcholiaſt, very properly, obſerves, λογια εστι τα παρα τω θεω λεγομενα καλαλογαδην· χρησμοι δε οιτινες εμμετρως λεγονται, εμφορεμενων των λεγοντων. This reaſon, if there was no other, would convince us that the Sibyl's books were in proſe. As for Thoſe in Greek hexameter verſe, which have been, often, quoted by men of more zeal than learning, they are now known to be pious frauds: For the author of them differs from all other prophets, not only in foretelling things, that are paſt, but, alſo, in being, perfectly, free from obſcurity. The great Scaliger never mentions him without giving him this, or the like appellation, *pſeudoſibyllinus hariolus*. As for the Pythian oracles, it is well known they were delivered in verſe, at leaſt, as long as they were in credit enough to maintain a poet.

[d] B. ii. c. 8.

ſtaid,

ſtaid, when ſtorms, or contrary winds detained them in their harbours: In mentioning which, though they are many, I ſhall be as ſhort as poſſible. They, firſt, went to Thrace, and landed on the peninſula, called [156] Pallene: It was inhabited, as I have ſaid, by Barbarians, named Cruſaei, where they found a ſafe retreat. There they ſtaid the winter ſeaſon, and built a temple to Venus upon one of the promontories, and alſo a city, called [157] Aenea, where they left all thoſe, who, from fatigue, were not able to bear the ſea, or choſe to remain there, as in a country they were, for the future, to look upon as their own. This city ſubſiſted to the time of the Macedonian empire under the ſucceſſors of Alexander; but was deſtroyed in the reign of Caſſander, when [158] Theſſalonica was building: And the inhabitants of Aenea, with many others, removed to the new-built city.

L. From Pallene, the Trojans ſailed to Delos, Anius being, then, king of that iſland: Here many monuments

156. Παλλήνη. M. * * * ſays, in his note upon this paſſage, that this peninſula was in Macedon, and, entirely, different from That of Thrace called, alſo, Pallene; but that is a miſtake; this is the ſame peninſula, which, formerly, belonged to the Thracians, and, afterwards, to the Macedonians. That gentleman did not, I believe, obſerve that our author, before, gave a ſummary account of Aeneas's voyage, and now enters into a detail of it.

157. Πολιν Αινειαν. This town is called by [e] Livy, in one place, *Aenia*, and, in another, *Aenea*; where, [f] he ſays, an annual ſacrifice was performed to Aeneas, the founder of it.

158. Θεσσαλονικη. [g] Strabo ſays, alſo, that the inhabitants of Aenea, and of the neighbouring villages, were removed to Theſſalonica by Caſſander, who gave to his new-built city the name of his wife: She was daughter to Philip, and ſiſter to Alexander the great. This town is, now, called *Saloniki*.

[e] B. xliv. c. 10. [f] B. xl. c. 4. [g] Epit. of Strabo. B. vii. p. 51.

of

of the arrival of Aeneas, and the Trojans, were to be ſeen, while this iſland was inhabited, and [159] flouriſhed. Then, being arrived at Cythera, another iſland, lying off Peloponneſus, they built a temple there to Venus. While they were on their voyage from [160] Cythera, and not far from Peloponneſus, one of Aeneas's companions, by name, Cinaethus, died, whom they buried upon one of the promontories, which, from him, is, to this day, called [161] Cinaethion. And, having renewed their affinity with the Arcadians, concerning which I ſhall treat afterwards, and ſtaid a ſhort time in theſe places, where they left ſome of their people, they came to [162] Zacynthus. The Zacynthii, alſo, received them in a friendly manner on account of their conſanguinity (For Dardanus, the ſon of Jupiter, and Electra, the daughter of Atlas, had, as they ſay, by Battea, two ſons, Zacynthus,

159. Ηνθει. Portus, and Sylburgius have, very juſtly, obſerved that ηνικα, or ὁτε is wanting before ηνθει to complete the ſenſe. The reader will remember that [h] Virgil, alſo, carries Aeneas to Delos, where Anius, then, reigned,

*Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phoebique ſacerdos.*

This, I imagine, Virgil deſigned as a compliment to his patron Auguſtus, who, like Julius Caeſar, was pontifex maximus, a dignity, which all his ſucceſſors injoyed till [i] Gratian was ſo very wiſe as not to accept it, which many emperors have ſince had ſufficient cauſe to lament. It was, no doubt, a very wiſe inſtitution, not that high-prieſts ſhould be kings, but that kings ſhould be high-prieſts, that is, the heads of their churches. The iſland of Delos is ſo much celebrated both by the poets, and hiſtorians of old, and of ſo little conſequence now, that both theſe are reaſons for me to ſay no more of it than that the modern Greeks, in their half Barbarous language, call it *'Sdilous.*

160. Κυθηρα. This iſland is, now, called *Cerigo.*

161. Κιναιθιον. [k] Strabo, alſo, mentions this place as lying near Taenaron, a promontory of Laconia.

162. Εις Ζακυνθον. This iſland is now called *Zante.*

[h] Aeneid. B. iii. ℣. 80. [i] Zozimus, B. iv. p. 250. Edit. of Oxf. [k] B. viii. p. 552.

and Erichthonius; of whom one was the anceſtor of Aeneas, and Zacynthus the founder of the iſland) In memory, therefore, of this conſanguinity, and by reaſon of the kindneſs of the inhabitants, they ſtaid here ſome time; and, being, alſo, detained by ſtormy weather, they offered up a ſacrifice to Venus, in a temple, built by themſelves; which, to this day, the Zacynthii perform in common, and, alſo, celebrate games, conſiſting, among other exerciſes, of a courſe to be run by young men, in which, he, who comes firſt to the temple, gains the prize: This is called the courſe of Aeneas, and Venus, and ſtatues are erected there to both of them. From thence, [163] ſtanding out to ſea, they came to Leucas, the place being, yet, in the poſſeſſion of the Acarnanes. Here, alſo, they built a temple to Venus, which ſtands in the little iſland, that lies between Dioryctus, and the city: It is called the temple of the Aenean Venus. From thence, they ſailed to [164] Actium, their fleet lying at

163. Εκειθεν δε πελαγιον ποιησαμενοι τον πλουν. This ſentence is, ſadly, tranſlated by M. ***. *De là ayant levé l'ancre ils prirent terre à Leucade.* I do imagine that Aeneas, and his people, could ſcarce have ſailed, if they had not weighed anchor; but, what becomes of πελαγιος? They were to ſail from Zante to the iſland of Leucadia, now called, *Santa Maura*, and had their choice either to ſteer their courſe between Cephalenia, now called, *Cefalogna*, and the continent, where the ſtreight is full of little iſlands; or to ſtand out to ſea, and leave Cephalenia to the eaſt: They choſe the latter; and this is, what our author calls, very properly, πελαγιος πλους. In this ſenſe, the word is uſed by [1] Thucydides, who, ſpeaking of the Lacedaemonian ſquadron, that ſailed from the cape Malea to attack Melos, ſays, πλεουσαι ην αι νηες απο Μαλεας παλαγιαι, which Hobbes has, with his uſual accuracy, tranſlated in the following manner, *Theſe gallies holding their courſe from Malea through the main ſea.*

164. Ακτιον. This town is now called *Figolo*, and ſtands at the mouth of the Ambracian gulph, known, now, by

[1] B. viii. c. 39.

anchor

anchor off a promontory of the Ambracian bay. After that, they came to Ambracia, of which city [165] Ambrax, was, then, king: He was the ſon of Dexamenus, the ſon of Hercules: And monuments of their arrival are left in both places; at Actium, the temple of the Aenean Venus, and, near to it, That of the great gods; both which remain to this day; and, in Ambracia, a temple of the ſame goddeſs, and a chapel, dedicated to the memory of Aeneas, near the little theatre, in which there is a ſmall ancient ſtatue, ſaid to be of Aeneas, that was honoured with ſacrifices by the prieſteſſes, called by them, Αμφιπολοι.

LI. From Ambracia, Anchiſes with the fleet, ſailing near the ſhore, came to [166] Buthrotum, a ſea-port of Epirus.

the name of *golfo de Larta*. Oppoſite to Actium, Auguſtus built a town, which he called Nicopolis, in memory of the ſignal victory he obtained off that place, by the conduct of Agrippa, againſt his infatuated rival, Marc Antony. Ambracia retains its old name with a ſmall variation, being, now, called *Ambrakia*.

165. Αμβραξ ὁ Δεξαμενυ τυ Ηρακλεους. I find, by a note in Hudſon, that Palmerius, after taking great pains to find out all the ſons of Hercules, ſays there is no ſuch man as Dexamenus among them; for which reaſon, he is of opinion, that this Dexamenus is the perſon, who was ſo much celebrated for his magnificent entertainment of Hercules.

166. Βυθρωτον. Aeneas, in Virgil, purſues the ſame courſe; and, having ſailed within ſight of Zacynthus, and of ſeveral iſlands lying near the continent, particularly, Ithaca, which had produced Ulyſſes, that formidable enemy to the Trojans, he arrives at Buthrotum, now, *Butrinto*; where he finds Helenus in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Epirus. But Virgil deſcribes this voyage of Aeneas ſo much better than I can, that I ſhall lay it before the reader in his own words [m]:

*Jam medio apparet fluctu nemoroſa Zacynthos,*
*Dulichiumque, Sameque, et Neritos ardua ſaxis.*
*Effugimus ſcopulos Ithacae Laërtia regna,*
*Et terram altricem ſaevi execramur Ulyſſis,*
*Mox et Leucatae nimboſa cacumina montis,*
*Et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.*

[n] *Litoraque Epiri legimus, portuque ſubimus*
*Chaonio, et celſam Buthroti aſcendimus urbem.*
*Hic incredibilis rerum fama occupat aures,*
*Priamidem Helenum Graias regnare per urbes,*
*Conjugio Aeacidae Pyrrhi ſceptriſque potitum.*

[m] Aeneid. B. iii. ℣. 270. [n] ℣. 292.

But Aeneas, with the ableſt men of the army, in two days, marched to Dodona, to conſult the oracle: There they found the Trojans, who had come thither with Helenus: And, having received anſwers concerning their colony, and, among other Trojan offerings, dedicated to the god brazen cups (ſome of which are ſtill extant, and, by their inſcriptions, which are very ancient, ſhew by whom they were given) they joined their fleet, after a march of about four days. The arrival of the Trojans at Buthrotum is made manifeſt by a hill, called Troy, where they, formerly, incamped. From Buthrotum, they ſailed cloſe to the ſhore, and came to a haven, which was, then, called the haven of Anchiſes, but, now, its name is more [167] obſcure; where alſo, they built a temple to Venus; and, then, croſſed the Ionian ſea, having for guides in their navigation, ſome, who accompanied them of their own accord, and took with them Patron, the Thurian, and his men. The greateſt part of whom, after the army was, ſafely, arrived in Italy, returned home: But Patron, with ſome of his friends, being prevailed on by Aeneas to ingage in the colony, ſtaid with

The oracle of Dodona is much celebrated by the poets, and hiſtorians in all ages; and, for that reaſon, it will be a laſting monument both of the knavery of the prieſts, and the folly of the people.

[167] Νυν δε ασαφεστεραν εχουσι ονομασιαν. Caſaubon has, with great learning, and ſagacity, ſhewn that this haven, the name of which, our author ſays, was become obſcure, was not *Caſſiope*, but *Anchemus*; which he confirms by a paſſage in one of [o] Cicero's letters to Atticus, where he ſays, *Brunduſium venimus* VII. *kal. Decemb. uſi tuâ felicitate navigandi. Ita belle nobis flavit ab Epiro leniſſimus Anchemites.*

[o] B. vii. Epiſt. 2.

them.

them. Theſe, according to ſome, inhabited [168] Alontium, a town of Sicily. In memory of this kindneſs, the Romans, afterwards, beſtowed Leucas, and [169] Anactorium upon the Acarnanes, which they had taken from the Corinthians; and the former deſiring to reinſtate the [170] Oeniadae, they gave them leave to do it, and, alſo, to enjoy the produce of the iſlands, called the [171] Echinades, in common with the Aetoli. But, to return to Aeneas: His people did not all go aſhore at the ſame part of Italy, but moſt of them landed at the [172] cape Iapygia, which was, then, called the

168. Εν Αλοντιῳ. This town ſtands on the north of Sicily, not far from the ſea, near the river Chydas, and is now called *Alontio*. [p] Cicero accuſes Verres of having robbed the inhabitants of all their wrought plate.

169. Ανακτοριον. [q] This town ſtands near to the Ambracian gulph, not far from the temple of Apollo at Actium. It is, now, called *Vonizza*.

170. Οινιαδας. Near the mouth of the river Achelous, lay a country, that was called, as Strabo ſays, *Paracheloitis*, by its being often overflowed by that river; which confounded the boundaries of the lands belonging to the Acarnanes, and their neighbours, the Aetolians; and this produced frequent wars between thoſe two nations. It is ſaid that Hercules, by raiſing banks, put a ſtop to this inundation of the river, and introduced plenty into a country, that, before, was, generally, covered with water; which gave occaſion to the fable of Amalthea's horn. This ſervice Hercules did to the country in favor of Oeneus, who was king of it; and whoſe daughter Deïanira he had married. From Oeneus, the people were called Oeniadae.

171. Εχιναδας. Theſe are ſmall iſlands lying at the mouth of the Achelous. [s] Pliny makes them nine. [t] Thucydides, and, after him, [u] Strabo were of opinion that theſe iſlands would, one day, be joined to the continent by the mud, continually, brought down by the Achelous, which, the former ſays, is a large, and turbid river. It is ſaid that this has happened to all theſe iſlands, but three, which are, now, called, *Curſolari*, or *Cuzzolari*.

172. Ακραν Ιαπυγιαν. Thus Caſaubon reads it inſtead of ακραν Ιαπυγιας, which he, very properly, ſupports by the authority of [w] Thucydides, who calls this promontory by that name. I find, alſo, that [x] Strabo calls it ακρα Ιαπυγια. It is, now, called, *Capo di S. Maria di Leuca*.

[p] Fourth Oration againſt Verres. [q] Strabo, B. x. p. 691. [r] B. x. p. 703. [s] B. iv. c. 12. [t] B. ii. c. 102. [u] B. x. p. 703. [w] B. vi. c. 44. [x] B. ii. p. 185.

Salentine

[173] Salentine cape: The reſt diſembarked at a place, called [174] Minervium, where Aeneas himſelf landed in Italy. This is a promontory, that forms a harbour in the ſummer, which, from that time, is called the haven of Venus: After this, they ſailed along the ſhore to the ſtreight, having Italy on one hand, and left in theſe places, alſo, ſome traces of their arrival; among others, a brazen patera in the temple of Juno, on which is inſcribed, in ancient characters, the name of Aeneas, who dedicated it to the goddeſs.

LII. When they came near Sicily, whether they had any deſign of landing there, or were forced from their courſe by tempeſts, which are common in theſe ſeas, they diſimbarked at that part of the iſland, which is called [175] Drepana: Here,

173. Η τοῦ Σαλεντίνος ἐλεγεῖο. We are obliged to the Vatican manuſcript for this correction. The ſouth weſt part of this peninſula was inhabited by the Salentini, whoſe territories [y] Strabo ſays, included the promontory Iapygia. For which reaſon, it is called by [z] Pliny *Salentinum promontorium.*

174. Αθηναιον. This temple of Minerva is mentioned by many ancient authors. It ſtood to the north of the [a] cape Iapygia, and was called by the Romans, *Caſtrum Minervae*, *Ara Minervae*, and *Minervium*, and, now, *Caſtro.* Here, alſo, Aeneas lands in [b] Virgil;

*portuſque pateſcit*
*Jam propior, templumque apparet in arce Minervae:*
*Vela legunt ſocii, et proras ad litora torquent.*

175. Δρεπανα. A town on the ſouth weſt part of Sicily, not far from Lilybaeum: It is now called [c] *Trápani.* This town ſtands in a peninſula, the ſouth ſide of which forms a fine port. Drepanum received its name from its figure, which, being curved, was thought to reſemble a ſithe, in Greek, δρεπανον; which figure gave name, alſo, to Meſſana, another city in Sicily, which was called Zancle, from ζαγκλη, another Greek word for a ſithe. In Drepanum, Aeneas, as [d] Virgil ſays, loſes his father Anchiſes, and, for this reaſon he calls it, *a melancholy coaſt*;

*Hinc Drepani me portus et illaetabilis ora*
*Accipit.*

Here, alſo, he finds his countryman Aceſtes, called, by the hiſtorians, Aegeſtus; and here was the coaſt, where his brother Eryx had reigned.

[y] B. vi. p. 425. [z] B. iii. c. 13. [a] Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iv. p. 1240.
[b] Aencid. B. iii. ℣. 530. [c] Cluver, Sicil. Antiq. B. ii. p. 236. [d] Aeneid. B. iii. ℣. 707.

they

they found the Trojans, who, with Elymus, and Aegeſtus, had left Troy before them; and who, being [176] favoured both by fortune, and the winds, and, at the ſame time, not over burthened with baggage, had a quick paſſage to Sicily, and were ſettled near the river [177] Crimeſus, in the country of the Sicani, who, out of friendſhip, had beſtowed the land upon them by reaſon of their relation to Aegeſtus, who had been born, and bred in Sicily by the following accident: One of his anceſtors, a man of diſtinction, and of Trojan extraction, being upon ill terms with Laomedon, the king, ſeized him for ſome reaſon, and put him to death, and, with him, all his male children, leſt he ſhould ſuffer ſome miſchief from them; but, thinking it unbecoming him to put his daughters to death, as they were yet virgins,

176. Οἱ τυχης τε και πνευμαλος ηρις λαβομενοι. I cannot perſuade myſelf that our author deſigned ηρις as an epithet both for τυχης, and πνευμαλος, though I find the Latin tranſlators have applied it to both; and ſo would Ovid, no doubt, if he had tranſlated it, as any one may gueſs, by the following diſtich, which, is, pretty much, in the ſame taſte, and which I have heard much admired:

*Demophoon ventis, et verba, et vela dediſti:*
*Vela queror reditu, verba carere fide* [e].

This is the language of a witty poet, not of a loveſick girl, who would have expreſſed herſelf with leſs wit, and more paſſion. If I have applied the word *favoured* both to fortune, and the winds, it is becauſe *favourable*, in our language, is applicable to both in a figurative ſenſe: But ηριος, when applied to fortune, is in the figurative; and, when to the wind, in a literal ſenſe. But this epigrammatic way of writing is much below the dignity of hiſtory, and no author deſpiſes it more than Dionyſius. The only difficulty is, that τυχη, without this epithet, may be thought too general, and not to ſignify *good fortune:* But this difficulty will be removed, if we conſider the word, as explained by Heſychius. Τυχη, ευλυχια.

177. Κριμησον. This river, is, ſometimes, called Κριμεσος, and, by [f] Plutarch, Κριμησος: It falls into the ſea not far from Lilybæum, on the ſouth weſt coaſt of Sicily, and is, now, called *Balici*.

[e] Phyll. to Demoph. v. 25. [f] Life of Timol.

and

and unſafe to ſuffer them to marry any of the Trojans, he delivered them to ſome merchants, with orders to carry them to the moſt diſtant country: They were attended in their voyage by a noble youth, who was in love with one of the two virgins, whom he married as ſoon as ſhe arrived in Sicily; and, during their ſtay among the Siceli, they had a ſon, whoſe name was Aegeſtus; and who, having learned the manners, and language of the inhabitants, after the death of his parents, Priamus being, then, king of Troy, obtained leave to return home; and, having aſſiſted him in the war with the Greeks, [178] while theſe were employed in taking the city, he ſailed back again to Sicily, being accompanied, in his flight, by Elymus, with the three ſhips, which Achilles had with him, when he plundered the Trojan cities, and which, by their ſtriking upon ſome hidden rocks, he had loſt. Aeneas, finding theſe men here, ſhewed them great kindneſs, and built two cities for them, called [179] Aegeſta,

[178] Αλισκομενης της πολεως. I think *la ville étant ſur le point d'être priſe*, in M. ***, does not expreſs the author's ſenſe; and ſubmit it to him, whether *pendant qu'on prénoit la ville* would not be a cloſer tranſlation of it in his language.

[179] Αιγεσαν και Ελυμα. The firſt of theſe towns was, afterwards, called *Segeſta*, by the Romans, and looked upon by them to have been founded by Aeneas. [g] Cicero ſays the inhabitants could prove this: For which reaſon, they eſteemed themſelves as united to the Romans, not only, by a perpetual alliance, and friendſhip, but, alſo, by conſanguinity. This town ſtood near the river Simois, after it had been joined by the Scamander; both Trojan names, and the ruins of its ſea port are ſtill to be ſeen at a place which [h] Cluver ſays is, now, called *Caſtel à mare*. This place lies on the ſouth weſt coaſt of Sicily. But this great geographer, very unjuſtly, cenſures [i] Virgil for making Ilioneus ſay to Dido,

*ſunt et Siculis regionibus urbes,*
*Armaque, Trojanoque a ſanguine clarus Aceſtes,*

[g] Againſt Verres, fourth oration. [h] Sic. Antiq. p. 265. [i] Aeneid. B. i. ℣. 549.

and

and Eryx, where he left ſome part of his army; which, I imagine, he did by choice, to the end that thoſe, who were tired with fatigue, or, otherwiſe, diſliking the ſea, might injoy reſt, and a ſafe retreat: But ſome write, that the loſs of part of his fleet, which was burnt by ſome of the women, who were diſſatisfied with wandering, obliged him to leave thoſe behind, who belonged to the ſhips, that were burnt;

before Aeneas had ever been in that iſland: For, ſays he, the poet brings him thither after the death of Dido. From whence, he concludes that Virgil, very much, forgot himſelf, when he ſpoke of the arrival of Aeneas at Drepanum in Sicily. But, if Cluver had conſidered the ſeries of Virgil's narration with a little more attention, he would not have paſſed this cenſure on him. Aeneas lands at Drepanum, where he loſes his father; from thence, he ſets ſail for Italy; but is driven, by a tempeſt, on the coaſt of Africa near Carthage: And [h] Virgil begins his narration with his hero's ſailing from Sicily.

*Vix è conſpectu Siculae telluris in altum*
*Vela dabant laeti.*

Ilioneus, therefore, very properly, mentions Sicily, and Aceſtes in his ſpeech to Dido: And it muſt be ſuppoſed that Aeneas, during his firſt ſtay in Sicily, had ſeen Aceſtes; becauſe, when he came to that coaſt the ſecond time, Virgil makes Aceſtes ſurpriſed at the arrival of his allies, who, he imagined, were in Italy, and [i] congratulating them *on their return*,

*Et procul exceſſo miratus vertice montis*
*Adventum ſociaſque rates, occurrit Aceſtes,*

[k] *Gratatur* reduces.

It is plain, therefore, that Aeneas had been in Sicily before he went to Carthage, and ſaw Dido. While he was there the ſecond time, he built Aegeſta; and, having left the women there, and thoſe of his people, who were not ambitious of a great name, he ſailed to Italy with the reſt, who were few in number, but eager for action[l];

*Tranſcribunt urbi matres, populumque volentem*
*Deponunt, animos nil magnae laudis egentes.*
*Ipſi tranſtra novant,*
*Exigui numero, ſed bello vivida virtus.*

Every reader, who admires Virgil, will excuſe this digreſſion in juſtification of him. Concerning the other town, called, Ελυμα, by our author, Cluver, very juſtly, contends that we ſhould read Ερυκα, which he ſupports by the authority of [m] Thucydides, who ſays that Ερυξ and Εγεσα were two cities belonging to the Elymi. Here Cluver fights with the arms of geography, in which he was better exerciſed then in Thoſe of criticiſm.

[h] Aeneid. B. i. ℣. 34. [i] Aeneid. B. v. ℣. 35. [k] ℣. 40. [l] Aeneid. B. v. ℣. 750.
[m] B. vi. c. 2.

and, for that reaſon, could ſail no longer with their companions.

LIII. There are many monuments of the arrival of Aeneas, and the Trojans, in Sicily; but the moſt remarkable are the altar of the Aenean Venus, placed on the ſummit of mount Eryx; and, a temple, dedicated to Aeneas, in Aegeſta; the firſt being erected by Aeneas himſelf, to his mother; and the temple, by thoſe left there by the fleet, who conſecrated it to the memory of their deliverer. The Trojans, therefore, who came hither with Elymus, and Aegeſtus, remained in theſe places, and continued to be called Elymi; for Elymus was the firſt in dignity, as being of the royal family, from whom they all took their name. Aeneas, and his companions, leaving Sicily, croſſed the Tyrrhene ſea, and came, firſt, to a port of Italy, called [180] Palinurus, which, they ſay, took its name from one of the pilots of Aeneas, who died there. After that, they came to an iſland, which they called [181] Leucoſia, from a woman, who was a relation to Aeneas, and died at that place. From thence, they came to an anchor in a deep and beautiful haven of the Opici, which, from [182] Miſenus, a man of figure, who, alſo, died there, they

180. Παλινυρος. When [n] Virgil ſaid,

*Aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit,*

he ſpoke like a prophet, as well as a poet; for this place is ſtill called *Palinuro*, and the cape, *Capo di Palinuro*.

181. Λευκοσια. This is the name all authors give to this little rocky iſland, called, now, *la Licoſa*.

182. Μισηνος. Miſenus, the trumpeter of Aeneas, who was thrown into the ſea here by his rival, Triton, is much celebrated by Virgil. Our countryman, Dryden, who was a man of great learning, and very capable both of taſting, and expreſſing the beauties of poetry, is tranſported with the laſt of the two following verſes, which, they

[n] Aeneid. B. vi. ℣. 381.

called

called by his name: And, coming to the iſland, [183] Prochyta, and to the promontory, [184] Caieta, they named theſe places in the ſame manner, deſiring they ſhould ſerve as monuments of the women who died there; of whom one, is ſaid to have been a relation of Aeneas, and, the other, his nurſe. At laſt, they arrived at Laurentum in Italy; where, coming to the end of their wandering, they threw up an intrenchment; and the place, where they incamped, is, from that time, called [185] Troy: It is diſtant from the ſea about four

ſay, [o] Virgil added, while he was reciting the Aeneid to Auguſtus,

*Miſenum Aeoliden: quo non praeſtantior alter*
*Aere ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu*[p].

This cape is, ſtill, called *Capo Miſeno*. I have not followed the Vatican manuſcript, where this haven is called λιμην κακος; becauſe, if it had been *a bad haven*, it would not have been the conſtant ſtation of the Roman fleet, provided for the ſecurity of the Tyrrhene ſea; which it, certainly, was, as may be ſeen in many ancient authors, particularly, in the letter, mentioned in a former note, which Pliny the younger writ to Tacitus, giving him an account of his uncle's death.

183. Προχυτη. A little iſland lying off cape Miſenum, now, called *Procita*, and *Procida*.

184. Ακρωτηριω Καιετη. Thus Caſaubon has, very judiciouſly, corrected this paſſage: But I wiſh he had left out τυχη, which, I think, can have no place here. For I do not ſee why Aeneas, when he was ſailing along this coaſt, could be ſaid to have come to this promontory *by chance* any more than to any other. Caieta, ſtill, retains its name with a ſmall variation, it being, now, called *Gaeta*. Here, again, Virgil has followed the ſame hiſtorians with our author, and ſays, this place received its name from the nurſe of Aeneas, who died here.

*Tu quoque litoribus noſtris, Aeneïa nutrix,*
*Aeternam moriens famam, Caïeta, dediſti* [q].

185. Τροια. [r] Livy gives the ſame account. *Ab Siciliâ claſſe Laurentum agrum tenuiſſe: Troja et huic loco nomen eſt.* The place, where Aeneas formed his camp, muſt have been between the lake of Oſtia, and the eaſt ſide of the Tiber. Our author ſays he was under a neceſſity of making this digreſſion concerning the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, becauſe many hiſtorians aſſerted that Aeneas never came thither at all. This aſſertion many modern authors of great reputation have revived, and and written, profeſſedly, on that ſubject. For which reaſon, I ſhall follow

[o] Preface to Freſnoy's Art of painting. [p] Aeneid. B. vi. ℣. 164. [q] Aeneid. B. vii. ℣. 1. [r] B. i. c. 1.

ſtadia. I was under a neceſſity of relating theſe things, and of making this digreſſion; ſince ſome hiſtorians affirm that Aeneas did not, even, come into Italy with the Trojans; and ſome, that it was another Aeneas, not the ſon of Anchiſes, and Venus; others, that it was Aſcanius, the ſon of Aeneas; and others, that they were ſome other perſons. There are, who pretend, that Aeneas, the ſon of Venus, after he had ſettled a colony of his people in Italy, returned home, was king of Troy, and, dying, left his kingdom to Aſcanius, his ſon, whoſe poſterity injoyed it for a long time: Theſe are, in my opinion, deceived, by miſtaking the ſenſe of Homer's verſes. For, in the iliad, he repreſents Neptune, foretelling the future ſplendor of Aeneas, and his poſterity, in this manner;

[186] *On great Aeneas ſhall devolve the reign,*
*And ſons ſucceeding ſons the laſting line ſuſtain.*

Pope.

the example of our author, and, alſo, make a digreſſion, to anſwer the objections of theſe writers. But, I eaſily, foreſee that a diſſertation of this kind, in which many things muſt be anſwered, and many eſtabliſhed, will be much too long to be inſerted among the notes; I ſhall, therefore, give it a place by itſelf at the end of this book.

186. Νυν δε δη Αινειαο. I have given Pope's tranſlation of theſe verſes, which I ſhall always obſerve, when any verſes of Homer are quoted in the courſe of this work. For a poet muſt be tranſlated by a poet; and his tranſlation of the Iliad will be admired as long as the Engliſh language ſhall be underſtood. He has a long note upon theſe verſes, in which he takes notice of the explication our author gives of them in the paſſage, now, before us; and, upon the whole, treats the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, as a chimera, invented both by Virgil, and our author, to compliment Auguſtus. But, I ſhall conſider his reaſons at large, as alſo, Thoſe alledged by Bochart in his letter to Segrais, to which he refers. I hope no critic will find fault with his tranſlation of theſe verſes, becauſe he has left out the word *Trojans*, which is the very point in diſpute; ſince, as Homer

Thus,

Thus, ſuppoſing that Homer knew theſe men reigned in Phrygia, they invented the return of Aeneas, as if it were not poſſible that, if they lived in Italy, they ſhould reign over Trojans. But, it was not impoſſible that he ſhould reign over thoſe Trojans he had carried with him, though ſettled in another country. However, other reaſons, alſo, may be given for this miſtake.

LIV. But if this creates a difficulty, that the ſepulchre of Aeneas is ſaid to be, and is ſhewn, in many places, it being impoſſible for the ſame perſon to be buried in more than one; let them conſider that this difficulty is common to many, particularly to men of illuſtrious fortunes, and wandering lives; and let me inform them that, though only one place received their bodies, yet, their monuments were erected in many, through the gratitude of thoſe, who had received ſome benefits from them; particularly, if any of their family, ſtill, remained, or any city had been built by them, or if their reſidence, among any of thoſe people, had been long, and diſtinguiſhed by inſtances of humanity: All which agree with the [187] account, we have received, of this hero. For, having preſerved Troy, when it was taken, from utter

had, in the preceding verſe, mentioned Priam, the kingdom, that was to devolve on Aeneas, muſt be underſtood to be That of the Trojans. We find, by [s] Strabo, that ſome read theſe verſes in this manner:

Νυν δε δη Αινειαο βιη ΠΑΝΤΕΣΣΙΝ αναξει.

meaning the Romans. And, in this manner, [t] Virgil has adapted them to his ſyſtem.

*Hic domus Aeneae* cunctis *dominabitur oris,*
*Et nati natorum, et qui naſcentur ab illis.*

187. Μυθολογημενα. See the end of the 37th annotation. All the tranſlators have adhered to the vulgar ſenſe of the word, without conſidering the abſurdity, that, viſibly, reſults from it.

[s] B. xiii. p. 906. [t] Aeneid. B. iii. ℣. 97.

de-

deſtruction, and ſent away the Trojan allies ſafe to Bebrycia; left his ſon Aſcanius to reign in Phrygia; built a city of the ſame name with himſelf in Pallene; married his daughters in Arcadia; left part of his army in Sicily; and, during his reſidence in many other parts, viſibly, behaved himſelf with great humanity, he acquired the voluntary affection of thoſe people, and, for that reaſon, was honoured, after his death, with temples, and monuments in many places: What cauſe, then, can be aſſigned for the monuments erected to him in Italy, if he never reigned in thoſe parts, reſided there, or was, intirely, unknown to the inhabitants? But this point ſhall be, again, diſcuſſed, and made manifeſt, as often as the occaſion ſhall require it.

LV. The reaſon why the Trojan fleet ſailed no further into Europe, is to be attributed to the oracles, which were fulfilled in theſe parts, and to the will of Heaven, many ways, revealed to them. For, while their fleet lay at anchor off Laurentum, and they were incamped near the ſhore, firſt, the men, being oppreſſed with thirſt, and there being no water in the place, (what I ſay, I had from the inhabitants) ſprings of the ſweeteſt water were ſeen riſing out of the earth ſpontaneouſly, of which all the army drank, and the place was overflowed, till the ſtream ran down to the ſea from the ſprings, which, at this time, are not ſo high as to overflow; but there is a little water, contained in a hollow place, which the inhabitants ſay is conſecrated to the ſun; and, near it, two altars are to be ſeen, one to the eaſt, the other to the weſt; both of Trojan ſtructure; upon which,

which, they ſay, Aeneas offered up his firſt ſacrifice to the god in acknowledgement for the water. After that, while they were at dinner upon the ground, many of them ſtrewed parſley under their victuals, inſtead of a table; but, others ſay, they made uſe of wheaten cakes, that they might eat with greater cleanlineſs: When all the victuals, that were laid before them, were eaten, one of them eat of the parſley, or cakes, that were laid under their victuals, and then another; and one of Aeneas's ſons, as it is ſaid, or, ſome other of the company, happened to ſay, Behold, we have eaten even the table! As ſoon as they heard this, they all cried out, [188] with joy, that the firſt part of the oracle was, now, fulfilled. For, a certain oracle had been delivered to them, as ſome ſay, in Dodona; but, as others write, in Erythrae, a town near mount Ida, where lived a [189] Sibyl of that coun-

188. Ανεθορυβησαν· Θορυβειν does not, always, ſignify *to act diſorderly*, as it is generally, ſuppoſed: It, ſometimes, ſignifies, *to applaud:* A remarkable inſtance of which we find in [v] Demoſthenes; ταυτα ακουσαντες εκεινοι, και θορυβουντες ὡς ορθως λεγεται.

189. Σιβυλλα. This Erithraean Sibyl is much celebrated by many authors, both ancient and modern, who have abuſed their leiſure in tranſmitting the impoſtures of one age to the credulity of the next. Of all the etymologies of the word Sibylla, That, given by Servius, ſeems to come neareſt the truth; [w] he ſays the name is derived from Σιος βουλη, *the decree of Jupiter*, of which, it ſeems, theſe ladies were the interpreters. It is certain, that, in the Aeolic, or Doric dialect, σιος is διος; from whence came the oath, ſo much uſed by the Lacedaemonians, who ſpoke the Doric dialect, μα τω Σιω; by which they meant the two brother gods, Caſtor, and Pollux. This very extraordinary prophecy, that the Trojans were to reſt from their labors in the place, where they ſhould eat their tables, [x] Virgil, who would omit no tradition, which had any thing marvellous in it, puts into the mouth of the Harpy, who, we find, was, alſo, a propheteſs,

*Sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem,*
*Quam vos dira fames noſtraeque injuria caedis*
*Ambeſas ſubigat malis conſumere menſas.*

[v] Philip. 2d. [w] On the third book, Aeneid. ℣. 452. [x] Aeneid. B. iii. ℣. 255.

try,

try, a prophetic nymph, who ordered them to ſail weſtward till they came to a place, where they ſhould eat the tables: And, when they found this had happened, they ſhould follow a quadruped, as their guide; and, wherever the animal, ſpent with fatigue, laid itſelf down, there they ſhould built a city. Calling to mind, therefore, this prophecy, ſome, by the order of Aeneas, brought to the place, appointed by him, the images of the gods out of the ſhip; others prepared [190] pedeſtals, and altars for them; and the women with ſhouts, and dancing, accompanied the images: And Aeneas, with his companions, when the ſacrifice was ready, ſtood round the altar with crowns on their heads.

LVI. While theſe were offering up their prayers, the ſow, which was the deſtined victim, being big with young, and near her time, when the prieſts were [191] beginning the immolation, broke looſe, and, flying from thoſe who held her, ran up into the country. Aeneas, underſtanding this was, certainly, the guide the oracle had pointed out, followed it, with a few of his people, at a ſmall diſtance, fearing leſt,

This prophecy, which ſeemed to threaten ſo dreadful a famine, [y] he ſolves, alſo, in the ſame harmleſs manner with our author;

*Heus! etiam menſas conſumimus, inquit Iulus.*
*Nec plura alludens: ea vox audita laborum*
*Prima tulit finem.*

190. Βαθρα. This is the proper Greek word for *pedeſtals*; and, in this ſenſe, it is uſed by [z] Herodotus, who, ſpeaking of the perſons ſent from Athens to Aegina to bring away the ſtatues of Damia, and Auxeſia, ſays they endeavoured to take them from their pedeſtals, τα αγαλμαλα ταυλα ωειρᾳν εκ των βαθρων εξαναστηναι. Le Jay ſeems not to have liked the word; for which reaſon, he has left it out. The other French tranſlator has ſaid *des marchepieds*, which is not the term in his language. Why not *des piédéſtaux?*

191. Καλαρχομενων. See the 124th annotation.

[y] Aeneid. B. vii. ℣. 116.

[z] In Terpſich. c. 85.

being

diſturbed by her purſuers, ſhe might be frightened from the courſe fate had preſcribed to her. The ſow, having gone about four and twenty ſtadia from the ſea, ran up a hill, where, being tired, ſhe lay down. But Aeneas (for the oracles ſeemed, now, to be fulfilled) obſerving the land to be barren, and at a diſtance from the ſea, where, even, the road was unſafe, found himſelf in great perplexity whether they ought, in obedience to the oracle, to ſettle there, where they were to lead a life of perpetual miſery, without any injoyment, or go further, in ſearch of a better ſoil. While he was in this conſideration, accuſing the gods, on a ſudden, they ſay, he heard a voice, which came from a wood, the perſon, who uttered it, not appearing, by which he was commanded to ſtay there, and build a city, immediately; and not, by giving way to the uncertainty of his preſent opinion that he was going to ſettle in a barren country, to reject his future, and, in a manner, preſent happineſs: For, it was decreed, that, iſſuing forth from this barren and ſmall habitation, he ſhould, in proceſs of time, acquire a ſpacious and fertil country; and that his children, and poſterity ſhould be maſters of a vaſt empire, which ſhould laſt for many ages; that, for the preſent, therefore, this city ſhould be a retreat for the Trojans; but that, after as many years, as the ſow ſhould bring forth young ones, another large and flouriſhing city ſhould be built by his poſterity. It is ſaid, that Aeneas, hearing this, and looking upon the voice as ſomething divine, did, as the god had commanded. But, others ſay, that, while he was oppreſſed with anxiety, and

had ſo far abandoned himſelf to grief, as neither to come into the camp, nor take any nouriſhment, but laying himſelf down to reſt that night, where it overtook him, a great and wonderful phantom appeared to him in [192] his ſleep, in the ſhape of one of his houſhold gods, and gave him the advice, juſt before, mentioned. Which of theſe accounts is the trueſt, the gods, only, know. The next day, it is ſaid, the ſow brought forth [193] thirty young ones; and that, according to the oracle, as many years after, another city was built by the Trojans, concerning which I ſhall ſpeak in a proper place.

LVII. Aeneas ſacrificed the ſow, with her young, to his houſhold gods, in the place, where, now, ſtands the [194] wooden hut, which the Lavinienſes look upon as holy, and preſerve it inacceſſible to all but themſelves: Then, ordering the Trojans to remove their camp to the hill, he placed the images of his gods in the beſt part of it; and, immediately, began to build the town with the greateſt alacrity; and, going down to the country round him, took

192. Ενυπνιον. This word is, here, taken adverbially, as in the following verſe of [a] Homer:

Κλυθι, φιλοι, θειος μοι ενυπνιον ηλθεν ονειρος.

193. Τριακοντα λεγεται χοιρους, etc. This prophecy, [b] Virgil, who, like our author, had, no doubt, met with it in the old Roman hiſtorians, makes the river Tiber deliver to Aeneas;

*Jamque tibi, ne vana putes haec fingere ſomnum,*
*Litoreis ingens inventa ſub ilicibus ſus,*
*Triginta capitum foetus enixa, jacebit;*
*Alba, ſolo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.*
*Hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum:*
*Ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis*
*Aſcanius clari condet cognominis Albam.*

194. Καλιας. I know this word, ſometimes, ſignifies *a chapel*, but, oftener, *a wooden hut*, from καλον, *wood*. Portus, and M. *** have given it the former ſenſe; le Jay has ſaid *une petite retraite*, which is ſomething like the ſenſe. Sylburgius is the only one, who has rendered it properly, *caſa lignea*. If it had been a chapel, our author needed not to have ſaid that it was looked upon as holy.

[a] Il. β. ν. 56. [b] Aeneid. B. viii. ν. 42.

from

from thence ſuch things, as were of uſe to him in building, the loſs of which was likely to be the moſt grievous to the owners, ſuch as iron, timber, and inſtruments of agriculture. In the mean time, Latinus, who was, then, king of the country, being at war with a neighbouring people, called the Rutuli; and, having fought ſome battles with ill ſucceſs, received an account of what had paſſed, in the moſt terrifying manner, as, that all his coaſt was laid waſte by a foreign army; and, if he did not, immediately, put a ſtop to their depredations, the war, with his neighbours, would become more grievous to him. Latinus was ſtruck with this news; and, laying aſide all thoughts of the preſent war, he marched againſt the Trojans with a great army: But, ſeeing them armed after the Grecian manner, drawn up in good order, and prepared to receive him with reſolution, he did not think it prudent to hazard an immediate ingagement; ſince he ſaw no probability of defeating them at the firſt onſet, [195] as he had expected, when he firſt marched out againſt them: But, incamping on a hill, he found it convenient to recover his troops from their preſent fatigue, which, from the length of their march, and the eagerneſs of the purſuit, was very great: And he reſolved, after he had paſſed the night there, to attack the enemy by break of day. Having taken this reſolution, a certain genius of the place, appearing to him in his ſleep, ordered him to receive the Greeks, as cohabitants with his own ſubjects; adding that their ar-

[195] Καθ' ἣν εσχε δοξαν. The Vatican manuſcript has, wonderfully, reſtored this ſentence, which is very imperfect in all the editions.

rival would be attended with a great advantage to him, and a common benefit to the Aborigines. The ſame night, Aeneas's houſhold gods, appearing to him, adviſed him to perſuade Latinus to grant them a ſettlement, of his own accord, in that part of the country they deſired, and, to uſe the Greek forces, rather as allies, than as enemies. However, the dream hindered both of them from beginning an ingagement. As ſoon as it was day, and the armies were drawn up in order of battle, heralds came to the commanders from both, deſiring that theſe might have a conference together; which was complied with.

LVIII. And, firſt, Latinus complained "of the ſudden "war, they had made upon his ſubjects, without any pre- "vious declaration; and deſired Aeneas would let him know "who he was, and what he meant by [196] plundering the "country, without any provocation, ſince he could not be "ignorant that all, who are attacked, have a right to repel "the invader: And, that, when he might have obtained, in "a friendly manner, and by the conſent of the inhabitants, "whatever he could, reaſonably, deſire, he had choſen to "take it by force, contrary to the right of all nations, and "with greater diſhonor, than credit to himſelf." After he had ſaid this, Aeneas anſwered; "We are natives of

196. Αγει και φερει τα χωρια. The Latin tranſlators have rendered this, very properly, by *agere et ferre*, which, like many other Latin expreſſions, is, originally, derived from the Greek. *Des actes d'hoſtilité qu'on avoit exercez*, in le Jay, I think is ſcarce ſtrong enough. Neither do I think that *piller ſes terres*, in the other French tranſlator, though better far than the other, expreſſes αγειν και φερειν ſo well as the expreſſion our language has ſupplied me with.

"Troy,

" Troy, a city famous among the [197] Greeks; of which

197. Εν Ελλησι. M. ***, in his note upon this paſſage, blames our author, violently, for making Aeneas call the Greeks Ελληνες, which name, he ſays, the people of Greece were not known by till many ages after the Trojan war; and, even, not ſo early as in That, in which Homer lived, who never calls all the Greeks Ελληνες, but only gives that name to the inhabitants of Phthiotis, who followed Achilles to Troy. I have read what [c] Thucydides, and [d] Strabo have ſaid upon this ſubject; but I do not think the arguments, alledged by the latter, ſo concluſive as others, that may be drawn from chronology, to prove that the Greeks, in general, were known by the name of Ελληνες many years, nay, ſome ages, not only, before Homer, but, even, before the Trojan war. But I muſt, previouſly, obſerve that, if the cenſure, thrown upon our author by that gentleman, is well grounded, Virgil is, alſo, included in it; ſince he calls Achaemenides, *Graius*, in the ſame period of time, in which, Aeneas, in our author, calls the Greeks Ελληνες [e];

*Conſertum tegmen ſpinis: at caetera* Graius.

I am very ſenſible, that [f] Homer, when he ſays,

Οι τ' ειχον Φθιην, ηδ' Ελλαδα καλλιγυναικα,
Μυρμιδονας δ' εκαλειτο, και Ελληνες, και Αχαιοι,

means only the inhabitants of Theſſaly; but I am not ſo clear that, when he [g] ſays,

Ανδρος τε κλεος ευρυ καθ' ΕΛΛΑΔΑ, και μεσον Αργος,

he means any particular country, or city of Theſſaly; becauſe, when he ſpeaks of the city of Argos, that was built by Pelaſgus in Theſſaly, he diſtinguiſhes it by the name of Πελασγικον Αργος, as [h]

οσσοι τ' Πελασγικον Αργος ενασον.

in which, he has been followed by the geographers. But I ſhall leave conjectures to thoſe, who want arguments. I have undertaken to prove that the general name of the Greeks was Ελληνες many years before the Trojan war; and, conſequently, that our author was guilty of no anachroniſm, nor deſerved cenſure for calling them ſo. In the ſixth epocha of the Parian marble, the time is mentioned, when Hellen, the ſon of Deucalion, reigned in Phthiotis; and the Greeks, who had, till then, been known by the name of Γραικοι, were called Ελληνες. The year, there ſet down, is 1257. In the 25th epocha, the taking of Troy is mentioned, and the year, ſet down, is 945. If, therefore, from 1257, we deduct 945, it will be found that the people of Greece were called Ελληνες, 312 years before the taking of Troy. This is confirmed by the moſt celebrated chronologers; who all agree that Troy was taken in the 3530th year of the Julian [i] period, 1184 years before Chriſt; and that the flood, in the time of Deucalion, happened 1529 years before [k] Chriſt, and in the 3185th year of the Julian period: So that, the interval, between the flood of Deucalion, the father of Hellen, and the taking of Troy, muſt, according to them, conſiſt of 345 years.

[c] B. i. c. 3. [d] B. viii. p. 568. [e] Aeneid. B. iii. ℣. 594. [f] Iliad. β. ℣. 498.
[g] Odyſſ. α. ℣. 344. [h] Iliad. β. ℣. 681. [i] Uſher, p. 26. [k] Petavius, B. i. c. 11. and 7.

" being

" being deprived by the Achaeans, after a ten years war, " we wander up and down, through the want both of a " city, and a country, where we may live for the future; and " are come hither, in obedience to the commands of the " gods: The oracles aſſuring us that this land alone is re- " ſerved for us, as the haven of our wandering. We have, " [198] lately, taken from the country thoſe things we wanted, " with greater regard, indeed, to our [199] unfortunate ſituation, " than to decency, which we very much condemn: But we " will compenſate them with many good ſervices, in yielding " to you our perſons, and our minds, well diſciplined againſt " dangers, to employ them as you think proper, in preſerving " your country from the inroads of enemies, and in aſſiſting

[198] Νεωστι. This word muſt, certainly, have been miſplaced by the tranſcribers; and I make no doubt but our author writ εποριζομεθα μεν νεωστι, etc. to which αμειψομεθα δε, in the next ſentence, anſwers very fully.

[199] Δυσυχεστερον μαλλον η ευπρεπεστερον. This is oppoſed to αισχιον μαλλον η καλλιον, with which Latinus had reproached Aeneas. But here is an uncommon expreſſion, that, very well, deſerved the obſervation of the commentators; and, that is, the uſe of μαλλον with a comparative: However, I have met with it in the beſt writers; one inſtance of which I ſhall quote from Demoſthenes, with whoſe manner of writing our author ſhews, by his critical works, that he was, perfectly well, acquainted. That great orator reproaches the Athenians with having made it dangerous to give them good advice; the conſequence of which, he tells them, will be, that, whoever gave them ſuch advice, would, not only, ſuffer, unjuſtly, himſelf without doing them any ſervice, but, alſo, render it, for the future, ſtill more dangerous to propoſe ſuch things to them, as were moſt for their advantage, [l] αλλα και εις το λοιπον ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ει η νυν το τα βελτιστα λεγειν ΦΟΒΕΡΩΤΕΡΟΝ ποιησαι. It is very extraordinary that the Latin writers ſhould imitate the Greeks in this uncommon manner of ſpeaking; but ſo it is, and many inſtances might be given of this alſo; I ſhall content myſelf with one from [m] Juſtin, who, ſpeaking of Lycurgus, ſays, *non inventione earum (legum)* magis *quam exemplo* clarior.

[l] Olynth. i.

[m] B. iii. c. 2.

" you

" you, with alacrity, to conquer theirs. We, humbly, intreat
" you not to reſent what we have done, aſſuring yourſelves,
" that we did it not through contempt, but neceſſity: And
" [200] every thing, that is involuntary, deſerves forgiveneſs:
" So that, you [201] ought not to take any reſolution to the
" prejudice of us, who are your ſuppliants: If you ſhould,
" we muſt beg the tutelary gods, and genius's of this country
" to forgive us what we are, even, compelled to do; and
" endeavour to defend ourſelves againſt you, who are the
" aggreſſors in this war; which will not be the firſt, nor the
" greateſt we have been [202] ingaged in. When Latinus
heard this, he made anſwer; " I can aſſure you, I have
" great benevolence towards the Greek nation, in general;
" and the inevitable calamities of mankind give me a real
" concern: I ſhould be very ſolicitous for your preſervation,
" if I were convinced that you came hither in ſearch of a
" habitation; and, that, [203] contented with a ſhare of the
" land, and injoying what is given you, in a friendly manner,

200. Απαν δε συγνωμης αξιον το ακουσιον. Our author, often, adopts the ethics of [n] Ariſtotle, who ſays, εν μεν τοις εκουσιοις επαινων, και ψογων γινομενων, εν δε τοις ακουσιοις συγγνωμης.

201. Και δει υμας, etc. The Latin tranſlators, and commentators have been, very much, puzzled to clear up this period: I imagine none of them had ſeen the Vatican manuſcript.

202. Απολαυσαιμεν. Απολαυει, ουκ επι των ηδεων των μονον, αλλα και επι των εναντιων τατ[illegible]ται. Suidas.

203. Εν αποχρησει τε γης μοιρας. I have never met with αποχρησις, or αποχρωσις, as the Vatican manuſcript has it, in any author, or lexicon, in this ſenſe; for which reaſon, I ſhall venture to make a ſmall alteration in the text, or, rather to reſtore it, as, I believe, our author writ it, αποχρησομενοι τε γης μοιρας: Every one, who has read Herodotus, muſt have found αποχραεσθαι, more than once, made uſe of to ſignify what is meant here, that is, *to be contented.*

[n] B. iii. c. 1.

" you

" you will not endeavour, by force, to deprive me of the " ſovereignty; and, if the aſſurances you give me, are real, " I deſire to give, and take ſureties, which will preſerve our " league inviolate."

LIX. Aeneas, having accepted this propoſal, a treaty was made between the two nations, and confirmed by oath, to this effect; that the Aborigines ſhould grant to the Trojans as much land as they deſired, that is, the ſpace of about forty ſtadia round the hill; that the Trojans ſhould aſſiſt the Aborigines in the war they were then ingaged in, and join them with their forces, upon every other occaſion, when ſummoned; and that both nations ſhould aid one another, to the utmoſt of their power, as well with their aſſiſtance, as advice. After they had concluded this treaty, and ſecured the performance of it, by delivering their children as hoſtages, they marched, with joint forces, againſt the cities of the Rutuli: And, having ſoon ſubdued all oppoſition there, they went to the town of the Trojans, which was half finiſhed; and, haſtening the work with one mind, they fortified the town with a wall. This town Aeneas called Lavinium, as the Romans themſelves ſay, from the daughter of Latinus, whoſe name, according to them, was Lavinia; but, as ſome Greek hiſtorians have aſſerted, from the daughter of Anius, king of Delus, whoſe name was, alſo, Lavinia; and who, dying of ſickneſs, while the firſt city was building, and being buried in the place where ſhe died, the city was ſo called, in memory of her. She is ſaid, alſo, to have imbarked with the Trojans, and to have been given by her

her father to Aeneas, at his deſire, as a propheteſs, and a wiſe woman. While Lavinium was building, theſe prodigies are ſaid to have happened to the Trojans. A fire breaking out, ſpontaneouſly, in an adjoining wood, a wolf, they ſay, brought ſome fuel in his mouth, and threw it upon the fire; and an eagle, flying thither, fanned the flame with the motion of his wings: In oppoſition to theſe, a fox, having moiſtened his tail in a river, endeavoured to extinguiſh the fire; and, ſometimes, thoſe, that were kindling it, prevailed; and, ſometimes, the fox, that was trying to put it out: And, at laſt, the former got the better, and the other went away, unable to do any thing further. Which, Aeneas, obſerving, ſaid, this colony would become famous, be worthy of admiration, and very much celebrated; but, in its increaſe, would be envied by, and grievous to, its neighbours: However, that it would overcome its adverſaries; the favor of Heaven being more powerful to ſupport it, than the envy of men to oppoſe it. Theſe were the evident ſigns of the incidents, that were to happen to this city: Of which there are monuments, now, ſtanding in the market-place of the Lavinienſes; theſe are brazen images of the animals, which have been preſerved for many ages.

LX. After the city of the Trojans was built, both nations were, extremely, deſirous of injoying the mutual benefit of their new alliance: And their kings ſet the example, and mixed the dignity of the native and foreign families by a contract of marriage, Latinus giving his daughter Lavinia to Aeneas: After which, the reſt, alſo, had the ſame in-

clination with their kings; and, by a ſwift union of their cuſtoms, their laws, and religious ceremonies; by intermarriages, and a communication of the rights of their cities; by mingling all together, and by calling themſelves Latines, from Latinus, king of the Aborigines, they adhered ſo firmly to their league, that no time has, yet, ſevered them from one another. The nations, therefore, which were gathered together under one form of government, and from whom the Roman people derive their origin, before the city they, now, inhabit, was built, are theſe: Firſt, the Aborigines, who drove the Siceli out of theſe parts, and were Greeks, originally, of Peloponneſus, the ſame, who, with Oenotrus, removed from the country, now, called Arcadia, according to my opinion: Then, the Pelaſgi, who came from [204] Haemonia, as it was, then, called, now, Theſ-

[204] Αιμονίας. See the 51ſt annotation. I do not think that a tranſlator is under the ſame obligation with regard to his author, as the lawyers ſeem to think themſelves under in relation to their clients; that is, that he is to defend him right, or wrong. Dionyſius is going to prove that the Trojans were, originally, Greeks, in which he is juſtified by hiſtorians of the beſt authority; but I doubt much whether that will juſtify him in ſaying, as he did a few pages before, that the Trojans were armed after the manner of the Greeks; and, much leſs, in making Evander tell Aeneas that he had a great affection for all the Greeks, even, after the latter had informed him that they were Trojans. I do not, indeed, remember any paſſage in Homer, which ſhews that the Greeks, and Trojans were armed after a different manner; but he deſcribes them as going to the charge under very different circumſtances; the firſt advancing with a confuſed noiſe, like cranes going to make war upon the Pygmies; and the other in ſilence breathing ardor, and a reſolution to ſupport one another [o];

Τρωες μεν κλαγγῃ τ', ενοπῃ τ' ισαν, ορνιθες ως.
Οι δ' αρα ισαν σιγῃ μενεα πνειοντες Αχαιοι,
Εν θυμῳ μεμαωτες αλεξεμεν αλληλοισι.

I believe no general would deſire that his men ſhould go on to an attack with a truer ſpirit than Homer has here deſcribed.

[o] Iliad. Γ. ℣. 2. ℣. 8.

ſaly:

ſaly: Thirdly, thoſe, who came over into Italy with Evander, from the city of Pallantium: After theſe, the Epei, and Pheneatae; who were part of the Peloponneſian army, commanded by Hercules, with whom ſome Trojans, alſo, were mixed: And, laſt of all, the Trojans, who, with Aeneas, had eſcaped from Ilium, Dardanum, and the other Trojan cities.

LXI. That the Trojans were a nation, truly Greek, which, formerly, came from Peloponneſus, has been, long ſince, aſſerted by ſome authors, and ſhall be, briefly, related by me alſo. The account concerning them is this. Atlas was the firſt king of the country, now, called Arcadia, who lived near the mountain, called [205] Thaumaſius: This man had ſeven daughters, ſaid to be placed among the ſtars, by the name of the Plëiades; one of whom Jupiter married, and had by her two ſons, [206] Jaſius, and Dardanus: Jaſius lived unmarried: But Dardanus married Chryſes, the daughter of Palas, by whom he had two ſons, Idaeus, and Dimas, who, ſucceeding Atlas in the kingdom, reigned ſome time in Arcadia. Afterwards, a great deluge happening in Arcadia, the plains were overflowed, and, for a long time, incapable of being tilled. The people (for, as they lived upon the

205. Θαυμασιον ορος. This is ſhewn by Glareanus to be the true reading, becauſe Pauſanias ſpeaks of a mountain of that name in Arcadia. This mountain, I find, [p] Pauſanias ſays ſtood near the river Moloſſus; and on the top of it, there was a cavern conſecrated to Rhea, into which none but her prieſteſſes were ſuffered to enter.

206. Ιασιων. This muſt be the true reading; which is confirmed by [q] Virgil.

*hinc Dardanus ortus,*
*Iäſiuſque pater.*

He is, alſo, called Ιασιων by [r] Strabo.

[p] In Arcad. c. 36. [q] Aeneid. B. iii. ℣. 167. [r] Epit. B. vii. p. 511.

mountains, they laboured under a great ſcarcity of proviſions) conſidering that the land, that remained, would not be ſufficient for the ſupport of them all, they divided themſelves into two parts; one of which ſtaid in Arcadia, and created Dimas, the ſon of Dardanus, their king; the other, left Peloponneſus on board a numerous fleet; and, ſailing along the coaſt of Europe, they came to a gulph, called [207] Melas, and happened to land on a certain iſland of Thracia, but I am not able to ſay whether it was, before, inhabited, or deſert: They called this iſland, Samothrace, a name, compounded of the name of a man, and of That of the place; for it belongs to Thrace, and the founder of it was Samon, the ſon of Mercury, and of a nymph of Cyllene, called Rhene: Here, they ſtaid not long, becauſe they found themſelves under great difficulties with regard to their ſupport, as having a barren land, and a boiſterous ſea to contend with; but, leaving ſome few of their people there, the greateſt part of them, removing again, went to Aſia, Dardanus being the leader of their colony, (for Jaſius died in the iſland, being ſtruck with thunder, for deſiring to go to bed with Ceres) and, diſimbarking in the ſtreight, now, called the Helleſpont, they ſettled in that country, which was, afterwards, named Phrygia. Idaeus, the ſon of Dardanus, with part of the army, inhabited the mountains, which, from

[207] Εἰς τον Μελανα κολπον. The gulph Melas lies on the north weſt of the Thracian Cherſoneſus: And the iſland of Samothrace, now called *Samandraki*, is at the entrance of this gulph, oppoſite to the mouth of the Hebrus, known, now, by the name of *la Marifa*. [s] Strabo gives the ſame account of Dardanus, and Jaſion, and adds that Samothrace was, before, called Samos.

[s] Epit. B. vii. p. 511.

him,

him, are called the Idaean mountains, where he built a temple to the mother of the gods, and inſtituted myſteries and ceremonies, which are obſerved, to this day, throughout all Phrygia; and Dardanus built a city of the ſame name with himſelf, in a country, now, called Troas, Teucrus, who was king of it, giving him the land, from whom, that country was, anciently, named Teucris. Many authors ſay, and, particularly, Phanodemus, who writ the Attic antiquities, that this man came into Aſia, from Attica, where he was chief of the diviſion, called [208] Xypete; and of this they bring many proofs: They add that, being maſter of a large and fertil country, and but, thinly, peopled, he was glad to ſee Dardanus, and the Greeks, who came with him, in hopes both of their aſſiſtance in his wars againſt the Barbarians, and that the land might not be uncultivated.

208. Ξυπετῆς. This is, certainly, the true reading, and the name of this diviſion of the tribe of Cecropis, as we find in Harpocration; though it is otherwiſe in all the editions, and manuſcripts, and, alſo, in Suidas, who calls this diviſion of that tribe, Ξυπεταιη. But there is a paſſage in Strabo, which, though faulty in another reſpect, will lead us to the true reading in this. [1] Strabo ſpeaks there of this very migration of Teucer from Attica to Aſia; and ſays, αλλοι δ'εκ της Αττικης αφιχθαι τινα Τευκρον φασιν εκ δημου Τρωων, ὁς νυν ὁ Ξυπετεων λεγεται. Caſaubon, in his note upon this paſſage of Strabo, was ſenſible that the word Τρωων was more than ſuſpicious; and, therefore, changed it into Τινος; and, to ſupport his correction, quotes this very paſſage of our author, which he has accommodated to the words of Strabo, as he took them, and made our author ſay δημου Ξυπετεωνος, ſuppoſing that Ξυπετεων, in the former, was the name of this diviſion of the tribe of Cecropis: But that great man was miſtaken in this, as we have ſeen by Harpocration; who, in Ξυπετεωνες, ſays, alſo, that this was the name of the individuals of that diviſion. Phanodemus, whom our author quotes upon this occaſion, is, often, cited by other authors, but that is all we know of him.

[1] B. xiii. p. 901.

LXII.

LXII. But, it is, now, requiſite to ſhew how Aeneas was deſcended; which I ſhall do, alſo, in few words. Dardanus, after the death of Chryſes, the daughter of Palas, by whom he had his two firſt ſons, married Batea, the daughter of Teucrus; and, by her, had Erichthonius, who is ſaid to have been the moſt fortunate of all men, having inherited both the kingdom of his father, and That of his grandfather by his mother's ſide. Of Erichthonius, and Callirhoe, the daughter of Scamandrus, was born Tros, from whom the nation has received its name; of Tros, and Acallaris, the daughter of Eumedes, Aſſaracus; of him, and Lytodora, the daughter of Laomedon, Capys; of Capys, and a nymph, ſaid to have been a Naïd, Anchiſes; of Anchiſes, and Venus, Aeneas. Thus, I have ſhewn that the royal family of the Trojans, were, originally, Greeks.

LXIII. Concerning the time, when Lavinium was built, there are different opinions; but the moſt probable ſeems to be That, which [209] places it in the ſecond year after the departure of the Trojans from Troy: For [210] Ilium was

[209] Φερουσες αυλην. Caſaubon has ſhewn, from very good authorities, that φερειν is a term, particularly uſed by chronologers, in the ſenſe our author has given it in this place.

[210] Ιλιον μεν γαρ ηλω τελευταιος ηδη τω εαρος. Thus, I am confident this paſſage ought to be read, contrary to the opinion of Portus, and of Dodwell, who contend for θερους, in which they are followed by M. ***; and, alſo, contrary to the opinion of Sylburgius, who, would have it ενιαυτω, which reading le Jay has followed. However, I have the ſatisfaction of finding myſelf ſupported in reading εαρος againſt theſe great authorities, by a much greater, I mean That of Caſaubon, and Petavius. But, before I give my reaſons for reading εαρος inſtead of θερους, I muſt take notice of the glaring abſurdity in ſaying, with M. ***, that Troy was taken on the twelfth of June *towards the end of ſummer*. It is well known that the year of the Greeks was luniſolar, and that the Athenians, whoſe

taken

taken at the end of the ſpring, ſeventeen days before the ſummer ſolſtice, and the eighth of the ending month Thargelion, according to the computation of the Athenians; there ſtill remaining twenty days, after the ſolſtice, to complete that year. The firſt ſeven and thirty days after the taking of Troy, I imagine, the Greeks employed in regulating the affairs of the city, in receiving embaſſies from thoſe, who had withdrawn themſelves, and in concluding a

computation our author ſays he follows, by the direction of Solon, aſſigned twenty nine, and thirty days, alternately, to their twelve months; by which, it happened, that there was, every year, a deficiency of eleven days between their year, and the ſolar year [u]: To ſupply this deficiency, Meton, afterwards, found out the cycle of intercalating ſeven months in nineteen years. Solon, alſo, introduced, among the Athenians, the method of counting the ten laſt days of the month backwards, and called the thirtieth day ενη και νεα, *the old and new:* The reaſon of which, I imagine to have been, becauſe the new moon becoming viſible only in the evening of that day, part of it was thought to belong to the old month, and part of it to the new. Dionyſius ſays that Troy was taken on the eighth day of the ending month Thargelion, that is, the twenty third; ſeventeen days before the ſummer ſolſtice, after which, there wanted twenty days to complete that year. Let us, now, ſee how this account agrees with the courſe of the ſun, and moon, that memorable year. The new moon, and, conſequently, the firſt day of the Attic month Thargelion, fell out, that year, on the twenty firſt of May, and the ſummer ſolſtice on the twenty eighth of June [w]: So that, the twenty third of Thargelion was the twelfth of June, which, as our author ſays, was ſeventeen days, that is, incluſively, before the ſummer ſolſtice: And, from the twenty eighth of June, to the nineteenth of July, on which day, the new moon of their month Hecatombaeon fell out, there are twenty days, which he, alſo, ſays, remained to complete the year: For, it muſt be obſerved that the Athenians began their year on the firſt new moon after the ſummer ſolſtice. The aera of the taking of Troy being, thus determined, it will be no difficult matter to find the number of years from that aera, to this preſent year 1755. Dionyſius will tell us from Cato that Rome was built 432 years after the taking of Troy: From thence, to the birth of Chriſt, are 753 years; to which, if we add 1755, there will be found 2940 years from the twelfth of June, on which Troy was taken, to the twelfth of June of this preſent year.

[u] Sir Iſaac Newton. Chron. p. 75 and 76.

[w] Petavius, B. ii. c. 10. part iii.

treaty

treaty with them. The next year, which was the firſt after the taking of the city, the Trojans, ſetting ſail about the autumnal equinox, croſſed the Helleſpont; and, landing in Thrace, paſſed the winter ſeaſon there; during which, they received the fugitives, who were, continually, flocking to them, and prepared every thing, that was neceſſary for their voyage: And, leaving Thrace, in the beginning of the ſpring, they ſailed as far as Sicily. While they ſtaid there, that year was accompliſhed; and they paſſed the ſecond winter in aſſiſting the Elymi to build cities in Sicily. They ſet ſail from that iſland, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would allow it; and, croſſing the Tyrrhene ſea, arrived, at laſt, at Laurentum, on the coaſt of the Aborigines, in the middle of the ſummer: And, having received the ground from them, they built Lavinium; the ſecond year from the taking of Troy, being, now, completed. And this is my opinion concerning theſe events.

LXIV. Aeneas, having, ſufficiently, furniſhed the city, with temples, and other ornaments, of which the greateſt part remain, even, to this day, he, the next year, which was the third after his departure from Troy, reigned over the Trojans only: But the fourth year, Latinus being dead, he ſucceeded him in his kingdom alſo; not only in conſideration of his near alliance to him, Lavinia being ſole [211] heireſs,

[211] Επικληρος. The ſenſe of this word is, very well, explained by Harpocration. Επικληρος μεν εστιν ἡ επι πασῃ τῳ κληρῳ ορφανη καταλελειμμενη, μη ουσης αυτῃ αδελφης· ἡ δε αυτῃ και επικληρίης. In this ſenſe, alſo, [x] Virgil makes Drances ſay to Turnus,

*ſi adeò* dotalis *regia cordi eſt.*

[x] Aeneid. B. xi. ℣. 369.

after

after the death of Latinus, but, alſo, by reaſon of his being general of the army, in the war againſt their neighbours: For the Rutuli had, again, revolted from Latinus, and made choice of a certain deſerter for their leader, who was a relation of Amata, the wife of Latinus, and whoſe name was Turnus. This man, exaſperated at the father-in-law of Aeneas, for marrying his daughter to a ſtranger, in prejudice to his relations, and, being incited by [212] Amata, and incouraged by others, went over to the Rutuli with the forces he commanded. The war being begun upon theſe complaints, and a ſharp battle inſuing, Latinus, Turnus, and many others were ſlain. However, Aeneas, and his people, gained the victory: Upon which, Aeneas ſucceeded his father-in-law in his kingdom: And, having reigned three years after the death of Latinus, in the fourth, he loſt his life in a battle: For the Rutuli, raiſing an army compoſed of the joint forces of all their cities, marched againſt him; and, with them, Mezentius, king of the Tyrrhenians, who thought his own country in danger. For the great increaſe of the Grecian power had, long ſince, given him offence: And a ſevere battle being fought, not far from Lavinium, and many ſlain on both ſides, the armies were parted by the coming on of the night, and the body of Aeneas, no where, appearing, ſome concluded that he was tranſlated among the gods, and others, that he periſhed in the river,

212. Ἀμάλη Τυρνος. This paſſage ſhews that Amata, and Turnus, in Virgil, are not imaginary perſons, but taken from the Roman hiſtorians, whoſe works are, now, loſt.

near which the battle was fought: And the Latines built a chapel to him with this inſcription: "[213] To the father, "and god of this country, who preſides over the waters of "the river Numicius." But ſome ſay this chapel was erected, by Aeneas, to Anchiſes, who died the year before this war: It is a ſmall mound, ſurrounded with trees, regularly, planted, and deſerves to be ſeen.

LXV. Aeneas having left this life, about the ſeventh year after the taking of Troy, Euryleon, who, in the flight, had changed his name to That of Aſcanius, ſucceeded him in the government of the Latines: As for the Trojans, they were, at that time, beſieged, the forces of the enemy increaſing daily; and the Latines were unable to aſſiſt thoſe, who were ſhut up in Lavinium. Aſcanius, therefore, firſt, invited the enemy to a friendly and reaſonable accommodation: But they, paying no regard to him, he was reduced to the neceſſity of ſuffering them to put an end to the war upon their own terms. But the king of the Tyrrhenians, among other intolerable conditions, which he impoſed upon them, as upon a people, already, become his ſlaves, commanding them to carry to the Tyrrhenians, every year, all the wine, the country of the Latines produced, they looked upon this, as a thing not to be borne, and, by the advice of

[213] Πατρος, etc. [y] Livy ſpeaks, alſo, of this apotheoſis, or canonization of Aeneas; *Situs eſt, quemcunque eum dici jus faſque eſt, ſuper Numicium flumen, Jovem Indigetem appellant.* It was, it ſeems, the faſhion for theſe gentlemen, who were canonized, to change their names; as the popes, who call themſelves Chriſt's vicegerents, generally, change their names upon their elevation to the papacy.

[y] B. i. c. 2.

Aſcanius,

Aſcanius, voted the fruit of the vine to be ſacred to Jupiter; then, exhorting one another to fight bravely, and praying the gods to aſſiſt them in their dangerous enterpriſe, they pitched upon a dark night, and ſallied out of the city: And, immediately, attacked that part of the enemy's camp, which lay neareſt to the city, and, being deſigned as an advanced poſt to cover the reſt of the army, was ſtrongly ſituated, and defended by the choiceſt youth of the Tyrrhenians, who were commanded by Lauſus, the ſon of Mezentius: Their attack, being unforeſeen, they, eaſily, made themſelves maſters of the place: While they were employed in taking this poſt, the reſt of the army, that lay incamped on the plains, ſeeing an unſeaſonable light, and, hearing the groans of thoſe, who were killing, left the flat country, and fled to the mountains: Upon this occaſion, there was a great hurry, and tumult, their army marching away in the night, and expecting the enemy would, every minute, fall upon them, while they were in diſorder, and their ranks broken. The Latines, after they had taken the place by ſtorm, and heard the reſt of the army was in diſorder, preſſed upon them, killing, and purſuing; while the enemy were ſo far from endeavouring to defend themſelves, that it was not, even, poſſible for them to know the evils they were ſurrounded with; but, through confuſion, and irreſolution, ſome were forced down the precipices, and daſhed to pieces; while others, ingaging themſelves in unpaſſable vallies, were taken priſoners: But moſt of them, through ignorance, treated one another, in the dark, like enemies; and the greateſt de-

ſtruction of them was occaſioned by mutual ſlaughter. In the mean time, Mezentius, with a few of his men, poſſeſſed himſelf of a hill; and, being informed of the death of his ſon, and of the numbers he had loſt; and, finding how untenable the palce was, in which he had ſhut himſelf up, having no other reſource, he ſent heralds to Lavinium to treat of a peace: And Aſcanius, adviſing the Latines to [214] uſe their fortune with moderation, he obtained liberty to retire in ſafety with his forces, in conſequence of the treaty they concluded; and, from that time, laying aſide all enmity to the Latines, he continued their conſtant friend.

LXVI. The thirtieth year after the building of Lavinium, Aſcanius, the ſon of Aeneas, according to the oracle, given to his father, built another city, and transferred both the inhabitants of Lavinium, and the other Latines, who were deſirous of a better habitation, to his new-built city, which he called [215] Alba, which word ſignifies, in Greek, Λευκη,

214. Ταμιευεσθαι την τυχην. This is a very happy expreſſion, and uſed, more than once, by our author. There is a paſſage in the eighth book of this hiſtory, which is quoted by [z] Suidas not ſo much, I dare ſay, for the ſentiment, which moſt deſerves it, as for the expreſſion; Σωφρονων εστιν ανθρωπων, ὁταν ευπραττειν δοκωσι, ταμιευεσθαι τας τυχας· ὁταν δ' εις ταπεινας, και φαυλας ελθωσι, μηθεν ὑπομενειν αγεννες. As this is tranſlated in its proper place, I ſhall only give the ſenſe of it here; *It is the part of wiſe men, when in proſperity, to uſe it with moderation; and, when in adverſity, to ſubmit to nothing, that is mean.*

215. Αλβα. It is, generally, thought that *Alba longa* ſtood in the ſame place, where *Albano* now ſtands; and, what is more extraordinary, [a] Cluver ſays that the inhabitants of Albano were ſo fully perſuaded of this, that they placed over the gate, that leads to Rome, a ſtone, on which was repreſented the ſow with her thirty young ones. However, this great geographer has, plainly, proved from Livy, Cicero, and our author, that *Alba longa* ſtood two Roman miles to the eaſt of

[z] c. 48. [a] Ital. Antiq. B. iii. p. 201.

*White:*

*White:* And, to diſtinguiſh it from another city of the ſame name; an epithet was added to it, taken from its figure; and it is, now, called *Alba longa*, a name compounded of both, that is, Λευκη μακρα. This city is, now uninhabited. For, when Tullus Hoſtilius was king of the Romans, ſhe, ſeeming to contend with her colony for the ſovereignty, was demoliſhed; and Rome, having deſtroyed her mother-city, received its citizens. But theſe things happened in after-times. Alba ſtood between a mountain, and a lake, which ſerved as fortifications to the city, and rendered it difficult to be taken: For the mountain is extremely ſtrong and high; and the lake, deep and large, which, when the ſluices are opened, is received by the level, the inhabitants having it in their power to huſband the water, as they think proper. The plains, below the city, are beautiful to the eye, and rich in the produce of all ſorts of fruits, in no degree inferior to the reſt of Italy, particularly, of what they call the Alban wine, which is ſweet, and of a beautiful color; and, except the Falernian wine, certainly, excels all others.

LXVII. While the city was building, a great prodigy is ſaid to have happened: For a temple with a ſanctuary having been built for the images of the gods, which Aeneas had

it. The Alban lake, and mountain make a conſiderable figure in the Roman hiſtory, the former having been the ſubject of a prophecy, uttered by a Veïan captive, and confirmed by no leſs an authority than the Delphic oracle, that the Romans ſhould never take[b] Veii, till they had let out the water of the Alban lake. The Alban mountain was famous for the *Feriae latinae* inſtituted by Tarquinius Superbus, and celebrated in the temple of *Jupiter Latialis*, that ſtood on the top of it.

[b] Livy, B. v. c. 15.

brought

brought with him from Troas, and placed in Lavinium, and the ſtatues having been removed, from the temple at Lavinium, into this ſanctuary, the doors being then, particularly, well ſhut, and the walls, and roof unhurt, the ſtatues changed their ſtation, the following night, and were found upon their old pedeſtals. And, being brought thither again, with ſupplicatory and propitiatory ſacrifices, they returned, in like manner, to the ſame place. Upon this, the people were, for ſome time, in doubt what they ſhould do, being unwilling either to live ſeparately from the gods of their fathers, or to return to their old habitation: At laſt, they found out an expedient, which ſeemed, well enough, to anſwer both theſe purpoſes; this was, to let the images remain where they were, and to ſend back ſome of their [216] own people from Alba, to Lavinium, to live there, and take care of them. Thoſe, who were ſent to Lavinium, to perform this holy office, were ſix hundred; they removed thither with their families, and Aegeſtus was appointed their chief. The Romans call theſe gods, Penates: Some, who tranſlate the word into the Greek language, render it Πατρῳους, *The gods of their fathers*; others, Γενεθλιους, *The gods, who preſide over births*; and others, Κτησιους, *The givers of riches*; Μυχιους, *Gods of the ſanctuary*; and Ερκιους, *Gods of the incloſure*: Each of theſe has, probably, given them their name from

216. Εποικους. This word is uſed in the ſame ſenſe by [c] Thucydides, where he ſays that the Athenians, having ejected the inhabitants of Aegina, ſent ſome of their own people to inhabit the iſland; αυτων πεμψαντες εποικους. Upon which word, the Greek ſcholiaſt makes the following obſervation: Αποικοι μεν, οι εν ερημῳ τοπῳ πεμπομενοι οικησαι· εποικοι δε, οι εις πολεις, ωσπερ νυν.

[c] B. ii. c. 27.

ſome

ſome one of their functions: However, they all ſeem, in ſome degree, to expreſs the ſame thing. Concerning their figure, and appearance, Timaeus, the hiſtorian, gives this account; that the holy things, preſerved in the ſanctuaries at Lavinium, are iron and brazen *Caducei*, and a veſſel of Trojan earth: This, he ſays, he learned from the inhabitants. For my part, I cannot think it right, in me, to give an account of thoſe things, which it is lawful neither for all to ſee, nor to hear from thoſe, who have ſeen them. And I muſt blame every man, who is deſirous of inquiring after, or of knowing, more than the laws allow.

LXVIII. But the things which I myſelf know, by having ſeen them, and concerning which, no ſcruple forbids me to write, are as follows. They ſhew you a temple at Rome not far from the Forum in the ſtreet, that leads, the neareſt way, to the *Carinae*; which is ſmall, and darkened by the height of the adjacent buildings: This place, is called, by the Romans, in their own language, *Veliae*; in this temple, are the images of Trojan gods, expoſed to public view, with this inſcription, [217] ΔΕΜΑΣ, which ſignifies *Penates*: For,

[217] Δενας. This is the reading of all the editions, but, certainly, not the true one. Scaliger, in his notes upon the Chronicon of Euſebius, number 617, takes notice of this inſcription; and, in order to explain it, ſays that there muſt have been a Π of ſuch a ſhape as to reſemble a Δ. But he does not ſay what kind of a Π this was; neither is there among the many ancient alphabets he has exhibited, any Π that bears the leaſt reſemblance to a Δ. And I am perſuaded that, if Scaliger had ſeen the Venetian and Vatican manuſcripts, he would have rejected this reading, inſtead of endeavouring to explain it. It muſt be obſerved that *Penates* is a Latin word, and derived, as we know from [d] Cicero, either from *penus*, or *penitus*: So that, all attempts to reconcile this Greek inſcription with *Penates* muſt

[d] De Nat. Deor. B. ii. c. 27.

according

according to my opinion, the letter Θ, being not, yet, found out, the ancients expreſſed its power, by the letter Δ. Theſe are two youths, in a fitting poſture, each of them holding a ſpear; they are pieces of ancient workmanſhip. We have ſeen many other ſtatues, alſo, of theſe gods in ancient temples; and, in all of them, they repreſented two youths in military habits. It is lawful to ſee theſe, and to hear what others ſay concerning them; and to write what [218] Calliſtratus,

be vain. Beſides, as the following words, now, ſtand in all the editions, Dionyſius is made to ſay that the letter Π, not being, as yet, found out, the ancients expreſſed its power by the letter Δ; when he, no doubt, knew, and certain it is, that the Π, as well as the Δ, was among the ſixteen, or, as others ſay, the ſeventeen letters brought into Greece, from Phoenicia, by Cadmus. The Venetian manuſcript, in Hudſon's notes, has Δεμας, on the margin of which was written, as he ſays, ανλι τϐ θεμας· τϐ Δ ανλι τϐ Θ παλαιως. This is, further, explained by the Vatican manuſcript, which has θεμις, and the following ſentence ſtands thus; τϐ θηλα μητϐ γραμματος ευρημενϐ την εκεινϐ δηλϐν δυναμιν το δελτα; which I have made no difficulty of following in the text: For, whether the inſcription was Δεμας or Δεμις, the reaſon, alledged by both the manuſcripts, is juſt. Since the letter Θ was not, in reality, one of the Cadmean letters, but invented, long after, by Simonides, together with the two other aſpirate letters Φ and Χ; which is ſo true, that, before the invention of theſe three letters, the Greeks [e] made uſe of the aſpirate Η after Τ, Π and Κ; and writ, for example, ΤΗΤΕΛΑΑ, ΠΗΤΑΛΟΝ, ΚΗΡΥΣΟΣ, in which they have been followed by the Romans, as I ſhall ſhew in another [f] place. The Carinae was a ſtreet in Rome, called ſo, as Servius ſays, from the reſemblance of the houſes to the keels of ſhips; which, however, may be much doubted. I agree, intirely, with Caſaubon, in reading ουελιαι, and ſhall add to the reaſons, given by him, to ſupport that reading, which may be ſeen in Hudſon, that our [g] author himſelf calls this hill Ουελια, where he ſays that Valerius Publicola built a houſe, which, from its ſituation, gave umbrage to the people: And [h] Livy, ſpeaking of the ſame fact, ſays of Valerius *aedificabat in ſummâ Veliâ.*

218. Καλλιϛρατος, Σατυρος, Αρχιννος. I know not that any other author has made mention of Calliſtratus, as the writer of the Samothracian hiſtory. [i] Satyrus is not much more known, unleſs he is the ſame with the biographer, who writ the life of Philip, the father of Alexander the great,

[e] Mar. Victor. [f] See the 41ſt annot. on the fourth book. [g] B. v. c. 19. [h] B. ii. c. 7.
[i] Voſſius Hiſt. Graec. B. iii. p. 410.

the

the author of the hiſtory of Samothrace, and Satyrus, who has collected the ancient fables, with many others, have related; among whom the poet, Arctinus, is the moſt ancient we know of. This, therefore, is the account they give: That Chryſes, the daughter of Palas, when ſhe was married to Dardanus, brought, for her dowry, the gifts of Minerva, that is, the Palladiums, and the [219] images of the great gods,

That of Demoſthenes, and of ſeveral other eminent men. Suidas ſays that Arctinus was a Mileſian, and a diſciple of Homer; for which he quotes Artemon of Clazomenae.

[219] Τα ἱερα των θεων. Here is a difficulty, which the tranſlators have either not ſeen, or have diſſembled: It is certain that, when our author ſays that Chryſes brought with her, as her dowry, beſides the Palladiums, τα ἱερα των μεγαλων θεων, he means *the ſtatues of the great gods*, which both the Latin tranſlators have rendered *ſacra magnorum deorum*, and the two French tranſlators *les ſtatues des grands dieux*: And it is as certain that, when our author ſays that Dardanus, when he went into Aſia, left τα ἱερα των θεων in Samothrace, he does not mean the ſtatues of the gods; but only the myſteries relating to their worſhip: And here, again, the Latin tranſlators have ſaid *ſacra et myſteria*, which M. * * * has rendered *les myſteres des dieux et les choſes ſaintes:* I wiſh I knew what he means by *les choſes ſaintes*. They could not be the Palladiums, nor the ſtatues of the gods: For, all theſe our author tells us, in the next ſentence, Dardanus carried with him into Aſia. Le Jay, moſt aſſuredly, ſaw the difficulty of tranſlating theſe words, and, to avoid it, has left them quite out. But this difficulty purſues him: For, a few lines after, our author ſays that Dardanus conſulted the oracle περι των ἱερων της φυλακης: However, he reſolves not to be troubled any more about it, and has, alſo, left out theſe words. The other French tranſlator, has, moſt certainly, the merit of having attempted to tranſlate them; and I am ſorry, for that reaſon, that, *ſur le ſoin qu'il devoit avoir du culte des dieux* cannot be allowed to expreſs the ſenſe of περι των ἱερων της φυλακης: It is, however, as well as *de aſſervandis ſacris* in Sylburgius, or *de ſacrorum cuſtodiâ* in Portus. It is plain that the oracle related to the preſervation of theſe ſtatues, upon which the fate of the town, he was going to build, and, afterwards, of Troy, was to depend. The oracle, that was delivered to Dardanus, is, if the authorities, our author quotes, have not miſled him, of the higheſt antiquity; ſince it was given to him before he founded the kingdom of Troy, which happened in the 3234th year of the Julian [k] period, about fifty years after the Iſraelites came out of

[k] Petav. B. ii. c. 10. part iii. and B. i. c. 11. part i.

in whoſe myſteries ſhe had been inſtructed: That, when the Arcadians, flying from the deluge, left Peloponneſus, and ſettled in the iſland of Thrace, Dardanus built there a temple to theſe gods, whoſe particular names he diſcloſed to none, and performed thoſe ceremonies to them, which are obſerved, to this day, by the Samothraces: That, when he tranſported the greateſt part of his people into Aſia, he left the myſteries, belonging to theſe gods, and the ceremonies with thoſe, who remained in the iſland; and carried with him the Palladiums, and the images of the gods: And that, upon conſulting the oracle concerning his ſettlement, among other things he was informed of, he received this anſwer relating to the cuſtody of the images of the gods; "Re-" member to eſtabliſh, in the city, which you ſhall build, " perpetual worſhip to the gods, and to honor them with

Egypt, and a little before the death of Joſhua; and 296 years before that city was deſtroyed by the Greeks, in the reign of Priamus. It is very remarkable that this oracle is in very good hexameter verſe, and the language, not at all, different from That of Homer, who writ above five hundred years after this period; nor from the language of thoſe poets, who writ five hundred years after Homer. However, there is an expreſſion in it, in rendering which the tranſlators, I find, are divided: It is this, σεβας αφθιτον αιει, which Portus has tranſlated *cultum incorruptum ſemper*, and Hudſon has altered it to *cultum purum ſemper*. Sylburgius has ſaid much better *cultum perpetuum*, which is the ſenſe; and le Jay, whom I, always, commend with pleaſure, when I can do it with juſtice, has given it this ſenſe; as the other French tranſlator has, alſo, though more explicitly: This is the ſenſe, in which [1] Homer applies theſe words, αφθιτον αιει, more than once, to the ſcepter of Agamemnon,

Δεξαλο οι σκηπτρον παλαιγενεων αφθιτον αιει.

Upon which the Greek ſcholiaſt makes this obſervation: Το μεν αθανατον επι εμψυχων οι φιλοσοφοι τασσουσι· το δε αφθιτον επι αψυχων.

[1] Iliad. β. ν. 186.

" ſafe-

" ſafeguards, ſacrifices, and choirs: For, while theſe vene-
" rable gifts of the daughter of Jupiter to your wife ſhall
" remain in your country, your city ſhall, for ever, be im-
" pregnable."

LXIX. That, upon this, Dardanus left the images in the city, which he founded, and which received its name from him: That, Ilium, being, afterwards, built, the images were removed thither by his deſcendants; and that the Ilienſes built a temple, and a ſanctuary for them in the citadel, and preſerved them with all poſſible care, looking upon them as ſent from Heaven, and as the pledges of public ſafety: That, while the Greeks were employed in taking the lower city, Aeneas, being maſter of the citadel, took, out of the ſanctuary, the images of the great gods, and the Palladium, which, yet, remained (for the other, Ulyſſes, and Diomede, they ſay, coming into Ilium by night, ſtole away) and, carrying them with him out of the city, brought them into Italy. But Arctinus ſays that one Palladium was given by Jupiter to Dardanus, and that this remained in Ilium, hid in the ſanctuary, till the city was taken: That, from this, a copy was made, in every reſpect, like the original, and expoſed to the view of the public, on purpoſe to deceive thoſe, who might have a deſign to ſteal it; and, that the Greeks, having formed this deſign, took that away. I ſay, therefore, upon the authority of the perſons above mentioned, that the images, brought into Italy by Aeneas, were Thoſe of the great gods, to whom the Samothraces, of all the Greeks,

pay the greateſt worſhip, and the famous[220] Palladium, which, they ſay, is kept by the holy virgins in the temple of Veſta, where the perpetual fire is, alſo, preſerved: Concerning whom, I ſhall ſpeak afterwards. There may be other things, beſides theſe, which are kept ſecret from us, who are[221] not initiated. And ſo far concerning the Trojan gods.

LXX. Aſcanius dying in the eight and thirtieth year of his reign, Silvius, his brother, ſucceeded him: He was born of Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, after the death of Aeneas, and, as they ſay, brought up on the mountains by the herdſmen. For, upon the acceſſion of Aſcanius to the kingdom, Lavinia, fearing leſt the name of a ſtep-mother, might draw upon her ſome ſeverity from him, ſhe, being,

220. Παλλαδιον. Many authors have written of this famous Palladium, but none of them have taken ſo much pains to inform their readers of all the circumſtances, relating to this ſolemn farce, as Dionyſius. It ſeems, the pagan prieſts, early, underſtood the art of raiſing the veneration of their votaries by ſecreting the object of it. I find Herodian is quoted by the commentators, upon the occaſion of this Palladium, for ſaying that, in the reign of Commodus, the temple of Veſta was burnt, and the Palladium expoſed to public view for the firſt time. But [m] Tacitus, who is much more to be credited, ſays, in ſpeaking of the public buildings, that were conſumed by fire in Nero's time, *Aedeſque Statoris Jovis vota Romulo, Numaeque regia, et delubrum Veſtae cum penatibus populi Romani exuſta.*

[m] Annal. B. xv. c. 41.

221. Βεβηλοις. This word is, very properly, rendered by the Latin tranſlators *profanis:* But I think not ſo well by the French tranſlators, *nous autres profanes:* I am ſenſible that, in their language, *des auteurs profanes* is ſaid in oppoſition to *des auteurs ſacrez*; but I leave it to them to conſider whether they ſay *des gens profanes* in oppoſition to *des gens d'egliſe*; for that is the ſenſe of the word in this place, which is explained in Heſychius by αμυητος. It is well known that εκας, εκας εστε βεβηλοι, which [n] Virgil has tranſlated

*procul, ô procul, eſte, profani,*

were what they call *ſolennia verba*, and previous to their religious ceremonies. The explication Servius gives of *profani*, in this verſe, agrees, exactly, with That of Heſychius, *qui non eſtis initiati.*

[n] Aeneid. B. vi. ℣. 258.

then,

then, with child, put herſelf into the hands of one Tyrrhenus, who was ſuperintendant of the king's ſwineherds, and whom ſhe knew to have been, extremely, [222] devoted to Latinus: He, carrying her into the deſert woods, as one of the vulgar, and, taking care ſhe was not ſeen by any one, who knew her, ſupported her, in a houſe he built in the wood, which was known but to few; And, when the child was born, he took care of it, and brought it up, calling it, from the wood, Silvius, that is, in Greek, Υλαιος: But, in proceſs of time, finding the Latines made great ſearch after the woman, and that the people accuſed Aſcanius of having put her to death, he acquainted them with the whole matter, and produced the woman, and her ſon out of the wood. From this incident Silvius had his name, which, afterwards, became common to all his poſterity. After the death of his brother, he ſucceeded him in the kingdom, though not without a conteſt with Iülus, the eldeſt ſon of Aſcanius, who claimed a right to his father's kingdom. But the people rejected his claim; to which they were induced by many conſiderations; but, chiefly, by this, that his mother was ſole heireſs to the kingdom: And to Iülus, inſtead of the ſovereignty, a certain holy power, and honor was given, preferable to the royal dignity, both for

[222] Προσηγορες· προσκυνησης. Heſychius. This ſenſe of the word will, I dare ſay, convince any one that neither *familiaris*, in the Latin tranſlators; *dans les bonnes graces de Latinus*, in le Jay; nor *des plus fideles amis de Latinus*, in the other French tranſlator, can ſignify προσηγορου Λατινω. Beſides, I am perſuaded that the reader will not think the intimacy, they have created between the king, and the overſeer of his ſwineherds, very agreeable to the rules of decency.

ſecurity,

ſecurity, and eaſe; which[223] his poſterity enjoy, even, to this day, and are called Julii from him: This family became the moſt conſiderable, and, at the ſame time, the moſt illuſtrious of any we know of; and has brought forth the greateſt commanders, whoſe virtues have been ſo many proofs of their nobility. Concerning whom, we ſhall ſay what is requiſite in another place.

LXXI. Silvius, having been in poſſeſſion of the kingdom twenty nine years, was ſucceeded by Aeneas, his ſon, who reigned one and thirty years. After him, Latinus reigned fifty one: Then, Albas thirty nine: After Albas, Capetus reigned twenty ſix; then Capys twenty eight: After Capys, Calpetus held the kingdom thirteen years: Then Tiberinus reigned eight years: The laſt, it is ſaid, was ſlain in a battle, that was fought near the river; and, being carried along with the ſtream, gave his name to the river, which was, before, called Albula. Agrippa, the ſucceſſor of Tiberinus, reigned one and forty years: After Agrippa, Alladius, a

223. Ην ἔτι και εις εμε το εξ αυτȣ γενος εκαρπȣτο. This relates to Julius Caeſar, and his adopted ſon, Auguſtus, who, were both *pontifices maximi*, as it is well known; the laſt being inveſted with that dignity upon the death of Lepidus, in the [o] conſulſhip of Tiberius, and Quintilius Varus, which, in the *Faſti conſulares*, is the 741ſt year of Rome. This I mention, becauſe Torrentius, and Caſaubon, in their notes upon Suetonius, for what reaſon I cannot gueſs, ſay that Auguſtus was created pontifex maximus in the year 711: M. * * * has taken occaſion, from this paragraph of our author, to ſay that he was paid by Auguſtus for writing his hiſtory. I own I ſee no reaſon for that ſuſpicion. The warmth Dionyſius expreſſes for the cauſe of liberty, throughout his work, does not look as if he was paid by an uſurper. If, in deſcribing the battle of [p] Actium, either he, or any other author had tranſformed the feather, on the caſk of Auguſtus, into a blazing ſtar, they might well be ſaid to have been paid by that prince.

[o] Dio. B. liv. p. 619. [p] See Boileau's Ode on the taking of Namur.

tyran-

[224] tyrannical prince, and odious to the gods, reigned nineteen. He, in contempt of them, had contrived machines to imitate both thunderbolts, and the noiſe of thunder, with which he propoſed to terrify mankind, as if he had been a god: But a ſtorm, fraught with rain, and thunder, falling upon his houſe, and the lake, near which it ſtood, ſwelling, in an unuſual manner, he was drowned with his whole family. And, now, when one part of the lake is low upon the retreat of the water, and the bottom calm, the ruins of porticoes, and other traces of a habitation appear. Aventinus, from whom one of the ſeven hills, that make part of the city of Rome, received its name, ſucceeded, and reigned thirty ſeven years: After him, Procas, three and twenty: Then, Amulius, having, unjuſtly, poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom, which belonged to Numitor, his elder brother, reigned two and forty years. But Amulius being put to death by Romulus, and Remus, the ſons of a Veſtal, as we ſhall, preſently, relate, Numitor, the grandfather of the youths by the mother's ſide, reſumed the ſovereignty, which, by the laws, belonged to him. [225] The next year,

224. Τυραννικον τι χρημα. This is Attic elegance, which our author was, perfectly, maſter of. Ariſtophanes, and, indeed, all the Attic writers, often, uſe this kind of expreſſion: One paſſage of the former, I ſhall quote, becauſe the obſervation of the [9] Greek ſcholiaſt upon it, will explain this Atticiſm;

Το χρημα των νυκλων, ὁσον Απεραλον.

Εθος δε τοις Αττικοις επαγωγη χρησθαι· οἱον ἱππος σπανιον τι χρημα.

225. Τῳ δ' ἑξης ἑλει της Νομιτωρος αρχης, etc. Dionyſius is, upon this occaſion, cenſured by Dodwell, as inconſiſtent with himſelf. As M. * * * has tranſlated the reaſons, given by Dodwell in ſupport of this cenſure, though without ſaying a word from whence he had them, I ſhall endeavour to anſwer Dodwell, without taking notice of his

9 Schol. Ar. 2.

which

which was in the reign of Numitor, and the four hundred and thirty ſecond after the taking of Troy, the Albans,

tranſlator; and doubt not to prove that the reaſons, alledged by Dodwell, are inconſiſtent with his own chronology. In the firſt place, I muſt obſerve that it is a bold attempt in modern chronologers, who are unprovided with the neceſſary materials, to cenſure the approved authors of antiquity, who had all theſe materials before them. Were it poſſible for our modern chronologers to have recourſe to Fabius Pictor, Cincius, Cato, Eratoſthenes, and many other authors, ſo often quoted by Dionyſius, I ſee no reaſon why they ſhould not be allowed to form as true a judgement of chronology, as Dionyſius: But, when they are deprived of every one of theſe helps, and he had them all; when no author ever pretended to accuſe him of the want either of diligence in conſulting them, or of capacity in making uſe of them, I muſt think it very unreaſonable to give more credit to our modern chronologers, under all theſe difficulties, than to him, with all thoſe advantages. I will, indeed, allow, that where chronology depends upon aſtronomy, the modern chronologers have the advantage over the ancient; becauſe, aſtronomy, is now, very much improved. This gave occaſion to our great [r] Sir Iſaac Newton to correct the chronology of the Greeks, by correcting the aſtronomy of Hipparchus, who, firſt, diſcovered the preceſſion of the aequinoxes; or, to ſpeak more intelligibly, that the aequinoxes had a motion backwards in reſpect to the fixed ſtars. This diſcovery was important to aſtronomy, but fatal to ancient chronology: For, Hipparchus thought that the aequinoxes went backwards one degree in about an hundred years; which gave occaſion to the Greeks to place the Argonautic expedition three hundred years earlier than they would have done, had they known, what Sir Iſaac Newton knew, that the aequinoxes went back a degree in ſeventy two years. The reader will ſee that this error affects every other great aera, ſince the Argonautic expedition. But this does not belong to my ſubject. I am only to reaſon from hiſtorical facts, and to ſhew that Dionyſius, in fixing the aera of the foundation of Rome, is conſiſtent with himſelf; and, that the reaſons alledged by Dodwell are not conſiſtent with his own chronology. In order to eſtabliſh theſe two points, I do not think it neceſſary to conſider whether the aera of Cato, or That of Varro, is the beſt founded; becauſe it is impoſſible for us to know the reaſons, that induced either Varro to place the foundation of Rome in the third year of the ſixth Olympiad; or Cato to place it two years later; that is, in the firſt year of the ſeventh. Our author has thought fit to follow Cato, for which, I dare ſay, he had good reaſons; ſince he ſays that he publiſhed a treatiſe upon this ſubject, which is, now, loſt. Before I go on, I cannot help taking notice that [s] Sir Iſaac Newton has ſaid that *Varro placed the building of Rome on the firſt year of the ſeventh*

[r] Chron. p. 25, and 94. [s] Chron. p. 129.

having

having ſent out a colony under the conduct of Romulus, and Remus, built Rome the firſt year of the ſeventh *olympiad*. I am perſuaded that he would have corrected this ſmall miſtake, if he had lived to publiſh his chronology. But, to return to That of our author: He ſays, then, that Rome was built after the death of Amulius, and in the reign of Numitor, in the 432[d] year from the deſtruction of Troy, and the firſt of the ſeventh olympiad, in which Daïcles of Meſſene won the prize of the ſtadium, and Charops entered upon the firſt year of his decennial archonſhip. The firſt thing, here, to be conſidered is the number of years contained between the deſtruction of Troy, and the building of Rome. Dionyſius has, already, told us that Troy was taken on the twenty third of the Attic month Thargelion, that is, the twelfth of our June: Conſequently, the 432 years will not be completed till the twenty third of Thargelion in the year, in which the building of Rome was begun. Now, the day of the month, in which this happened, is very well known; becauſe the Romans celebrated a feſtival on that day, called *Palilia*, or *Parilia*, in memory of that great event; which feſtival was celebrated on the eleventh of the calends of May, that is, the twenty firſt of April. Another thing to be conſidered in our author's chronology, is, that, when he ſpeaks of the years, each of the Alban kings reigned, he computes according to the old Roman method; that is, he begins the year with the firſt of March. For Romulus, who had a mind to be thought the ſon of Mars, began the year with that month: And, that this was the old Roman way of counting, appears from their calling June, which was the fifth month from the firſt of March, *Quintilis*, and Auguſt, *Sextilis*, and the following months, according to their place from that day, *September*, *October*, *November*, *December*. Theſe things being premiſed, let us ſee how the number of years, attributed by our author to Aaneas, and to each of the Alban kings, agrees with his computation. The Trojans, he ſays, built Lavinium juſt after the expiration of the two firſt years after the taking of Troy: The third year, Aeneas reigned over the Trojans only; the fourth, he ſucceeded Latinus; and, having reigned three years after the death of Latinus, he died the fourth year. This ſame year, Aſcanius ſucceeded him, and died in the thirty eighth year of his reign. Sylvius ſucceeded him, the ſame year, and reigned twenty nine; Aeneas, his ſon, thirty one; Latinus, fifty one; Albas, thirty nine; Capetus, twenty ſix; Capys, twenty eight; Calpetus, thirteen; Tiberinus, eight; Agrippas, forty one; Allades, nineteen; Aventinus, thirty ſeven; Procas, twenty three; and Amulius forty two. The reader will find that all theſe numbers, added together, will make four hundred thirty two. This year was a very buſy year: For, on the fifteenth of the calends of March, the fifteenth of February, on which day, the Lupercalia were celebrated, Remus was taken; and, about the beginning of March, on the firſt day of which the Roman, not the Attic

olympiad, in which Daïcles of Meſſene won the prize of the ſtadium, and the firſt year of the decennial archonſhip of Charops at Athens.

year, began, Amulius was ſlain: After whoſe death, Numitor ſucceeded; and, having, as our author ſays, employed *a ſhort time* to ſettle his government, he, *preſently*, thought of founding a new kingdom for his grandſons, and of enabling them to build a new city. This city they began to build, accordingly, on the eleventh of the calends of May, the twenty firſt of April following; which, the reader ſees, was ſeveral weeks before the twenty third of Thargelion, on which day, every year, from the taking of Troy, was accompliſhed. After all theſe particulars are explained, I believe, I need not employ many words to anſwer the objections of Dodwell. The firſt he makes to the chronology of our author, is that Creon being the firſt annual archon, who was created ſuch at Athens in the firſt year of the twenty fourth olympiad, it cannot be that either Charops, or any other, ſhould have been in the firſt year of his decennial archonſhip in the firſt year of the ſeventh olympiad. I own I have not comprehenſion enough to ſee that this is a neceſſary conſequence. For, though it is, generally, ſuppoſed that the ſeven decennial archons (of whom Charops was the firſt) governed ten years apiece, yet it is well known that our account of the decennial, is not ſo complete as That of the annual, archons; and it might very well happen that Dionyſius had a more complete account of the decennial archons before him, when he writ this: If theſe, by any accident, governed only ſixty eight years, inſtead of ſeventy, it will be found that Charops entered upon the firſt year of his decennial archonſhip in the firſt year of the ſeventh olympiad. It is well known that Creon was created the firſt annual archon the firſt year of the twenty fourth olympiad; and, if, from twenty three olympiads, we deduct ſix for thoſe elapſed before the building of Rome, the remaining ſeventeen will make juſt ſixty eight years. But, I think, I have a ſtronger objection againſt his chronology, than this, or any other he has urged againſt That of Dionyſius. He ſays that Rome muſt have been built in the 433[d] year after the taking of Troy; for which he quotes Solinus, and the author of the *Progenies Auguſti*, under the name of Meſſala Corvinus. Theſe, he thinks, are authors fit to be oppoſed to the authority of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus. The firſt was a grammarian, and a wretched tranſcriber of other authors, particularly, of Pliny; and [t] Scaliger, in his notes on Euſebius, calls him, with great reaſon, *ſcriptorem leviſſimum*: The other is a fictitious writer, as every body knows, and Dodwell himſelf owns. But, even this ſyſtem of Dodwell will not agree with his own chronological tables: For, by placing the building of Rome in the firſt year of Numitor,

[t] P. 226.

LXXII. But, there being great diſputes concerning both the time of the building of the city, and the founders of it, I thought it incumbent on me, alſo, not to give a curſory account of theſe things, as if they were, univerſally, agreed on. For Cephalon, the Gergithian, a very ancient writer, ſays the city was built, [226] the ſecond generation after the Trojan war, by thoſe, who eſcaped from Troy with Aeneas: That the founder of it was Remus, who was the leader of the colony: That he was one of Aeneas's ſons; and that Aeneas had four ſons, Aſcanius, Euryleon, Romulus, and

or, in other words, by allowing nothing in his tables to the reign of Numitor, he has made the total of the reigns to amount to 432 years, as they, certainly, do. From whence, he concludes that the forty ſecond year of Amulius was the 432d from the taking of Troy: In this I agree with him: Then, ſays he, the firſt of Numitor was the 433d from the taking of Troy: This I deny: And, I believe, the reader, from what I have ſaid, will anticipate my reaſons for denying it. Amulius was ſlain, and Numitor ſucceeded him in the ſpring of this year: For, we find, by our author, that Amulius was not ſlain, till ſome time after the fifteenth of February; and that he was ſlain time enough for Numitor to ſucceed him, to ſettle his government, and ſend out Romulus and Remus ſo early, that they began to build Rome on the twenty firſt of April of this year 432. Now, we have, already, ſeen, from our author, that Troy was taken on the twenty third of Thargelion; conſequently, the 432d year from the taking of Troy did not end till the return of the twenty third of Thargelion, which fell out ſeveral weeks after the twenty firſt of April. It will, therefore, neceſſarily, follow that Rome was built the 432d year after the taking of Troy, as our author ſays, and not the 433d, as Dodwell would have it. The reader will excuſe a repetition, which I find I have been guilty of in this note. The neceſſity I was under, firſt, to ſtate facts, and, then, to apply them, obliged me to it; and I choſe rather to be prolix, than obſcure.

226. Δευτέρᾳ γενεᾷ. I cannot conceive how Portus came to tranſlate this *anno ſecundo*, inſtead of *the ſecond generation*, as the words, plainly, ſignify. But, as obvious as this miſtake is in Portus, le Jay, his faithful follower, has tranſlated him, and ſaid *la ſeconde année*. This is a convincing proof, if this proof were wanting, to ſatisfy every one that le Jay, inſtead of tranſlating Dionyſius, has tranſlated Portus. Hudſon cannot be excuſed for not correcting this miſtake in his edition.

Remus. [227] Demagoras, alſo, Agathyllus, and many others, agree with him in relation both to the time, and the leader of the colony. But the [228] author of the hiſtory of the prieſteſſes in Argos, and of what paſſed under each of them, ſays that Aeneas, coming into Italy from the Moloſſi, after Ulyſſes, was the founder of the city, to which he gave the name of one of the Trojan women, who was called Rome; and that ſhe, tired with wandering, and the reſt of the Trojan women, by her inſtigation, ſet fire to the ſhips. In this, [229] Damaſtes, the Sigean, and ſome others agree with him. But, [230] Ariſtotle, the philoſopher, writes that ſome of the

227. Δημαγορᾳ και Αγαθυλλῳ. [u] It is not known whether the firſt of theſe was a poet, or an hiſtorian. The other was an Arcadian poet; and our author, as we ſhall ſee, cites ſome verſes of his. Concerning Cephalon, ſee the 152d annotation.

228. Ο δε τας ἱερειας τας εν Αργει, και τα καθ' ἑκασην ϖραχθεντα συναγαγων. The author of this hiſtory is not mentioned by Dionyſius: It is poſſible that it may be Hellanicus, concerning whom ſee the 66th and 67th annotations.

229. Δαμαστης ὁ Σιγευς. [w] This hiſtorian is ſaid by our author to have lived a little before the Peloponneſian war. He was of Sigeum, a promontory, and a town of Troas, now, called, *Janizzari*. Suidas ſays he writ two books concerning the parents, and anceſtors of thoſe, who warred at Troy, and a catalogue of nations, and cities; as alſo, concerning poets, and philoſophers, with many other things; and that he was a diſciple of Hellanicus.

230. Αριστοτελης. As this account, taken from Ariſtotle, is in ſome of his works, that are loſt, it is not poſſible to know whether [x] Plutarch, who tells this ſtory, without ſaying from whom he had it, and makes theſe people, who came from Troy, to have been Trojans; or whether our author, who ſays they were Greeks, had moſt reaſon for his aſſertion: Though, by the ſequel of the ſtory, they muſt have been Greeks; ſince the Trojan women, who ſet fire to the fleet, were their priſoners. The promontory, formerly, called *Malea*, now, *Capo Malio*, belongs to Laconia, and forms the ſouth eaſt point of the ancient Peloponneſus, now, the Morea. We read of many ſhips being loſt in doubling the cape; this dangerous ſea is taken notice of by [y] Virgil,

*Maleaeque ſequacibus undis.*

[u] Voſſ. Hiſt. Graec. B. iii. p. 351. [w] Περι χαραχλ. Θακυδ. [x] Γυναικ. αρετ. [y] Aeneid. B. v. ℣. 193.

Greeks,

Greeks, in their return from Troy, while they were doubling the cape of Malea, were overtaken with a violent ſtorm; and, being, for ſome time, driven out of their courſe by the winds, wandered over many parts of the ſea; till, at laſt, they came to this place, which belongs to Opica, called Latium, lying on the Tyrrhene ſea: That, being pleaſed with the ſight of land, they haled up their ſhips; ſtaid there the winter ſeaſon, and were preparing to ſail in the beginning of the ſpring: But, their ſhips being ſet on fire in the night, and they, unable to ſail away, neceſſity obliged them, againſt their will, to ſettle in the place, where they had landed: And, that this was brought upon them, by the captive women they were carrying with them from Troy; who burned the ſhips, leſt, when the Greeks returned home, they ſhould become ſlaves. [231] Callias, who writ the actions of Agathocles, ſays that one of the Trojan women, who came into Italy with the reſt of the Trojans, called Rome, married Latinus, king of the Aborigines, by whom, ſhe had two ſons, Remus, and Romulus, who, building a city, gave it the name of their mother. Xenagoras, the hiſtorian, writes that Ulyſſes, and Circe had three ſons, Remus, Antias, and Ardeas, who, building three cities, called them after their own names. [232] Dionyſius, the Chalcidean, owns, indeed,

[231] Καλλιας, Ξεναγορας. The age of the firſt is known, by his having been a penſioner, and flatterer of Agathocles, the tyrant of Sicily, as we learn from [z] Suidas, who has tranſcribed Diodorus, in every thing relating to him. All we know of the other, is, that he writ one treatiſe concerning chronology, and another concerning iſlands.

[232] Διονυσιος ὁ Χαλκιδευς. We know no more of this hiſtorian, than that he writ five books of the origins of [a] cities.

[z] Voſſius Hiſt. Graec. B. iii. p. 422. [a] Id. ib. p. 358.

that

that Remus was the founder of the city; but, then, he ſays, that he was, according to ſome, the ſon of Aſcanius, and, according to others, the ſon of Emathion. There are others, who affirm that Rome was built by Remus, the ſon of Italus, and of Electra, the daughter of Latinus.

LXXIII. I could quote many other Greek writers, who aſſign different founders of the city; but, not to appear prolix, I ſhall come to the Roman hiſtorians. The Romans have not ſo much as one ancient hiſtorian, or [233] orator; but each of their hiſtorians has taken ſomething out of the ancient relations, that are preſerved in the [234] holy records. Some of theſe ſay that Romulus, and Remus, the founders of Rome, were the ſons of Aeneas: Others, that they were the ſons of a daughter of Aeneas, without determining who was their father; and that they were delivered, as hoſtages,

233. Λογογραφος. M. ***, very juſtly, cenſures Gelenius, and Portus for tranſlating this, *a writer of fables*. I do not underſtand why he has ſpared Sylburgius, ſince he has fallen into the ſame error, as well as le Jay. In oppoſition to them, he has ſaid, *a writer* in general; though, by the very authorities he quotes, he ought to have rendered it either *an orator*, with Plutarch, or, *an hiſtorian*, with Thucydides. As our author has, already, mentioned *an hiſtorian*, I have choſen to tranſlate λογογραφος, in this place, *an orator*, in which I am ſupported, not only by the authority of Plutarch, but, alſo, by that of Heſychius; λογογραφος, ὁ δικας γραφων.

234. Εν ἱεραις δελτοις. I look upon theſe to have been what the Romans called *libros linteos*, which contained the treaties made by them with other nations; and, alſo, the names of their magiſtrates, and the times of their creation; becauſe, I find that [b] Livy calls them *libros magiſtratuum*, and *libros linteos: Licinius Macer auctor eſt, et in foedere Ardeatino, et in* linteis libris *ad Monetae inventa*. And, again, *quodque* magiſtratuum libri, *quos* linteos *in aede repoſitos Monetae, Macer Licinius citat identidem auctores* [c]. The epithet ἱεραι, made uſe of by our author upon this occaſion, inclined me to think that he might mean the *libri pontificales*; but theſe related, purely, to religion, and to public and private ſacrifices.

[b] B. iv. c. 7.

[c] Ib. c. 20.

by

by Aeneas, to Latinus, king of the Aborigines, when the treaty was made between the inhabitants, and the foreigners: And that Latinus received them kindly, did them many good offices, and, dying without male children, left them his ſucceſſors in ſome part of his kingdom. Others ſay that, after the death of Aeneas, Aſcanius, having ſucceeded him in the intire ſovereignty of the Latines, divided both the country, and the forces of the Latines, into three parts; two of which he gave to his brothers, Romulus, and Remus: That he himſelf built Alba, and ſome other towns; and that Remus built a city, which he called Capua, from Capys, his great grandfather; Anchiſe, from his grandfather Anchiſes; Aenea, which was, afterwards, called Janiculum, from his father; and Rome, from his own name: That this laſt city was, for ſome time, deſerted by the inhabitants; but that, upon the arrival of another colony, which the Albans ſent, under the conduct of Romulus, and Remus, it was reſtored to its former condition: So that, according to this account, there were two foundations of Rome; one, a little after the Trojan war; and the other, fifteen generations after the firſt. But, if any one deſires to look into the earlier accounts, even, a third Rome will be found, more ancient than theſe, which was founded, before Aeneas, and the Trojans came into Italy. This is ſupported by the teſtimony of no vulgar, nor modern author; but by That of Antiochus, the Syracuſian, whom I mentioned before: He ſays that, when Morges reigned in Italy (which,

([235] which, at that time, comprehended all the ſea coaſt from Tarentum, to [236] Poſidonia) a man came to him, who had been baniſhed from Rome; his words are theſe: "After "Italus was grown old, Morges reigned: In his reign, "there came to him a man, who had been baniſhed from "Rome, and whoſe name was Sicelus." According, therefore, to the Syracuſian hiſtorian, ſome ancient city, called Rome, is found, even, earlier than the time of the Trojan war. But, as he has left it doubtful whether it was ſituated in the ſame place, where the city, now, ſtands, or whether ſome other place was called by the ſame name, ſo, neither can I form any conjecture relating to it. Concerning, therefore, the ancient foundations of Rome, I think, what has been ſaid, to be ſufficient.

LXXIV. As to the laſt reinhabiting, or building of the city; or, by what name ſoever we ought to call it, Timaeus,

[235] Ην δε τοῖς Ιταλια. Caſaubon ſays, upon this paſſage, that [d] Strabo, upon the authority, alſo, of Antiochus, makes Italy much leſs extenſive. I have looked into that place of Strabo, and find it to be ſo. Upon this, he aſks whether the words of Antiochus may not be, leſs accurately, quoted by Dionyſius, than Strabo? To this I anſwer that it is more probable they did not both quote the ſame paſſage, and that Antiochus might, in one place, ſpeak of one deſcription of Italy, that prevailed at one time, and, in the other, of another deſcription, that prevailed at another time. Something like this he himſelf ſeems to inſinuate. This, and many other notes, both of Caſaubon, and the other commentators M. *** has taken, without giving the leaſt hint from whom he had them.

[236] Αχρι Ποσιδονιας. This was the Greek name of a town in Lucania, called by the Romans, Paeſtum, which lay in the Sinus Paeſtanus, now, called, *Golfo di Salerno*. It is very poſſible that Antiochus, whoſe words our author quotes, might mean the promontory *Poſidonium*, or *Poſidium*, that lies to the ſouth of the town, and is, now, called, [c] *Capo di Licoſa*, as a more remarkable boundary on the weſt, to anſwer the large city of Tarentum on the eaſt.

[d] B. vi. p. 391. [c] Cluver, Ital. Antiq. p. 1258.

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the Sicilian (by what [237] computation I know not) places it at the ſame time with the building of Carthage, that is, in the thirty eighth year before the firſt olympiad; Lucius Cincius, a Roman ſenator, about the fourth year of the twelfth olympiad; and Quinctus Fabius in the firſt year of the eighth olympiad. Cato Porcius follows no Greek account; but, being as careful, as any writer, in collecting ancient hiſtories, he places the building of Rome four hundred and thirty two years after the taking of Troy: And this time, being compared with the chronological tables of [238] Eratoſthenes, falls in with the firſt year of the ſeventh olympiad. I have ſhewn, in another treatiſe, that the canons of Eratoſthenes are to be depended on, and, in what manner, the Roman chronology is to be reduced to That of the Greeks: For I did not think it ſufficient, like Polybius of Megalopolis, to ſay, only, that I believe Rome was built in the ſecond year of the ſeventh olympiad; nor to leave the unexamined credit of this aſſertion upon a ſingle inſcription on a table, pre-

[237] Ουκ οιδ' ὁτῳ κανονι χρησαμενος. Wonderfully tranſlated by le Jay, *ſans alleguer aucun auteur*. It is well known that κανων ſignifies *a workman's rule*; from whence, it was tranſlated to chronology, where it ſignifies a computation of time to ſerve as *a rule* for hiſtory.

[238] Ερατοσθενης. He was a man of univerſal learning, notwithſtanding the cenſure of [f] Strabo, who looked upon him as a rival, though he lived ſo long before him, and, by his bitterneſs, ſhews he thought him a formidable one. [g] He was a geographer, a chronologer, a grammarian, a philoſopher, a poet, an aſtronomer, and an hiſtorian: Of all theſe he gave ample proofs in his writings, which are, often, quoted, with great approbation, by the beſt authors. He was a Cyrenaean, and ſent for from Athens by Ptolomy Euergetes, who made him his librarian. [h] He died under Ptolomy Epiphanes in the firſt year of the 146th olympiad aged eighty, as we find in Suidas; but [i] Lucian ſays he was eighty two when he died.

[f] B. i. in various places. [g] Harpocration, Suidas. [h] Voſſius de Hiſt. Graec. B. i. p. 108. [i] In Μακροβ.

ſerved by the Anchiſenſes, and the only one of its kind; but choſe rather to expoſe the reaſons I myſelf have produced, to be canvaſſed by any one, who thinks fit to examine them: In that treatiſe, therefore, an exact chronology is deduced; but in this work, thoſe things [239] only, that are moſt neceſſary, will be taken notice of. The matter ſtands thus: [240] The irruption of the Gauls, in which the city of Rome was taken, is agreed, almoſt, on all hands, to have happened, during the archonſhip of Pyrgion at Athens,

239. Αὐλὰ τὰ ἀναγκαιοταῖα. I am ſurpriſed that none of the commentators have explained the force of the word αὐλὰ, in this place; and, particularly, that Caſaubon, who, certainly, underſtood both the beauty, and ſtrength of the Greek language as well as any man ſince it has been revived, ſhould be ſilent upon this occaſion. Αὐλὰ, here, ſignifies μονα, as may be proved from many paſſages out of the beſt writers; but I ſhall content myſelf with one from [k] Ariſtophanes, whoſe language is full of Attic elegance;

Ου γαρ με και νυν διαβαλει Κλεων, ὁτι Ξενων παρουσων την πολιν κακως λεγω. Αὐλοι γαρ εσμεν.

Upon which, the Greek ſcholiaſt ſays very well, οἱον MONOI Αθηναιοι χωρις των συμμαχων, και ξενων. After this, I wonder the Latin tranſlator of Ariſtophanes ſhould ſay, *nam* nos *ſumus*, inſtead of *nam* ſoli *ſumus*.

240. Ἡ Κελτων εφοδος. Caſaubon, in his annotation upon this paſſage (which M. * * * has, according to his cuſtom, tranſlated without mentioning him) ſays that our author did not, without reaſon, mention this æra in comparing the chronology of the Romans, with That of the Greeks; becauſe Plutarch ſays that, ſoon after Rome was taken by the Gauls, the Greeks had ſome obſcure knowledge of the Romans; for which he quotes Heraclides Ponticus, and Ariſtotle. Upon looking into this paſſage of [l] Plutarch, I was ſurpriſed to find that he ſays Heraclides Ponticus was not much later than the time, when Rome was taken by the Gauls, ὀ πολυ των χρονων εκεινων απολειπομενος; when it is well known by other authors, as well as by Laertius, who has written the life of this Heraclides, that he was a diſciple of Ariſtotle, and, conſequently, could not have lived near the time when Rome was taken; ſince his maſter Ariſtotle, who muſt be preſumed to have been, conſiderably, older than his diſciple, died aged no more than [m] ſixty three, in the third year of the 114th olympiad, that is ſixty eight years after the æra we ſpeak of.

k Αχαρ. ὑ. 501. l Life of Camillus. m Diog. Laert. Life of Ariſtotle.

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the firſt year of the ninety eighth olympiad: Now, if the time before the taking of the city, be brought back to Lucius Junius Brutus, and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the firſt conſuls at Rome after the expulſion of the kings, it will comprehend one hundred and twenty years. This appears by many monuments; but, particularly, by the [241] records of the

[241] Των Τιμητικων ὑπομνημαλων. Theſe records of the cenſors were, no doubt, very good materials for ſupplying our author with the dates of the moſt conſiderable events in the Roman hiſtory, and as ſuch he refers to them. The difficulty, therefore, does not conſiſt in the want of the authenticity of theſe records, but in the poſſibility of their having been preſerved, when the town was ſacked by the Gauls. As I have, often, heard, men of learning argue againſt this poſſibility; and, as the late lord [n] Bolingbroke, in one of his letters on the ſtudy of hiſtory, has thought fit to call thoſe men, pedants, who would impoſe all the traditions of the four firſt ages of Rome for authentic hiſtory, and has made uſe of the authority of Livy to ſhew that the greateſt part of all public and private monuments, was deſtroyed in the ſack of Rome; I ſhall, without fearing the imputation of pedantry, conſider whether there is not a neceſſity of allowing that ſuch an account of all the remarkable tranſactions precedent to the taking of Rome, was, by ſome means, or other, preſerved at that time, as to furniſh materials for an authentic hiſtory. This is all I contend for. I am ſenſible that the Romans had no hiſtorians, nor any writers but annaliſts till long after this period, and that the Greek writers, who writ before, and ſeveral years after this period, do not ſhew, in any part of their works, that they were much acquainted either with the Romans, or their affairs. I have read his lordſhip's works with ſo much pleaſure; I have been ſo much charmed with the vivacity of his ſtyle, and inſtructed with the variety of his learning, that it would be a kind of ingratitude in me to ſay any thing in derogation of either. The point he has in view, in this letter, is, to ſhew that the old Roman authors were annaliſts, and not hiſtorians, which I allow; and I, alſo, allow, that they did not write hiſtory in that fulneſs, in which it muſt be written to become a leſſon of ethics, and politics; but they might leave ſufficient materials to enable others to do ſo. I am very glad that [o] Livy, in ſpeaking of the public and private monuments, that periſhed at that time, ſays *pleraeque interiere:* For, if he had ſaid *omnia*, I am afraid it would have been of little ſervice to me to have ſhewn the impoſſibility of it. If all, or ſo many of the public and private monuments periſhed at that time, as to leave no traces behind them, how came Livy to know the number of the kings, who reigned at Rome; the remarkable incidents of each reign; all the particulars relating to their expul-

[n] Let. v.

[o] B. vi. c. i.

cenſors, which the ſon receives in ſucceſſion from the father, and takes great care to tranſmit to his poſterity, like family rites. And there are ſeveral illuſtrious men of cenſorian families, who preſerve theſe records: In which, I find that the year before the taking of the city, there was a cenſus of the Roman people, to which, as to the reſt of them, there is affixed the date, which is this; "In the [242] conſulſhip of

ſion; the creation of the tribunes of the people, and all the circumſtances relative to that great event; the appointment, and diſſolution of the decemvirs; the laws enacted by them before, and obſerved after, the taking of Rome; and every other tranſaction he relates in his firſt five books? It may be ſaid that he took all theſe facts from the hiſtorians, who writ before him. But where had theſe old hiſtorians thoſe facts? From none who writ before the taking of Rome; becauſe there were none: So that, theſe old hiſtorians muſt either have had them from the monuments, and annals that were then preſerved, or they muſt have invented them: But this no man will ſay; therefore, I think, the other muſt be granted.

242. Υπατευοντος Λευκιου Ουαλεριου Ποτλου, και Τιτου Μαλλιου Καπιτωλινου. [p] Livy ſays nothing of this cenſus, though he mentions the death of Caius Julius, one of the cenſors: But the elegance, and pompous ſtyle of that hiſtorian deſerves more to be admired, than his exactneſs. Theſe conſuls, being ill of a peſtilential diſtemper, abdicated; and ſix conſular tribunes were created the ſame year. The following year, alſo, ſix conſular tribunes were choſen, among whom were the three Fabii, who had been ſent ambaſſadors to the Gauls; and, contrary to the laws of nations, had charged in the army of the Cluſini, when theſe engaged them. This was the fatal year, in which Rome was taken; and theſe were the conſular tribunes, under whoſe government that calamity befel the Romans. The cenſus, therefore, which our author ſays was performed in the conſulſhip of Lucius Valerius Potitus, and Titus Manlius Capitolinus, muſt have been the year before the city was taken. I cannot end this note without taking notice of two things, that ſurpriſe me in the words quoted by our author out of theſe cenſorian records; the firſt is, that one of the conſuls of this year is called by Livy, and the *Faſti conſulares*, Marcus, not Titus Manlius; and the other, that he was not called Capitolinus, till the following year, after he had ſaved the capitol: And Livy, in ſpeaking of the conſuls of this year, ſays, *creati conſules L. Valerius Potitus, M. Manlius, cui Capitolino poſtea fuit cognomen.* This deſerved to be taken notice of by the commentators: But they are, often, very liberal of their aſſiſtance, when it is not wanted, and forſake the reader, when it is.

[p] L. v. c. 31.

"Lucius

" Lucius Valerius Potitus, and Titus Manlius Capitolinus, " the hundred and nineteenth year after the expulſion of " the kings." So that, the irruption of the Gauls, which we find to have fallen out in the year, that followed the cenſus, happened when the hundred and twenty years were accompliſhed. If, therefore, this interval of time is found to conſiſt of thirty olympiads, it muſt be allowed that the firſt conſuls entered upon their magiſtracy in the firſt year of the ſixty eighth olympiad; the ſame year that Iſagoras was archon at Athens.

LXXV. And if, from the expulſion of the kings, the time is brought back to Romulus, the firſt king of the city, that period will be found to comprehend two hundred and forty four years. This is known by the ſucceſſions of the kings, and the number of years each of them reigned: For Romulus, the founder of Rome, is ſaid to have reigned thirty ſeven years: And, after his death, the city was a year without a king: Then, Numa Pompilius, who was choſen by the people, reigned forty three years: After Numa, Tullus Hoſtilius, thirty two: And, his ſucceſſor, Ancus Marcius, twenty four: After Marcius, Lucius Tarquinius, called Priſcus, thirty eight: Servius Tullius, who ſucceeded him, four and forty: And Lucius Tarquinius, a tyrannical prince, and, from his contempt of juſtice, called Superbus, having put Servius to death, extended his reign to the twenty fifth year. The reigns, therefore, of the kings completing the number of two hundred and forty four years, and of ſixty one olympiads, it follows, neceſſarily, that Romulus, the firſt king

king of the city, began his reign in the firſt year of the ſeventh olympiad, and the firſt year of the decennial archonſhip of Charops at Athens: For this the computation of the years requires: And, that each king reigned ſo many years, I have ſhewn in that treatiſe. This, therefore, is the account, given by thoſe, who lived before me, and adopted by me, concerning the time of the building of this city, which, at preſent, is miſtreſs of the world. As to the founders of it, who they were, by what turns of fortune they were induced to lead out the colony, and what other incidents are ſaid to have attended the building of it, has been related by many, and, the greateſt part of them, by ſome in a different manner; and I, alſo, ſhall mention the moſt probable of theſe relations: Thus it ſtands:

LXXVI. Amulius, having, by his power, excluded his elder brother Numitor from his paternal dignity; and, thereby, poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of Alba, among many things, done by him, abſolutely, in contempt of juſtice, he, at laſt, attempted to deprive Numitor's family of [243] iſſue,

243· Ερημου γενους τον οικον τον Νομιτωρος επεβουλευσε ποιησαι. I am obliged to depart from all the tranſlators in rendering this paſſage: Both the Latin, and, after them, the French tranſlators, have ſaid, that Amulius reſolved to deſtroy Numitor's whole family: Which ſenſe is not to be ſupported, either by the Greek text, or the relation of this tranſaction: For the Greek words do not ſignify *to deſtroy Numitor's family*, but *to deprive it of iſſue.* Had Numitor deſigned the firſt, what could have hindered him from deſtroying his niece, as he had deſtroyed his nephew? But, inſtead of that, he, only, fought to deprive her of all hope of iſſue by making her a veſtal, leſt ſhe might, one day, bring forth an avenger of the wrongs done to her family, μη τεκη τιμωρον τω γενει, as our author will ſay preſently. The moſt ſpecious pretence Amulius could make uſe of to avert this danger, was to make his niece a veſtal under the notion of doing her honor, which is agreeable to

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in order to ſecure himſelf not only from the puniſhment, that was due to his uſurpation, but, alſo, from being, at any time, diſpoſſeſſed of the ſovereignty. Having, long, reſolved upon this, he, firſt, obſerved the place, where Aegeſtus, the ſon of Numitor, who was juſt arrived to manhood, uſed to hunt; and, having placed an ambuſh in the moſt hidden part of it, he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated, while he was hunting; and, after the fact was committed, contrived to have it reported that the youth had been ſlain by robbers. However, the rumor, thus propagated, could not prevail over the truth, that was concealed: But many, not without danger, ventured to publiſh the fact. Numitor was informed of the aſſaſſination; but, his reaſon being ſuperior to his concern, he affected ignorance, reſolving to defer his reſentment to a leſs dangerous opportunity: And Amulius, preſuming the murder of the youth was, ſtill, a ſecret, made uſe of another practice: He conſtituted Ilia, the daughter of Numitor, or, as ſome write, Rhea, ſurnamed Ilia, who was, then, marriageable, a prieſteſs of Veſta, leſt, if ſhe were married, before he had ſo diſpoſed of her, ſhe might bring forth an avenger of the wrongs done to her family. Theſe virgins, who are intruſted with the cuſtody of the perpetual fire, and with the performance of thoſe rites, that are appointed to be adminiſtered by virgins for the proſperity of the com-

[9] The account given of this tranſaction by Livy: *Pulſo fratre, Amulius regnat: Addit ſceleri ſcelus: Stirpem fratris virilem interimit: Fratris filiae Rheae Silviae, per ſpeciem honoris, quum veſtalem eam legiſſet, perpetua virginitate* ſpem partûs *adimit.*

[9] B. i. c. 3.

monwealth,

monwealth, were obliged to remain, not leſs than [244] five years, unmarried. Amulius did this, under ſpecious pretences, as if his intention was, to confer honor, and dignity, on his brother's family; ſince he was neither the author of this law, which was common to all, nor his brother the firſt perſon of conſideration, whom he had obliged to yield obedience to it: It being both cuſtomary and honourable, among the Albans, for maidens of the beſt quality to be choſen prieſteſſes of Veſta. Numitor, finding theſe practices of his brother proceeded from no good intention, diſſembled his reſentment, leſt he ſhould incur the ill will of the people; and, alſo, ſtifled his complaints, upon this occaſion.

LXXVII. The fourth year after this, Ilia, going to a grove, conſecrated to Mars, to fetch pure water for the uſe of the ſacrifices, ſome body raviſhed her. It is ſaid by ſome, that the fact was committed by one of her lovers to gratify his paſſion; others make Amulius himſelf the author of it, who, deſigning to ruin her, rather than to ſatisfy his deſire, had ſecured himſelf with ſuch armour, as might render him the moſt terrible to the ſight, and, at the ſame time, diſguiſe him in the moſt effectual manner: But the greateſt part give this fabulous account of it; that it was a ſpectre, repreſenting the god, to whom the place was conſecrated; they add, alſo, that this adventure was attended, among

244. Πενταετεῖς δε και ελαττω χρονου. Numa made many alterations in the rules of the veſtals, as our author will tell us in the next book. So that, the Greek text muſt not be altered to make theſe inſtitutions agree with thoſe, as Glareanus, and Portus would correct it, whom M. * * * has followed in his tranſlation.

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other heavenly ſigns, with an eclipſe of the ſun, and a darkneſs ſpread over the Heavens: That the ſpectre far excelled the appearance of a man, both in ſtature, and in beauty; and that the raviſher, to comfort the maiden (from whence they conclude he was a god) commanded her not to be, at all, concerned at what had happened, ſince ſhe had been united, by marriage, to the genius of the place; and that, by this violence, ſhe ſhould bring forth two ſons, who ſhould far excel all men in virtue, and military accompliſhments: And, having ſaid this, he was wrapped in a cloud, and, being lifted from the earth, was borne upwards through the air. This is not a proper place to conſider what opinion we ought to entertain of theſe things, whether we ſhould deſpiſe them, as human frailties, attributed to the gods; ſince GOD is incapable of any function, that is unworthy of an incorruptible, and happy nature; or whether we ſhould admit, even, theſe relations, upon a ſuppoſition that all the beings of the univerſe are of a mixed nature; and that, between the divine and human, ſome third being exiſts, which is That of the genii, who, ſometimes, mingling with the human, and, ſometimes, with the divine nature, beget, as it is ſaid, the fabled race of heroes. This, I ſay, is not a proper place to conſider theſe things, and what the [245] philoſophers have ſaid concerning them is ſufficient.

245. Αρκει τε ὁσα φιλοσοφοις περι αυτων ειρηται. By theſe philoſophers, our author, [illegible] certainly, means the followers of [r]Plato, who had, often, heard his maſter Socrates diſcourſe of theſe demons, one of whom he was weak enough to ſay, at his trial, often, diſſuaded him from doing any thing, that might be prejudicial to him. If ſo; that demon was very forgetful in not

[r] Plato's Apol. of Socrates.

Ilia, after this violence, pretending ſickneſs (for this her mother adviſed with regard both to her own ſafety, and to the worſhip of the gods) aſſiſted, no longer, at the ſacrifices; but her duty was performed by the other virgins, who were joined with her in the ſame miniſtry.

LXXVIII. But Amulius, induced either by the knowledge of what had happened, or by a probable ſuſpicion, inquired what might be the real cauſe of this long abſence from the ſacrifices. To ſatisfy himſelf, he ſent ſome phyſicians to her, whom he, chiefly, confided in; and, becauſe the women pretended her indiſpoſition muſt be kept ſecret from men, he left his wife to obſerve her. She, having, by womens conjectures, diſcovered what was a ſecret to others, informed her huſband of it; who, leſt ſhe ſhould be delivered in private (for ſhe was, now, near her time) appointed her to be guarded by armed men: And, ſummoning his brother to the ſenate, he, not only, informed them of the deflowering of his niece, with which, the reſt of the world were unacquainted, but accuſed her parents of being

diſſuading him from making that acknowledgment. This notion Plato improved; and, with more poetry, than philoſophy, made them the neceſſary inſtruments of the ſupreme BEING, in the creation of the univerſe; for fear, it ſeems, that, if GOD had created every thing in it HIMSELF, his creatures might have been immortal, like HIMSELF. How much more philoſophical is that all-creating word in Moſes, and the ſwift obedience, that followed it, [s] Γενεσθω, και εγενετο? But, to conſider Plato, in the only light he ought to be conſidered in, upon this occaſion, there can be nothing more poetical, than his deſcription of Jupiter riding through the heavens in his winged chariot at the head of the gods, and demons: His words are theſe, [t] Ο μεν δη μεγας ηγεμων εν ουρανω Ζευς, πτηνον αρμα ελαυνων, πρωτος πορευεται διακοσμων παντα, και επιμελουμενος τω δ' επεται στρατια θεων τε και δαιμονων.

[s] Geneſis i. ℣. 3. [t] In Φαιδ.

her

her accomplices, and ordered him to conceal nothing, but to bring all to light. Numitor ſaid he was ſurpriſed at what he heard; and, proteſting his innocence of every thing that was alledged, deſired time to inquire into the truth of it. Having obtained, with difficulty, this delay, and, being informed, by his wife, of the whole, in the manner his daughter had, at firſt, related it, he acquainted the ſenate with the violence committed by the god, and alſo, with what he had ſaid concerning the twins, and deſired the credit of what he had advanced might depend upon the event, by which it would appear whether the fruit of her delivery was ſuch, as the god had foretold: For the time of her [246] delivery being near at hand, the fraud, if any, would, ſoon, appear. To ſupport what he ſaid, he [247] offered that

246. Και γαρ την κορην ὁμȣ τι ειναι τῳ τικτειν. This, and the next ſentence are omitted in the Vatican manuſcript, I ſuppoſe, by the fault of the tranſcriber. Both Sylburgius, and Caſaubon have attempted to change the ſtructure of this phraſe. I believe the reader will think it runs very well in the manner I have altered it from the editions; particularly, ſince I have only changed the order of the words, which, as they, before, ſtood, were unharmonious. Ομȣ is very Attic Greek for εγγυς, as will be ſeen both from the following paſſage of Ariſtophanes, and from the Greek ſcholiaſt's obſervation upon it;

Ο κονιορτος δηλοσαυτων, ὡς ΟΜΟΥ προσκειμενων [v].

Upon which the ſcholiaſt ſays, το ὁμȣ λεγȣσιν Αττικοι αντι τȣ εγγυς.

247. Παρεδιδȣ. The Latin tranſlators have rendered this word, very properly, *ad quaeſtionem offerebat*. As δȣλον παραδιδοναι is the Greek term *to deliver up a ſlave to be queſtioned by torments*; ſo δȣλον εξαιτειν is the term *to demand a ſlave* for that purpoſe. There is an example of both in this ſentence of [w] Demoſthenes; Ετι δε το πραγμ' αν εξελεγξαι ζητων, ΕΞΗΤΗΣΕΝ αν με τον παιδα τον γραφοντα τας μαρτυριας, ἱν', ει ΠΑΡΕΔΙΔΟΥΝ, μηδεν δικαιον λεγειν εδοκȣν. Le Jay did not like the word, and, for that reaſon, he has left it out. The other French tranſlator has given ſomething like the ſenſe of it: Thus he has ſaid; *et qu'on procedât à l'examen de cette affaire par toutes les voies qu'on jugeroit à propos.*

[v] Ιππ. ϋ. 245.

[w] Προς Αφοβον.

the women, who attended his daughter, might be examined upon the rack; and ſubmitted to every method, that might lead to the diſcovery of the truth. This was approved of by the ſenate: But Amulius inſiſted that his pretenſions were, highly, unreaſonable, and endeavoured, by all means, to deſtroy his niece. While theſe things were in agitation, thoſe, who had been appointed to keep guard at the delivery, appeared, and gave an account that Ilia was brought to bed of two male children. Numitor, then, preſſed, vehemently, what he had, before, alledged, ſhewing the whole to be the work of the god; and begged that no violent ſentence might paſs againſt his daughter, who was innocent. On the other ſide, Amulius pretended that, even, in the delivery, there was ſome human contrivance, and that the women had provided another child, either unknown to the guards, or with their aſſiſtance: And a great deal was ſaid to this purpoſe. When the ſenators found the king was inexorable, they, alſo, determined, in the manner he deſired, that the law ſhould be put in execution, which provides that a veſtal, who ſuffers herſelf to be defiled, ſhall be whipped with rods, and put to death, and her offspring thrown into the river. [248] Now, the pontifical law ordains that ſhe ſhall be buried alive.

LXXIX. Hitherto, the greateſt part of the hiſtorians agree, or differ, very little, from one another; ſome coming nearer to fables, and others to probability: But they differ in what follows. Some ſay that Ilia was put to death imme-

[248] Νυν μεν δη, etc. See the 244th annotation.

diately;

diately; others, that ſhe remained in a [249] ſecret priſon under a guard; which made the people believe ſhe was put to death privately: The ſame authors ſay, that Amulius condeſcended to this, at the earneſt deſire of his daughter, who begged the life of her couſin: For, being brought up together, and of the ſame age, they loved each other, like ſiſters: And that Amulius, in favor to her, as ſhe was his only daughter, ſaved Ilia from death, but kept her confined in a ſecret priſon; and, that ſhe was, at length, ſet at liberty, after the death of Amulius. Thus, do the ancient authors vary concerning Ilia: However, both opinions carry with them an appearance of truth; for which reaſon, I have, alſo, made mention of them both. The reader himſelf will know which to believe. But, concerning her children, Quinctus Fabius, called Pictor, whom Lucius Cincius, Cato Porcius, Calpurnius Piſo, and the greateſt part of the other hiſtorians have followed, writes thus; "That, by the order "of Amulius, ſome of the king's officers took the children, "in a [250] cradle, and carried them to the river, diſtant from

249. Εν εἰρκτῇ ἀδηλῳ. Portus, and le Jay have rendered this *an obſcure priſon*, which is equivocal: For it was not the obſcurity, that is, the darkneſs, of the priſon, which made the people believe ſhe was put to death; but the ſecrecy of it. Sylburgius, and the other French tranſlator, have rendered very well.

250. Σκαφῃ. Livy, in ſpeaking of [illegible] this, *alveus*; *quum fluitantem* alveum, *quo expoſiti erant pueri, tenuis in ſicco aqua deſtituiſſet*; and both the Latin tranſlators have, very judiciouſly, followed him. When I call it *a cradle*, I do not mean a wicker, but a wooden cradle, which are, ſtill, very common abroad: Otherwiſe, I ſhould have fallen into the ſame error with le Jay, who calls it *un panier*, *a baſket*, which is not very well calculated *to float*, *fluitare*, in Livy, and νηχεσθαι in our author. The other French tranſlator, has, alſo, called it *un berceau*.

[x] B. i. c. 4.

"the

" the city about a hundred and twenty ſtadia, with a deſign
" to throw them into it. When they drew near, and per-
" ceived that the Tiber, ſwelled by continual rains, had
" exceeded its natural bed, and overflowed the plains, they
" came down from the top of the Pallantine hill, to that part
" of the water, that lay neareſt (for they could advance no
" further) and ſet down the cradle upon the flood, where it
" waſhed the foot of the hill: The cradle floated for ſome
" time; then, as the waters retired by degrees from the
" utmoſt verge, ſtriking againſt a ſtone, it overturned, and
" threw out the children, who lay crying, and wallowing
" in the mud. Upon this, a ſhe-wolf, that had juſt whelped,
" appeared; and, her teats being diſtended with milk, gave
" them her paps to ſuck, and, with her tongue, licked
" off the mud, with which they were beſmeared. In
" the mean time, ſome ſhepherds happened to be driving
" their flocks to paſture (for the place was now become
" paſſable) and one of them, ſeeing the wolf, thus, cheriſh-
" ing the children, was, for ſome time, ſtruck dumb with
" aſtoniſhment, and diſbelief of what he ſaw: Then,
" going away, and getting together as many as he could of
" the ſhepherds, who kept their flocks near at hand (for
" they would not believe what he ſaid) he carried them to
" ſee the ſight themſelves: When theſe, alſo, drew near,
" and ſaw the wolf cheriſhing the children, as if they had
" been her young ones, and the children hanging on her
" as on their mother, they imagined they ſaw ſomething
" divine, and advanced together, hallooing, to terrify the
" creature:

" creature: The wolf, not much frightened at the approach
" of the men, but, as if ſhe had been tame, withdrew, gently,
" from the children, and went away, greatly, deſpiſing the
" rabble of ſhepherds. For there was, not far off, a holy
" place, covered with a thick wood, and a hollow rock,
" from whence ſprings iſſued: This wood was ſaid to be
" conſecrated to Pan, and there was an altar, dedicated to
" that god: When ſhe came to this place, ſhe hid herſelf.
" This grove is, no longer, extant; but the cave, from whence
" the fountain flows, is contiguous to the Palatine buildings,
" and to be ſeen in the way, that leads to the Circus;
" and near it, ſtands a temple, in which a ſtatue is placed,
" repreſenting this incident: It is a [251] wolf ſuckling two

[251] Λυκαινα, etc. This groupe, repreſenting the wolf giving ſuck to Romulus and Remus is, certainly, not the ſame with That, ſaid, by [y] Cicero, to have been ſtruck with lightning in the conſulſhip of Cotta, and Torquatus, who were conſuls two years before him, that is, in the year of Rome 689; becauſe, he ſays, That ſtood in the capitol, and the other, we find, by our author, was placed in the temple, which ſtood near the cave, that was joined to the buildings of the Palatine hill. This temple was the temple of Romulus, erected near the *Ficus Ruminalis*, ſo called, as [z] Pliny ſays, *quoniam ſub eâ inventa eſt lupa infantibus praebens rumen, ita vocabant mammam, miraculo ex aere juxta dicato.* This groupe of figures was placed here in the conſulſhip of Quinctus Fabius Rullus, and Publius Decius Mus, in the 446th year of Rome, as we find by [a] Livy, *ad ficum ruminalem ſimulacra infantium conditorum urbis ſub uberibus lupae poſuerunt*; he means Cneius and Quintus Ogulnius, who were, then, *curule aediles.* The ſtatue, mentioned by Cicero, is, ſtill, to be ſeen in the capitol, with one of the hinder legs hurt with lightning; and was deſigned to have been here repreſented: This wolf is very unlike the common wolves, and ſeems to be the kind of wolf they call in France, *un loup cèrviér*, Λυκοπανθης: It is a fierce animal, and does a vaſt deal of miſchief. As there were, no doubt, many ſtatues repreſenting this very extraordinary event, it cannot be known which [b] Virgil refers to in this fine deſcription of it:

*geminos huic ubera circum*
*Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem*
*Impavidos: illam tereti cervice reflexam*
*Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere linguâ.*

[y] Cat. iii. c. 8. [z] B. xv. c. 18. [a] B. x. c. 23. [b] Aeneid. B. viii. ℣. 613.

" children;

" children; they are in braſs, and of ancient workmanſhip:
" This place is ſaid to have been conſecrated by the Ar-
" cadians, who, with Evander, formerly, built their habi-
" tations there. As ſoon as the wolf was gone, the ſhep-
" herds took up the children; and, as the gods ſeemed to
" intereſt themſelves in their perſervation, were very deſirous
" to bring them up. There was, among them, an overſeer
" of the king's ſwineherds, whoſe name was Fauſtulus, a
" man of humanity, who had been in town, upon ſome
" neceſſary buſineſs, at the time, when the deflowering of
" Ilia, and her delivery were made public: And, after that,
" when the children were carrying to the river, he, going
" to Pallantium, by divine appointment, went the ſame road
" with thoſe, who were carrying them: This man, without
" giving the leaſt notice to the reſt that he knew any thing
" of the affair, deſired the children might be delivered to him;
" and, having received them by general conſent, he carried
" them home to his wife: Where, finding her juſt brought
" to bed, and grieving that the child was dead, he com-
" forted her, and gave her theſe children to ſubſtitute in its
" room, informing her, from the beginning, of all the cir-
" cumſtances relating to them. And, as they grew up, he
" gave to one, the name of Romulus, and to the other, That
" of Remus. When they came to be men, they ſhewed
" themſelves, both in dignity of aſpect, and elevation of
" mind, not like ſwineherds, and neatherds, but ſuch, as w
" might ſuppoſe thoſe to be, who are born of royal race, an
" looked upon as the offſpring of the gods; and as ſuch

" they

" they are, ſtill, celebrated, by the Romans, in the hymns
" of their country. But their life was That of herdſmen;
" they lived by their own labor, and, generally, on the
" mountains in cottages [252] of one ſtory, which they built
" with wood, and reeds: Of which, [253] one, called the cot-
" tage of Romulus, remains, even, to this day, in the corner,
" as you turn from the Palatine hill to the Circus; which
" is preſerved holy by thoſe, to whom the care of theſe
" things is committed, who add to it no ornaments to render
" it more auguſt: But, if any part of it is injured either by
" ſtorms, or time, they repair that injury, and obſerve to
" reſtore it, as near as poſſible, to its former condition.
" When Romulus, and Remus, were about eighteen years
" of age, they had ſome diſpute, about the paſture, with
" Numitor's herdſmen, whoſe oxen were ſtationed on the
" Aventine hill, which is oppoſite to the Palatine hill. They,
" frequently, accuſed one another, either of feeding thoſe
" paſtures, that did not belong to them, or of appropriating
" to themſelves Thoſe, that were common, or of any thing

252. Ἀνίοροφους. The Latin tranſlators have rendered this very well, *ſine ullâ contignatione*. Both the French tranſlators have left it out.

253. Ων ἔτι και εις εμε ην τις. This is not the *caſa Romuli*, that ſtood in the capitol, to which [c] Virgil alludes in the following verſes.

*In ſummo cuſtos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis*
*Stabat pro templo, et capitolia celſa tenebat,*
*Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.*

The laſt was the *curia calabria*, as Servius ſays upon this verſe, *ad quam calabatur*, that is, *vocabatur ſenatus*. The other ſtood in another part of the city, as we find by Dionyſius. It is very poſſible that the veneration the Romans had for their founder, might have ingaged them to erect, in the capitol, a cottage reſembling the former. This in the capitol was burned in the time of Caeſar, afterwards [d] Auguſtus, and in the 716th year of Rome.

[c] Aeneid. B. viii. ℣. 652. [d] Dio, B. xlviii. p. 437.

" elſe, that offered itſelf. From this altercation, they had re-
" courſe, ſometimes, to blows, and, then, to arms. Numitor's
" men, having received many wounds from the youths, and
" loſt ſome of their people, and being, now, driven, by force,
" from the places in conteſt, they formed a ſtrategem againſt
" them: And, having placed an ambuſcade in the hidden
" part of the valley, and concerted the time of the attack with
" thoſe, who lay in wait for the youths, the reſt, in a body,
" aſſaulted their folds. It happened that Romulus, at that
" time, was gone to a place, called Caenina, together with
" the chief men of the village, to offer ſacrifices for the
" public, according to the cuſtom of the country: But
" Remus, being informed of their coming, armed himſelf
" in all haſte, and, with a few of the villagers, who had,
" firſt, got together, went out to oppoſe them: But they,
" inſtead of receiving him, retired, in [254] order to draw him
" to the place, where, by facing about, they might attack
" him with advantage: Remus, being unacquainted with
" the ſtrategem, purſued them a great way, till he paſſed

254. Υπαγομενοι. This, Caſaubon ſays, very juſtly, ſignifies *hoſtem allicere.* I mention this in juſtice to him, as I have, always, mentioned every author, whoſe aſſiſtance I have made uſe of. To his authority I ſhall add ſome obſervations of my own. There is a paſſage in a treatiſe of Xenophon, intitled Ιππαρχικος, which, it is ſuppoſed, he writ for the inſtruction of his ſon Gryllus, that ſeems calculated to explain this of our author: Ετι δε τω μεν κρυπλας εχονλι φυλακας εξεσαι μεν φανερους ολιγους εμπροσθεν των κρυπλων φυλατλονλα πειραθαι τους πολεμιους εις ενεδρας ΥΠΑΓΕΙΝ. It is remarkable that ὑπο, when placed before verbs, ſubſtantives and adjectives, generally, implies *deceit.* I cannot put an end to this note, without taking notice, that le Jay is the only tranſlator, who has expreſſed the ſenſe of this word: He has ſaid *pour l'attirer dans l'ambuſcade.* I wiſh, that, inſtead of leaving out ὑποστρεψανλες, he had rendered it by an expreſſion, which his language would have furniſhed him with, I mean, *en faiſant volte-face.*

" the

" the place, where the reſt lay in ambuſh, who, upon that, " roſe up, and, at the ſame time, the others, who had fled, " faced about; and, having ſurrounded them, they over- " whelmed them with ſtones, and took them priſoners: " For they had received orders from their maſters, to bring " the youths to them alive. Thus, Remus was taken, and " carried away."

LXXX. But Aelius Tubero, a man of great ſagacity, and very careful in collecting hiſtorical tranſactions, writes, that Numitor's people, knowing, beforehand, that the youths were to perform an Arcadian ſacrifice to the god Pan, purſuant to the inſtitution of Evander, called [255] *Luper-*

[255] Λυκαια. M. *** quotes Plutarch, in his life of Romulus, to prove that this feſtival, called by the Romans *Lupercalia*, received its name from the ſhe-wolf, that ſuckled Romulus, and Remus. I have that paſſage in Plutarch, now, before me; and all, he ſays to favor this opinion, is, that it is poſſible this feſtival may have received its name from the ſhe-wolf; becauſe the *Luperci* begin their courſe from the place, where it was ſaid that Romulus had been expoſed. But he ſays, in the ſame place, that the name of this feſtival was Greek; and, for that reaſon, the feſtival ſeemed to be very ancient, and derived from the Arcadians, who came into Italy with Evander. And, indeed, there is no room to doubt of its being derived from them: For we find, by this paſſage of our author, that this was a cuſtomary feſtival celebrated by the inhabitants of Pallantium, long before Romulus and Remus were born. This is confirmed by [e]Livy, whoſe authority, joined to That of our author, will be ſufficient, I ſhould think, to ſtop the currency of this miſtake; he is ſpeaking of the ſame tranſaction: *Jam tum in Palatino monte Lupercal hoc fuiſſe ludicrum ferunt; et a Pallanteo urbe Arcadica Pallantium, deinde Palatinum montem appellatum: ibi Evandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempeſtatibus ea tenuerat loca, ſolenne allatum ex Arcadiâ inſtituiſſe, ut nudi juvenes, Lyceum Pana venerantes, per luſum atque laſciviam currerent.* [f]This Lycaean Pan, in whoſe honor this feſtival was celebrated, was called ſo from the Lycaean mountain in Arcadia, which gave name to this feſtival, called by the Greeks, Λυκαια, which word cannot, with any propriety, be derived from λυκαινα, *a ſhe-wolf.*

[e] B. i. c. 5. [f] Pauſanias in Arcad. c. 38.

*calia*, took the opportunity of this ſacrifice to lay in wait for them at the time, when the youth of Pallantium, were, after ſacrifice, to proceed from the Lupercal, and run round the village naked, wearing about their middle, a covering made of the ſkins of the victims, newly, ſacrificed. This ceremony implies a certain cuſtomary purification of the inhabitants, which is performed, even, to this day, in the ſame manner. Thoſe, therefore, who had a deſign upon the youths, took this time to place themſelves in ambuſh in a narrow way, in order to ſeize them: While theſe were employed in the ſacrifice, and, when the firſt band with Remus drew near, That with Romulus, and the reſt, being behind, (for they were divided into three bands, and ran at a diſtance from one another) without ſtaying for the others, they ſet up a ſhout, and all fell upon the firſt; and, ſurrounding them, ſome threw darts at them, others, ſtones, and others, whatever they had in their hands: Theſe, ſurpriſed at this unexpected attack, and at a loſs how to behave themſelves, unarmed againſt armed men, were, eaſily, taken. Remus, being in the power of the enemy, was carried to Alba in the condition, he was in, when taken; or, as Fabius relates, in chains. When Romulus heard of his brother's misfortune, he reſolved to follow, immediately, with the ſtouteſt of the herdſmen, in hope to overtake Remus upon the road. But Fauſtulus, ſeeing the folly of the undertaking, diſſuaded him from it: For, being looked upon as the father of the youths, he had, hitherto, kept every thing a ſecret from

from them, leſt they ſhould venture upon ſome hazardous enterpriſe, before they were in their prime. But, now, being compelled by neceſſity, he took Romulus aſide, and acquainted him with the whole. When the youth heard, from the beginning, every circumſtance of their fortune, he was penetrated both with compaſſion for his mother, and ſolicitude for Numitor; and, having long conſulted with Fauſtulus, he determined to deſiſt from the preſent undertaking, and, with greater preparation of ſtrength, to free his whole family from the oppreſſion of Amulius; reſolving to ingage in the greateſt dangers for the ſake of the greateſt rewards, but to act in concert with his grandfather, and to do, whatever he ſhould direct.

LXXXI. Theſe meaſures being looked upon as the moſt adviſeable, Romulus called together all the inhabitants of the village, and deſired them to go, immediately, to Alba, but not all at the ſame gates, nor in a body, to prevent any ſuſpicion in the citizens; and, having appointed them to ſtay in the market-place, and be ready to do whatever they ſhould be ordered, he went, firſt, into the city. In the mean time, thoſe, who had the charge of Remus, brought him before the king, and informed him of all the abuſes they had received from the youths, producing their [256] wounded, and threatening, if they found no redreſs, to leave their herds. Amulius, deſiring to pleaſe both the country people, who were come to him

[256] Τραυμαλίας. I do not underſtand why the Latin tranſlators have rendered this word *vulnera*, as if our author had written τραυμαλα. However, both the French tranſlators have thought fit to follow them.

in

in great numbers, and Numitor (for he happened to be preſent, and looked upon himſelf as injured in his clients) and longing to ſee peace reſtored to the country, and, at the ſame time, ſuſpecting the boldneſs of the youth, and the intrepidity, that appeared in his diſcourſe, he gave judgement againſt him: But left his puniſhment to Numitor, ſaying, "that he, who had done the injury, could be "puniſhed by none ſo juſtly, as by him, who had received "it." While Numitor's herdſmen were carrying away Remus, with his hands bound behind him, and inſulting him, Numitor followed; and, not only admired the gracefulneſs, and majeſty of his perſon, but, alſo, obſerved the greatneſs of his mind, which he preſerved, even, in diſtreſs, not ſuing for mercy (which all do under ſuch afflictions) but, with a becoming ſilence, meeting his fate. As ſoon as they were arrived at his houſe, he ordered all the reſt to withdraw; and Remus, being left alone, he aſked him, who he was, and of what parents; as not believing ſuch a man could be, meanly, born. Remus anſwered, that he only knew, by the account he had received from the perſon, who brought him up, that he, with his twin-brother, had been expoſed in a wood, as ſoon as they were born; and that, being taken from thence by the herdſmen, he was brought up by them. Upon which, Numitor, after a ſhort pauſe, either ſuſpecting ſomething of the truth, or Heaven deſigning to bring the matter to light, ſaid to him; "I need not inform you, Remus, that "it depends upon me to puniſh you in ſuch a manner, as I "think

" think fit; and, that thoſe, who have brought you hither,
" having received many dreadful injuries from you, are,
" extremely, deſirous you ſhould be put to death: All this
" you know: But, if I ſhould free you from death, and
" every other puniſhment, would you acknowledge the
" obligation, and ſerve me, when I deſire your aſſiſtance, in
" an affair, that will conduce to the advantage of us both?"
The youth having, in anſwer to him, ſaid every thing,
which the hopes of life prompt thoſe, who are in deſpair
of it, to ſay, and promiſe to the perſon, on whom their
fate depends, he ordered his chains to be taken off; and,
commanding every body to leave the place, he acquainted
him with his own misfortunes; that, Amulius, though
his brother, had deprived him both of his kingdom, and
his children; that he had aſſaſſinated his ſon, while he
was hunting, and kept his daughter chained in priſon,
and, in all other reſpects, treated him as a maſter treats
his ſlave.

LXXXII. Having ſaid this, and accompanied his diſ-
courſe with great lamentations, he intreated Remus to
revenge the injuries done to his family. The youth,
chearfully, embracing the overture, and deſiring his com-
mand to begin the action immediately, Numitor, after he
had commended his alacrity, ſaid; " I will take upon
" me to find a proper time for the enterprize; in the mean
" while, do you ſend, privately, to your brother, and ac-
" quaint him that your life is ſafe, and that you deſire him
" to come hither in all haſte." Upon this, a proper perſon
was

was ſent; who, meeting Romulus not far from the city, delivered his meſſage; with which the other, being, exceedingly, rejoiced, made haſte to Numitor; and, having imbraced them both, he gave them an account in what manner they had been expoſed, and brought up, and of all the other circumſtances he had learned from Fauſtulus: They, who deſired this relation might be true, and wanted not many arguments to induce them to believe it, heard what he ſaid with pleaſure; and, as ſoon as they knew one another, they conſulted together, and conſidered what means, and what time might be the moſt proper for the execution of their deſign. While they were, thus, employed, Fauſtulus was carried before Amulius: For, being apprehenſive, leſt the information of Romulus might not be credited by Numitor, in an affair of ſo great moment without manifeſt proof, he, ſoon after, followed him to town, taking the cradle with him as a token of the expoſition of the children. While he entered the gates in great diſorder, taking all poſſible pains to hide what he carried, one of the guards obſerved him (for an incurſion of the enemy was apprehended, and the guard of the gates committed to thoſe, who were in the greateſt truſt with the king) and laid hold of him; and, inſiſting upon knowing what it was he concealed, by force, threw back his garment: As ſoon as he ſaw the cradle, and found the man in confuſion, he deſired to know the cauſe of his diſorder, and what he meaned by carrying, privately, an utenſil, that required no ſuch ſecrecy. In the

the mean time, more of the guards flocked to them, and one of them knew the cradle, having himſelf carried the children in it to the river; of which he informed thoſe, who were preſent. Upon this, they ſeized Fauſtulus; and, carrying him to the king himſelf, acquainted him with all that had paſſed. Amulius, threatening the man to put him to the torture, if he did not, willingly, tell the truth, firſt, aſked him, if the children were alive; and, finding they were, he deſired to know in what manner they had been preſerved. After the other had given him a full account of every thing, as it happened, "Well, ſays the king, ſince you have, hi-"therto, [257] ſpoken the truth, ſay, where, they may, now, be "found: For it is not juſt that they, who are my relations, "ſhould, any longer, live, inglorioufly, among herdſmen; "particularly, ſince the gods themſelves have taken care of "their preſervation."

LXXXIII. But Fauſtulus, ſuſpecting, from this unaccountable kindneſs, that his deſigns were not agreeable to his profeſſions, anſwered him in this manner: "The youths "are upon the mountains, tending their herds, according "to their way of life; and I was ſent, by them, to their "mother, to give her an account of their ſituation; when, "hearing that ſhe was in your cuſtody, I propoſed to deſire "your daughter to bring me to her: And I brought the "cradle with me, that I might ſupport my words with a

257. Αληθευσας εχεις. This is Attic elegance for ηληθευσας. The learned reader, who is acquainted with the beſt Greek authors, will, eaſily, recollect many examples of this Atticiſm.

" manifeſt proof. Since, therefore, you have determined to " have the youths conveyed hither, I not only rejoice at it, but " deſire you to ſend ſuch perſons with me, as you think proper: " I will ſhew them the youths, and they ſhall acquaint them " with your commands." This he ſaid in order to delay their death, hoping, at the ſame time, to make his eſcape from thoſe, [258] who were to bring the youths to the king, as ſoon as he arrived on the mountains. Amulius ſent, immediately, ſome of his guards, in whom he, chiefly, confided, with private orders, to ſeize, and bring before him, the perſons, whom the herdſman ſhould ſhew to them. Having done this, he, preſently, determined to lay his brother under a [259] gentle reſtraint, till he had ordered the preſent buſineſs to his ſatisfaction; and, in that view, he ſent for him, upon ſome

[258] Τὰς ἀγούλας. Both the Latin tranſlators have applied theſe words to the men, who were to be ſent by Amulius, in order to conduct Fauſtulus: Not a word of which has been mentioned by our author. On the contrary, Fauſtulus was to conduct them to the place, where they might ſee the youths, in order to *bring* them to the king: And, to them, in this capacity, I have applied thoſe words. Both the French tranſlators have followed the others.

[259] Ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδεσμῳ. This expreſſion is very common in the Greek authors. And, thus, [g] Thucydides ſays, that Παχης Ἱππιαν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδεσμῳ εἶχε. The Latin tranſlators have rendered it *in liberâ cuſtodiâ*, which was the very term in uſe among the Romans for this kind of cuſtody: The method of which was, for the perſon ſuſpected to be delivered to ſome magiſtrate, or ſenator, who was to ſee him forth coming. Thus, we find, in [h] Saluſt, that Catiline's accomplices were diſpoſed of: *Senatus decernit, ut, abdicato magiſtratu, Lentulus, itemque caeteri, in* liberis cuſtodiis *habeantur: Itaque Lentulus, P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum aedilis erat; Cethegus, Q. Conificio; Statilius, C. Caeſari; Gabinius, M. Craſſo; Ceparius, Cn. Terentio ſenatori, traduntur.* Le Jay has rendered theſe words, pretty well, *le garder à veüe.* His countryman has tranſlated them very unfortunately, *le garder dans une priſon libre.*

[g] B. iii. c. 34. [h] De Bell. Cat. c. 47.

other

other pretence: But, the meſſenger, induced both by his affection to the perſon in danger, and commiſeration of his fate, informed Numitor of the deſign of Amulius. Upon which, the former, having acquainted the youths with their danger, and exhorted them to behave bravely, led them armed to the palace, together with a conſiderable number of his clients, and friends, and ſuch of his domeſtics, as he could rely on: Theſe were joined by a ſtrong party of the country men, from the market-place, who had, before, entered the city with ſwords, concealed under their clothes: And, having, by a general attack, forced the entrance, which was defended by a few of the guards, they, eaſily, ſlew Amulius, and, afterwards, made themſelves maſters of the citadel. This is the account Fabius gives.

LXXXIV. But others, who hold that every thing, which has the appearance of a fable, ought to be baniſhed from hiſtory, maintain that the expoſition of the children, by the officers, contrary to their orders, is void of all probability, and laugh at the tameneſs of the wolf, that ſuckled them, as an incident, fraught with theatrical abſurdity: Inſtead of which, they give this account of the matter: That Numitor, finding Ilia was with child, procured other new-born children; and, after ſhe was brought to bed, ſubſtituted theſe in the room of the others, ordering thoſe, who, attended her delivery, to carry to Amulius the ſuppoſititious children (having either ſecured their fidelity by money, or contrived this exchange by the help of women.) Theſe children, being brought to Amulius, he, by ſome means, or other, made

them away. As to thoſe, that were born of Ilia, their grandfather, who was, above all things, ſolicitous for their preſervation, delivered them to Fauſtulus: They add, that this Fauſtulus was an Arcadian by extraction, deſcended from thoſe Arcadians, who came over with Evander: That he lived on the Palatine hill, and [260] had the care of Amulius' demains: That he was prevailed on by his brother, named Fauſtinus, who had the ſuperintendence of Numitor's herds, that fed on the Aventine hill, to gratify Numitor, in bringing up the children: And that the nurſe, who ſuckled them, was not a ſhe-wolf, but (as may well be ſuppoſed) a woman, who was wife to Fauſtulus, by name, Laurentia, who, having, formerly, proſtituted her beauty, was, by the inhabitants of the Palatine hill, ſurnamed *Lupa*; which was an ancient Greek appellation, given to women, who proſtituted themſelves for gain, who are, now, called, by a more decent name, Εταιραι, *Friends:* And that ſome, who were ignorant of this, invented the fable of the ſhe-wolf; that wild beaſt being called, in the Latin language, [261] *Lupa:*

260. Επιμελειαν εχουσα των Αμυλιυ κτηνεων. I do not underſtand why the two French tranſlators, and Portus, have rendered this ſentence, *having care of the flocks of Amulius*; that being the ſenſe in their reſpective languages. How much better has Sylburgius rendered it, *res Amulii procuraſſe?* That κτηνεα has this extenſive ſignification may be ſeen in Heſychius; κτηνεα, ſays he, παντα τα ὑποζυγια.

261. Λυπαν. M. *** ſays, upon this occaſion, that he does not comprehend what Dionyſius means; and that Plutarch reaſons better, when he ſays, in the life of Romulus, that the Latines called *Lupas* not only ſhe-wolves, but women of ill lives. This confirms, rather than contradicts what our author ſays. For the Latines, at the time of Romulus, at leaſt, the deſcendants of the Greek colonies, certainly, ſpoke Greek; which appears by another paſſage of Plutarch, quoted by himſelf in the ſame note, where it is ſaid that the Greek language, in the

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They ſay, alſo, that, after the children were weaned, they were ſent by thoſe, who had the charge of their education, to Gabii, a town, not far from Pallantium, to be inſtructed in Greek learning; and that, there, they were brought up by ſome perſons, with whom Fauſtulus had a private intercourſe of hoſpitality, where they employed their time, till they arrived to manhood, in learning letters, muſic, and the uſe of Greek arms: And that, after their return to their ſuppoſed parents, a difference aroſe between them, and Numitor's herdſmen concerning their common paſtures: That, upon this, they beat Numitor's men, and drove away their cattle: That they did all this by Numitor's direction, to the intent that it might ſerve as a foundation for his complaints, and, at the ſame time, to the herdſmen, as a pretence to come to town in great numbers: That, after this, Numitor raiſed a clamor againſt Amulius, ſaying he was, ſeverely, uſed, and plundered by the herdſmen of Amulius; deſiring, likewiſe, that, if he had no ſhare in the abuſe, he would deliver up the herdſman, and his ſons, to be tried by the laws: That Amulius, being willing to clear himſelf of this accuſation, ordered, not only, thoſe, who were complained of, but all the reſt, who were accuſed of having been preſent at

time of Romulus, which was ſpoken, as he owns, by the Romans, and Albans, was not, yet, corrupted by *Italian* words: For ſo that gentleman ought to have rendered that paſſage of Plutarch, who does not ſay των Λαλινων, as he has tranſlated it, but των Ιταλικων: And this miſtake, which I am afraid is owing to his quoting this paſſage from ſome French tranſlation, induced him to think, that Plutarch is not conſiſtent with himſelf. If, therefore, the Latines called a common woman *lupa*, it muſt have been an old Greek word, as our author ſays: And, that it is ſo, appears from a writer of undoubted authority, I mean Heſychius, who explains λυπα, by ἑταιρα, πορνη.

thoſe

thoſe tranſactions, to come, and take their trial before Numitor: And that great numbers coming to town, together with the accuſed, to attend this trial, the grandfather of the youths acquainted them with all the circumſtances of their fortune; and, telling them that now, if ever, was the time to revenge themſelves, he, preſently, made the attempt upon Amulius with the band of herdſmen. Theſe, therefore, are the accounts, that are given of the birth, and education of the founders of Rome.

LXXXV. As to the events, that happened at the very time of its foundation (for this part ſtill remains) I ſhall, now, begin to relate them. After Numitor had recovered his kingdom by the death of Amulius, and had ſpent a little time in reſtoring the city, from the late uſurpation, to its former ſtate, he, preſently, thought of providing a particular ſovereignty for the youths, by building another city. At the ſame time, the inhabitants being much increaſed in number, he thought it good policy to diſpoſe of ſome part of them; particularly, of thoſe, who had, before, been his enemies, leſt he might have cauſe to ſuſpect any of his ſubjects. Having, therefore, communicated this deſign to the youths, and they, alſo, approving it, he gave them thoſe territories in ſovereignty, where they had been brought up in their infancy; and, for ſubjects, not only, that part of the people, which he ſuſpected of a deſign to raiſe new troubles, but, alſo, ſuch, as were willing to leave their country. Among theſe (as it, uſually, happens, when colonies are ſent out) there were great numbers of the common people; and

not

not a few, alſo, of diſtinguiſhed rank, and of thoſe Trojans, who were eſteemed the moſt conſiderable for their birth (ſome of whoſe poſterity remain to this day) conſiſting of about fifty families. The youths were ſupplied with money, arms, and corn, with ſlaves, and beaſts of burden, and every thing elſe, that was of uſe in the building of a city. After they had led their people out of Alba, and intermixed them with the inhabitants, that, ſtill, remained in Pallantium, and Saturnia, they divided the whole body into two parts: This they did, in hope of raiſing an emulation, to the intent that, by this conteſt with each other, the work might be the ſooner finiſhed. However, it produced the greateſt of evils, diſcord: For each diviſion, celebrating their own leader, extolled him, as the proper perſon to command them all. And they themſelves, being, now, no longer, unanimous, or entertaining brotherly ſentiments for one another, but, each affecting to command the other, they deſpiſed equality, and aimed at ſuperiority. For ſome time, their ambition lay concealed; but, afterwards, broke out, on the following occaſion: They had not both made choice of the ſame place for the building of the city; Romulus choſe the Palatine hill, to which he was induced, among other reaſons, by the fortune of the place, where they had been preſerved, and brought up: Remus pitched upon the ground, now, called from him, Remuria. This place is very proper for a city, being a hill, not far from the Tiber, diſtant from Rome, about thirty ſtadia. From this conteſt, their

their [262] unſociable love of rule, preſently, ſhewed itſelf: For it was evident that, which ſoever gained the aſcendant, on this occaſion, he would preſerve it, on all others.

LXXXVI. Some time having been, thus, employed, and their diſcord, in no degree, abating, they agreed to refer the matter to their grandfather; and, for that purpoſe, went to Alba: He adviſed them to leave it to the determination of the gods, which of them ſhould give name to, and have the command of, the colony: And, having appointed a day, he ordered them to place themſelves, early in the morning, at a diſtance from one another, in ſuch ſtations, as each of them ſhould think proper: And, after they had offered up to the gods the cuſtomary ſacrifices, to obſerve the auſpicious birds: And, that he, to whom the moſt favourable, firſt appeared, ſhould have the command of the colony. The youths, approving of this, went away; and, according to their agreement, appeared on the day appointed: Romulus choſe, for his ſtation, the Palatine hill, where he propoſed ſettling the colony; and Remus the Aventine hill, contiguous to it; or, according to others, Remuria: A guard attended them both, to prevent their reporting things, otherwiſe than as they appeared. When they had taken their reſpective ſtations, Romulus, after a ſhort pauſe, from

262. Φιλαρχια. Nothing can be more beautiful than the ſhort reflection of [i] Livy upon the ambition of theſe two brothers. *Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido.* I need not obſerve to the learned reader, that, when Livy calls the ambition of Romulus and Remus, *an hereditary evil*, he alludes to That of Amulius, which led him to defeat Numitor, who was, alſo, his brother, and their grandfather, of his right to the crown.

[i] B. i. c. 6.

eager-

eagerneſs, and envy to his brother (though, poſſibly, Heaven might have as great a ſhare in it as envy) before he ſaw any omen, ſent meſſengers to his brother, deſiring him to come, immediately, as if he had, firſt, ſeen auſpicious birds. In the mean time, the perſons he ſent, making no great haſte, as aſhamed of the fraud, ſix vultures appeared to Remus, flying from the right: He, ſeeing the birds, greatly, rejoiced. And, not long after, Romulus' meſſengers, taking him from his ſeat, brought him to the Palatine hill: When they were together, Remus aſked Romulus, what birds he had, firſt, ſeen? To which he knew not what to anſwer. But, at the ſame time, twelve auſpicious vultures were ſeen flying. Upon ſeeing theſe, he took courage; and, ſhewing the birds to Remus, ſaid, "Why do you deſire to know what happened "before? Since, you ſee theſe birds yourſelf." This Remus reſented; and, complaining, violently, that he was deceived by him, proteſted he would never depart from his right to the colony.

LXXXVII. This increaſed their animoſity, each of them, ſecretly, aiming at ſuperiority, and, openly, uſing theſe arguments, not to yield to his antagoniſt: For their grandfather had determined that he, to whom the moſt favourable birds, [263] firſt, appeared, ſhould have the command of

[263] Πρόλεξον. I cannot, upon this occaſion, omit pointing out to the reader both the exactneſs of the Greek language, and our author's attention in obſerving it. He is ſpeaking here of two perſons only; conſequently, πρῶιον would not have been ſo proper as πρόλεξον. It is very poſſible this obſervation may appear trifling to ſome people: But I deſire them to conſider, that theſe diſtinctions are the parents of elegance, and perſpicuity. And, that this diſtinction is not imaginary, may be proved from Philoſtratus: το μεν πρόλεξον, ſays he, λεγέλαι επι δυω, το δε πρῶιον επι πολλων.

the colony: And the ſame kind of birds having been ſeen by both, one had the advantage of ſeeing them the firſt; and the other, That of ſeeing the greater number. The people, alſo, eſpouſed their quarrel; and, having armed themſelves without orders from their leaders, began the war; and a ſharp battle inſued, in which, many were ſlain on both ſides: In this battle, Fauſtulus, who had brought up the youths, being deſirous to put an end to the conteſt of the two brothers, and, unable to ſucceed in it, as ſome ſay, threw himſelf, unarmed, into the middle of the combatants, ſeeking the ſpeedieſt death; which fell out accordingly. It is ſaid, alſo, by ſome, that the lion of ſtone, which ſtood in the principal part of the Forum, near the roſtra, was placed over the body of Fauſtulus, where he fell, and had been buried by thoſe, who found it. Remus being ſlain in this action, Romulus, who had gained a moſt melancholy victory, ſtained with the blood of his brother, and the mutual ſlaughter of his people, buried Remus at Remuria, ſince, when alive, he had been fond of building there. And, as to himſelf, being oppreſſed with grief, and repentance for what had happened, he [264] caſt himſelf upon the ground, and was loſt to all regard of life. But Laurentia, who had received them, when, newly, born, and brought them up, and loved them no leſs than a mother, intreating, and comforting him, he roſe up, at her

264. Παρεις ἑαυτον· Παρεις, επικαλακλινας· Καὶ παρεις ἑαυτον ὑπο λυπης, εκειτο. Suidas. I mention this, becauſe the French tranſlators have left out this circumſtance, which obliged them, alſo, to leave out another circumſtance, deſcribed by our author, a few lines after, by ανιςασαι. For, as they did not think fit, with the text, to make Romulus caſt himſelf upon the ground, they could not, poſſibly, make him riſe up again.

requeſt;

requeſt; and, gathering together the Latines, who had not been ſlain in the late battle, being, now, little more than three thouſand, out of a very great number, of which they, at firſt, conſiſted, when he led out the colony, he built a city on the Palatine hill. This, therefore, ſeems to me the moſt probable account of the death of Remus. However, if any other differs from this, let That, alſo, be related. Some ſay that, having yielded the command to Romulus, though not without reſentment, and indignation at the impoſition, after the wall was built, Remus, in order to ſhew the ſlightneſs of the fortification, ſaid; "Methinks, any of "your enemies might, as eaſily, leap over this, as I do:". And, immediately, jumped over it. That, upon this, Celerius, one of the men, who ſtood upon the wall, and was ſurveyor of the works, ſaid; "But any of us might, very eaſily, "chaſtiſe that enemy;" and, ſtriking him on the head, with a pick-ax, killed him on the ſpot. This, therefore, is ſaid to have been the [265] event of the quarrel between the two brothers.

LXXXVIII. There remaining, now, no obſtacle to the building of the city, Romulus appointed a day, in which, after atonement made to the gods, he deſigned to begin the work; and, having prepared every thing, that was neceſſary

265. Το μεν δη τελος, etc. The firſt account of the death of Remus ſeems the moſt probable. However, [k] Livy has followed the laſt with ſome variation: *Vulgatior fama eſt, ludibrio fratris Remum novos tranſiluiſſe muros: inde ab irato Romulo (quum verbis quoque increpitans adjeciſſet, ſic deinde quicunque alius tranſiliet moenia mea) interfectum.*

[k] B. i. c. 7.

for the ſacrifices, and the entertainment of the people; when the day came, he, himſelf, began the ſacrifice; then, ordering all the reſt to perform the ſame according to their abilities, he, firſt, made uſe of the augury of eagles: After that, having commanded fires to be made before the tents, he cauſed the people to come out, and leap over the flames, in order to expiate their crimes. When every thing was performed, which he conceived to be acceptable to the gods, he called all the people to a place appointed, and deſcribed a quadrangular figure about the hill, tracing, with a plough, drawn by a [266] bull, and a cow yoked together, one continued furrow, deſigned to receive the foundation of the wall: From whence, this cuſtom remains, among the Romans, of tracing a furrow with a plough, round the place, where they deſign to build a city. After he had finiſhed theſe things, and ſacrificed the bull, and the cow, and, alſo, [267] begun the immolation of many other victims, he ſet the people to work. This day, the Romans, even at preſent, celebrate, every year, as one of their greateſt feſtivals, and call it [268] Parilia. On that day, which falls out in the beginning of the ſpring, the huſbandmen, and ſhepherds offer up a

266. Βοος αρρενος αμα θηλειᾳ ζευχθεντος ὑπ' αροτρον. This cuſtom is, often, mentioned by the Latin authors; but no where, more particularly, deſcribed than by Dionyſius upon this occaſion. There is a fragment of Cato, which I ſhall lay before the reader, in order to ſhew that, by βος αρρην is not meant *an ox*, but *a bull*; and, conſequently, that the French tranſlators ought to have rendered it, *un taureau*, and not, *un boeuf*. *Qui urbem novam condit*, tauro *et vaccâ aret: ubi araverit, murum faciat: ubi portam vult eſſe, aratrum ſuſtollat, et portam vocet.*

267. Καλαρξαμενος. See the 124th annotation.

268. Παριλια. See the 225th annotation.

ſacrifice

ſacrifice of thankſgiving for the increaſe of their cattle. But, I cannot, certainly ſay, whether they choſe this day, as, anciently, a day of public rejoicing; and, for that reaſon, looked upon it as the propereſt for the building of the city; or, whether the building of it having been begun on that day, they conſecrated it, and dedicated it to the worſhip of thoſe gods, who are propitious to ſhepherds.

LXXXIX. Theſe, therefore, are all the particulars concerning the origin of the Romans, which I have been able to diſcover, after great application, and reading many books, written both by Greek and Roman authors upon this ſubject. So that, from this time, let every one, for ever, renounce the ſentiments of thoſe, who make Rome a retreat of Barbarians, fugitives, and vagabonds; and let him, confidently, affirm it to be a Greek city, the moſt communicative, and humane of all others: Which he will do, when he conſiders that the Aborigines were Oenotri, and theſe, Arcadians; and remembers that the Pelaſgi, who inhabited the ſame country with the former, were deſcended from the Argivi; and, having left Theſſaly, came into Italy: And, on the other hand, calls to mind the arrival of Evander, and of the Arcadians, who inhabited the Palatine hill, which place the Aborigines had yielded to them; and, alſo, the Peloponneſians, who, coming into Italy with Hercules, inhabited the Saturnian hill: And, laſt of all, Thoſe, who left Troy, and were intermixed with the former: Since, he will find no nation, that is more ancient, or more Greek, than theſe. For the mixture of Barbarians with the Romans, by which,

they

they loſt many of their ancient inſtitutions, happened long after. And this may well ſeem a wonder to many, who make proper reflections upon things, that they are not become, intirely, Barbarous, by receiving the Opici, the Marſi, the Samnites, the Tyrrhenians, the Brutii, and many thouſands of Umbri, Ligures, and Iberi; and, beſides theſe, innumerable other nations, ſome of whom came from Italy itſelf, and ſome from other places, all differing from one another both in their language, and manners; and who, diſagreeing in every thing as well as theſe, and being mixed, and collected into one body, ſuch diſſonance may well be ſuppoſed to have cauſed many innovations in their [269] ancient form of government: Since many others, by living among Barbarians, have, in a ſhort time, loſt every thing, that characterizes the Greek nation; ſo that, they, no longer, ſpeak the language of the Greeks; obſerve their inſtitutions; acknowledge the ſame gods; uſe the ſame humane laws, by which, chiefly, the temper of the Greeks differs from That of the Barbarians; or agree with them in any thing whatſoever, that relates to the private commerce of life. The [270] Achaei, who are ſettled near the Euxine ſea, are a ſufficient

269. Τᾳ παλαιᾳ κοσμᾳ της πολεως. Here πολις is, again, taken for πολιτεια; concerning which, ſee the 136th annotation. This ſentence, is, certainly, imperfect in all the editions, and manuſcripts; becauſe there is a viſible tautology in all of them. I have endeavoured to preſerve the ſenſe, without falling into that inconvenience.

270. Αχαιων. [1] Theſe Achaei were a colony of the Orchomenii, who ſettled near the Euxine ſea, under Ialmenus, after the taking of Troy. Our author, very juſtly, calls the Orchomenii, from whom the Achaei were deſcended, Ελληνικωτατους; ſince they were a very ancient Greek people, and ſo wealthy, that Homer makes Achil-

[1] Strabo, B. ix. p. 637.

proof

proof of what I advance; who, though all deſcended from a nation, the moſt Greek, of all others, are, now, become the moſt ſavage of all Barbarians.

XC. However, the language of the Romans is neither, intirely, Barbarous, nor, abſolutely, Greek; but a mixture of both; the greateſt part of which, is [271] Aeolic; and the

les ſay to Ulyſſes, that, if Agamemnon would give him as many valuable things, as went to Orchomenus, and the Egyptian Thebes, he would not aſſiſt the Greeks,

Ουδ' ὁσ' ες Ορχομενον προτινισσεται, ουδ' ὁσα Θηβας Αιγυπτιας [m].

271. Ης εστιν ἡ πλειων Αιολις. Upon this occaſion, Hudſon quotes a ſhort paſſage out of [n] Quintilian, to ſhew that many words in the Latin language were derived from the Greek, and declined after the Aeolic manner. This paſſage both the French tranſlators have rendered in French, which, I imagine, ſince they ſaid no more, they thought ſufficient to point out to their readers the ſimilitude between the Latin language, and the Aeolic dialect. I wiſh that either they, or Hudſon, or any other of the commentators, had thought fit to explain this ſimilitude. If they had, I ſhould have thought myſelf obliged to them for their aſſiſtance, and, moſt chearfully, have acknowledged it. But, ſince they have all contented themſelves with this quotation, I muſt perform this taſk myſelf, in the beſt manner I am able. All the grammarians, whom I have read, both ancient and modern, divide the Greek language into four dialects, the Attic, the Ionic, the Doric, and Aeolic. But I ſhould chuſe rather to make them only two, the Ionic and Aeolic: In which, I am ſupported by the authority of [o] Strabo, who ſays that the Ionic dialect was the ſame with the old Attic, and the Doric, with the Aeolic. Some lines after, he adds a thing, that will, clearly, account for this ſimilitude between the Latin language, and the Aeolic dialect: which is, that the Arcadians ſpoke Aeolic. Now, we have ſeen that the Aborigines, and Oenotri were Arcadians, as well as thoſe, who came into Italy with Evander, and lived on the Palatine hill, where Romulus, afterwards, built Rome. It is, therefore, no wonder that the Romans ſpoke, originally, the ſame language with the Arcadians, that is, the Aeolic; and, always, retained a great deal of it. Let us, now, bring this matter to the teſt, and compare a few words of the Latin language with others of its mother tongue, the Aeolic: *Fama*, φαμα: *Plaga*, πλαγα; *Machina*, μαχανα; *Malum*, μαλον; *Mater*, ματηρ; *Tu*, τυ. The reader will find many more inſtances of this ſimilitude in Theocritus: But theſe, I believe, will be ſufficient to ſupport this aſſertion of our author.

[m] Iliad i. ℣. 381. [n] B. i. c. 6. [o] B. viii. p. 513, and 514.

only

only diſadvantage they have received from their intercourſe with theſe various nations, is, that they do not pronounce all their [272] vowels properly: But all other indications of a Greek origin they preſerve, beyond any other colony: For it is not lately, ſince fortune, by ſhowering down her favors on them with a liberal hand, has taught them humanity, that they have begun to practiſe it; nor ſince they, firſt, [273] aimed at the conqueſt of countries, ſituate on the

[272] Φθόγγοις. I have departed from all the tranſlators in rendering this word. Three of them have ſaid, in their languages, *words*, and le Jay, *termes*. I am not ſo very confident of my own tranſlation as to cenſure theirs; becauſe I know that φωνηεντα is the word, generally, uſed to ſignify *vowels*: But I, alſo, know that, if διφθογγος ſignifies *a double vowel*, as it, certainly, does, φθογγος muſt ſignify *a ſingle one*. It is poſſible, indeed, that the Romans might not pronounce their conſonants like the Greeks, which is, what, I ſuppoſe, our author calls, *improperly*. But, I imagine, they differed more from them in the pronunciation of their vowels. As the Romans had no η, and, as their *e* was a ſhort vowel, I do not ſee how they could *properly* pronounce thoſe words, that were derived from the Greek, in which there was an η. Their ſhort *o* is liable to the ſame objection, when they were to pronounce an ω. As to the letter *u*, there is great reaſon to believe they pronounced it, as the Italians, now, pronounce it, *oo*, which muſt have been very different from υ, as pronounced by the Greeks; if theſe pronounced it, as I imagine they did, in the ſame manner, as we pronounce the *u*, in *tube*, *lute*, etc. Had Dionyſius ſuſpected that his hiſtory would have outlived the Latin language, as a living language, he would, probably, have told us in what the *impropriety* of the Romans conſiſted. If he had done this, I dare ſay, it would have been found, that no nation, now, upon the face of the earth, pronounces Latin like the old Romans, and our own leſs than any other; unleſs we are pleaſed to imagine that one of the moſt diſtant provinces of the Roman empire, has retained the true pronunciation of that language, when all the reſt of Europe, and, even, the Italians themſelves have loſt it: And yet, ſince we pronounce the Latin vowels, differently, from all other nations, we muſt maintain this extraordinary poſition, if we are reſolved to maintain our own pronunciation.

[273] Ωρεχθησαν της διαπονλιε. This is, indeed, ſadly, tranſlated by le Jay, *qu'ils euſſent paſsè la mer*. The other French tranſlator has not ſaid much better, *qu'ils ſe ſont rendus maîtres des païs d'budelà de la mer*. Ορεγεσθαι means no more than *to aim at*. Ορεγεται. επιθυμει. Heſychius. But there is a other

other ſide of the ſea; the object of which was the ſubverſion of the Carthaginian and Macedonian empires; but, from the time they were aſſembled in the ſame city, they have lived like Greeks; [274] and do not attempt any thing more illuſtrious in the purſuit of virtue now, than formerly. I have innumerable things to ſay upon this ſubject, and many arguments to alledge in ſupport of what I have advanced, together with the teſtimonies of credible authors; but I reſerve all theſe for that part of this hiſtory, wherein I propoſe to treat of their government. I ſhall, now, reſume the thread of my narration, after I have premiſed, in the following book, a recapitulation of what is contained in this.

great difficulty, in the next ſentence, which I wonder Caſaubon did not take notice of; it is this: The word καταλυσαντες is to me unintelligible, in this place. Are we to ſuppoſe that the Romans did not aim at the conqueſt of the countries, lying on the other ſide of the ſea, till they had ſubverted the Carthaginian, and Macedonian empires, both which empires lay on the other ſide of the ſea, with reſpect to the Romans?. This cannot be; and, yet, this is the ſenſe, and the only ſenſe of the word καταλυσαντες. But, if, inſtead of that, we read καταλυσοντες, the difficulty vaniſhes. As I have no authority for this alteration, but my own conjecture, I would not inſert it in the text, but ſubmit it to the determination of the learned reader.

274. Και ουδεν εκπρεπεστερον επιτηδευοντες προς αρετην νυν ἠ προτερον. I, verily, believe him; and hope this oblique reflection on the loſt virtue of the Romans, will reconcile M. * * * to our author, and convince him that he did not write his hiſtory with a view to flatter either Auguſtus, or his people: Since he could not, conſiſtently with decency, ſay, more plainly, that the Romans had degenerated from the virtue of their anceſtors, than by ſaying that they did not, at all, diſtinguiſh themſelves in the purſuit of virtue more in his time, than formerly. But his reflection does not ſtop here; it reaches, even, to the throne of Auguſtus: Since the Romans could not give a greater proof of that degeneracy, than by ſubmitting to his uſurpation.

The end of the firſt book.

A

# DISSERTATION

## CONCERNING

## The arrival of AENEAS in ITALY.

I AM ſenſible of the many diſadvantages I lie under in entering the liſts with two of the greateſt men of the laſt age, Cluver, and Bochart, who have both treated the arrival of Aeneas in Italy as a fable, and exhauſted the whole ſtore of their learning, which I own to have been very great, in ſupporting this aſſertion. However, in this unequal conteſt, I have the ſatisfaction to find, that the united ſtream of the Greek and Roman hiſtory runs in my favor; which makes me hope that an affectation of ſingularity will rather be imputed to them, for having oppoſed the authority of ſo many great authors, than to me, for oppoſing That of the two great men I am to contend with.

Bochart, in his letter to Ségrais, the French tranſlator of the Aeneid, lays great ſtreſs upon a paſſage in Homer, which I ſhall conſider preſently, as deciſive againſt the arrival of Aeneas in Italy; and, after he has employed all the arguments he can find to ſhew the impoſſibility of it, juſtifies Virgil for having brought him thither: In order to do this the more effectually, he gives a long liſt of Greek and Roman authors, moſt of them quoted by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, to prove that Aeneas did, really, land in Italy, and was the anceſtor of the Alban kings, from whom the founders of Rome were deſcended. If Bochart did not do this to ſhew how much learning he could diſplay on both ſides of the queſtion, he muſt have been very inattentive to his ſubject, not to ſee that the authorities he has quoted to juſtify Virgil, abſolutely deſtroy the arguments he had, before, made uſe of

to

to contradict the arrival of Aeneas in Italy. The method I ſhall obſerve in treating this ſubject, will be, firſt, to examine the objections made by Cluver, and Bochart, which are, nearly, the ſame; and then, to give my own reaſons in ſupport of the ſyſtem I have adopted.

Their firſt objection is drawn from the verſes in Homer, which have, already, been taken notice of, and from [a] Strabo's comment on them.

To this objection it may be anſwered that, if, as I have, before, obſerved, we read, [b]

Νυν δε δη Αινειαο βιη ΠΑΝΤΕΣΣΙΝ αναξει,
Και παιδες παιδων, τοι κεν μεταπιθε γενωνται,

The difficulty vaniſhes at once: And, though this reading is not to be found in any of the manuſcripts, or editions of Homer, which are, now, extant, yet we know from [c] Strabo that it was, formerly, in ſome of them, τινες γραφουσιν are his words. But, if, at all events, we muſt read Τρωεσσιν, inſtead of πασσι, the anſwer our author has given to this objection ſeems, very well, founded: The ſenſe of which is, that Aeneas, and his poſterity, might, as properly, be ſaid to have reigned over the Trojans, who followed him into Italy, as if he, and they, had ſtaid in Phrygia. I am ſenſible that [d] Strabo ſays *it was reported*, λεγεται, that the deſcendants of Scamandrius, the ſon of Hector, and of Aſcanius, the ſon of Aeneas, reigned for many ages in Scepſis, a city in Phrygia: But, this objection he himſelf obviates, by ſaying that, if we are to read Τρωεσσιν, there is an end of this ſucceſſion to the kingdom of Scepſis in the family of Scamandrius. He ſays, indeed, in the ſame place, that theſe verſes in Homer contradict, ſtill more, the arrival of Aeneas in Italy; for which reaſon, ſome write πασσι, referring the word to the Romans. However, let it not be imagined that Strabo treats the arrival of Aeneas in Italy as a fable; ſince, in giving an account of that part of Italy, where Aeneas landed, he ſays, in ſo many words, that *many places there were ennobled by his preſence*, ενδοξα δε δια την Αινειαν γεγονεν επιδημιαν [e].

[a] See the 186th annot. on the firſt book. [b] Iliad υ. ψ. 307. [c] B. xiii. p. 906. [d] Ib. [e] B. v. p. 355.

It is, next, objected by Bochart, that [f] Feſtus quotes Agathocles Cyzicenus for ſaying that Aeneas was buried in the city of Berecynthia. The reader will, I believe, think that a quotation of three or four words from an author, whoſe works are, now, loſt, cannot add any great force to his argument; which is, ſtill, leſſened by this conſideration, that Strabo, in his very accurate deſcription of that country, makes no mention of it.

He, then, ſays that Aſcanius, muſt have remained in Phrygia, becauſe many places in that country, as the lake Aſcanius, a river of the ſame name, a part of the country, and a little iſland near adjoining, received their names from Aſcanius, the ſon of Aeneas.

This argument I have met with in ſeveral authors of a more modern date than Bochart, from whom, I believe, they took it. However, it may be, eaſily, anſwered. In the firſt place, this lake, and river, are not in Phrygia, but in Bithynia, or, as ſome have thought, in Myſia, as will appear, evidently, from the following words of Euphorion, quoted by [g] Strabo,

ΜΥΣΟΙΟ παρ' ὑδασιν Ασκανιοιο.

This is confirmed by [h] Homer, quoted, alſo, by Strabo, upon this occaſion,

Παλμυν, ΑΣΚΑΝΙΟΝ τε, Μοραν θ' υἱον Ιππολιωνος,
ΜΥΣΩΝ αγχεμαχων ἡγησορα καρτεροθυμον.
Οι γ' εξ ΑΣΚΑΝΙΗΣ ερισθωλακος ηλθον αμοιβοι.

Theſe verſes, particularly the firſt, will ſupply me with another anſwer to this objection. This Aſcanius was not the ſon of Aeneas, but one of the leaders of the Myſians, or of the Phrygians, if you pleaſe, for Myſia, and Phrygia border on one another, who came to the aſſiſtance of the Trojans. And, by the laſt verſe, it is plain that this country, and, conſequently, the lake, and river were known by this name in the time of, and, very probably, long before, the Trojan war. Aſcanius, therefore, the ſon of Aeneas, could not give his name to theſe places, after the taking of that city. I ſaid it was probable that the name of Aſcania had been given to this country long before the Trojan war; becauſe, if any conſequence can be drawn from a ſimilitude of names,

[f] In voce *Roma*. [g] B. xii. p. 849. [h] Iliad. ν. ver. 792.

it

it is not improbable that אשכנז [i] Aſchenez, or, as the Septuagint calls him, Ασχαναζ, the ſon of Gomer, the ſon of Japhet, the ſon of Noah, might have reigned over this country many ages before the Trojan war, and have given his name to it. And this opinion, I find, Bochart himſelf eſpouſes, when he is to account for the peopling of the earth by the deſcendants of Noah: For, there, he derives the name of this country from [k] Aſchanaz. But, when he has another object in view, and is to ſhew that Aeneas never went to Italy, he ſhifts the ſcene, and ſays that this lake, river, and country received their names from Aſcanius, the ſon of Aeneas. I ſhall not dwell long on the next objection, becauſe I think it may be anſwered in a few words. Bochart ſays, that, if Aeneas had come into Italy, he would, certainly, have introduced there the worſhip of Venus, and Apollo; the firſt being his mother, and the other his protector, according to Homer; and he ſays, that both theſe deities were unknown to the firſt Romans, and their anceſtors.

As to the worſhip of Venus; [l] Strabo tells us that there was a temple dedicated to her in Lavinium: The antiquity of which will appear by this; that the care of this temple was derived to the Ardeates from their anceſtors; επιμελεισθαι δ' αυτης δια προγονων Αρδεαται. And the antiquity of the worſhip, paid by the old Romans to Apollo, is proved by a paſſage in [m] Feſtus, where he ſays, that he was, formerly, called *aperta* at Rome, *quod patente cortinâ reſponſa ab eo dabantur.*

I do not, indeed, find that any worſhip was paid by the Romans to Cybele (which is the next objection) till the year of [n] Rome 550, when this goddeſs, which, by the way, was nothing but a ſtone, was brought to Rome from Peſſinus, a city in Phrygia, with great ceremony. But it muſt be obſerved, that this ridiculous goddeſs was a local deity, and worſhiped at Peſſinus, not at Troy.

His next argument, that Minerva, and Veſta, who are acknowledged to have been Trojan deities, were not known to the firſt Romans, turns, flatly, againſt him: Becauſe the Palladium, which Aeneas is ſaid, by all hiſtorians, to have brought with him into Italy from Troy, plainly, refutes his objection concerning Minerva: And the inſtitution

[i] Geneſis, c. x. ℣. 3. [k] Geogr. ſacr. B. iii. c. 9. [l] B. v. p. 355. [m] In voce *aperta*.
[n] Livy, B. xxix. c. 11.

of the Veſtals among the Albans, the anceſtors of the Romans, as effectually, deſtroys the other relating to Veſta. This order of prieſteſſes we find, by [o] Livy, was derived from the Albans, *Albâ, oriundum ſacerdotium.* And our author will tell us, in the ſecond book, that there was an ancient temple of Veſta at Alba.

I come now to the laſt objection of Bochart, upon which he ſeems to lay the greateſt ſtreſs; though, in my opinion, it leaſt deſerves it. It is this: The Latin language, ſays he, has borrowed many words from the various nations, with whom the Latines had any commerce, but none from the Phrygians. To prove this, he has ranſacked all the old Greek lexicons, and ſcholiaſts, to find Phrygian words; of which he has amaſſed a reaſonable number. I look upon it as a very lucky circumſtance that both the Phrygian language, and characters are, ſo abſolutely, loſt, that no trace of either appears; otherwiſe, it is plain, from Bochart's manner, that we ſhould have been overwhelmed with an innundation of Phrygian learning. In this maſs of Phrygian words, he owns that, though none of them were borrowed by the Latines, many were adopted by the Greeks. This conceſſion, which is ſupported by the teſtimony of many authors, is all I deſire: For, if the Greeks uſed any of theſe Phrygian words, it is certain that the firſt Romans uſed them alſo; ſince both the language, and the characters of the firſt Romans were the ſame with Thoſe of the Greeks. That the language of the firſt Romans ſhould be Greek will not be wondered at, when it is conſidered that the inhabitants of Latium were, for the moſt part, originally, Aborigines, an Arcadian colony; and that the people, who then lived on the ſpot, where Rome was afterwards built, were, alſo, Arcadians, who had ſettled there with Evander. This Dionyſius has, already, informed us of, and his account is confirmed by all the Greek and Roman hiſtorians. Their language, afterwards indeed, received an alteration by the mixture of many Italian words, that, by degrees, corrupted the Greek language, which the Romans had, originally, uſed; ὑπω τοῖς τοις Ελληνικοις ονομασι των Ιταλικων επικεχυμενων, ſays [p] Plutarch, in ſpeaking of the language, ſpoken by the Romans in the time of Romulus. If their language was Greek, the characters of it muſt, alſo, have been Greek; and, that they were

[o] B. i. c. 20. [p] Life of Romulus.

ſo,

ſo, appears by a paſſage in our [9] author, where he ſays that the terms of the alliance, entered into by Tullius with the Latin cities, were ingraved on a brazen pillar in Greek characters, ſuch as were, anciently, uſed in Greece; which pillar, he ſays, ſtood in the temple of Diana, in his time.

Having anſwered, I hope, all the objections urged againſt the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, I ſhall, now, offer ſome proofs in ſupport of it. If I was to quote the authority of Virgil, the plan of whoſe Aeneid is formed upon this fact, I ſuppoſe it would be ſaid that he is a poet, and, conſequently, not tied down to hiſtorical truth. But, is not Homer a poet alſo, and has not his authority been inſiſted on to prove that Aeneas, and his poſterity reigned in Phrygia after the taking of Troy? And why may not Virgil be preſumed to have been as well informed of what paſſed in Italy, his own country, immediately after that event, as Homer, of what paſſed in Phrygia at that time, a country, to which he had no ſort of relation? Let Homer, therefore, and Virgil be laid out of the caſe, and let the truth of a point of hiſtory be, as it ought to be, tried by hiſtorians. The reader has, already, ſeen that Dionyſius, and all the Greek and Latin hiſtorians he has quoted, affirm this fact, and the authority of Dionyſius, as founded on That of thoſe authors, ought to have the greater weight, becauſe he had their works before him, and the modern writers, who deny it, are deprived of that advantage. This being the ſtate of the caſe, it ſeems to me little leſs abſurd in the latter to cenſure Dionyſius for having advanced this fact, on the authority of thoſe hiſtorians, without having read their writings, than it would be in a judge to condemn a man without hearing the proofs he had to offer in his defence.

If the loſs of theſe hiſtorians has deprived me of many proofs in favor of Dionyſius, it has, however, ſaved me the trouble of quoting a long liſt of Greek and Latin authors, whoſe reaſons we may, and ought to ſuppoſe, would have the ſame effect upon us, as they had upon him, and all other hiſtorians, who have written upon this ſubject; that is, they would convince us of the reality of a fact, which the loſs of thoſe authors, and, poſſibly, the affectation of erecting great edifices with few materials, have, of late years, brought into diſpute.

[9] B. iv. c. 26.

I ſhall,

I ſhall, therefore, content myſelf with quoting two authors, whom Dionyſius might have quoted, and did not; and, after them, ſome of thoſe, who writ after he publiſhed his hiſtory.

The firſt I ſhall mention is Salluſt, whoſe authority was never, I think, called in queſtion, though his ſtyle has been cenſured by men of more delicacy, than judgement: Nothing can be more explicit than what he ſays in his Catilinarian war; [r] *urbem Romam (ſicut ego accepi) condidere atque habuere initio Trojani, qui, Aeneâ duce, profugi, incertis ſedibus vagabantur.*

The next is Varro, the greateſt antiquary of an age, in which Cicero lived. He mentions the arrival of Aeneas at Laurentum in Italy, as attended with a circumſtance not heard of before, nor ſince, I believe, but once. [s] *Ex quo die Trojâ eſt egreſſus Aeneas Veneris, eum per diem quotidie ſtellam vidiſſe, donec in agrum Laurentem veniret, in quo eam non viderit ulterius; quâ re cognovit terras eſſe fatales.*

This hiſtorical fact was too remarkable to eſcape the notice of [t] Livy, who relates it in a manner peculiar to himſelf; *ſed ad majora initia rerum ducentibus fatis, primo in Macedoniam* [Aeneam] *veniſſe; inde in Siciliam quaerentem ſedes delatum; ab Siciliâ, claſſe Laurentem agrum tenuiſſe.* He, then, mentions the marriage of Aeneas with Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, king of the Aborigines; the building of Alba by Aſcanius, the ſon of Aeneas, and all the other incidents, which Cluver, and Bochart have thought fit to treat as fabulous.

After this, I would aſk, whether any hiſtorical fact of an ancient date can be atteſted by authors of greater authority? And whether an attempt to ſubvert the credibility of a fact, ſo atteſted, by conjectures, forced conſtructions, ſcraps of quotations quoted by other authors, and vague aſſertions, unſupported by the teſtimony of a ſingle hiſtorian, is not an attempt to transform all hiſtory into romance, to deſtroy the uſe, by deſtroying the credit, of it, and to deprive mankind of the beſt guides both in public and private life, examples?

We have ſeen what the opinion of the Roman hiſtorians was concerning the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, and the deſcent of the Romans from the Trojans. Let us, now, examine what opinion the leading men among the Romans, and the Roman ſenate itſelf, entertained of

[r] C. 6. [s] Rer. divin. B. ii. [t] B. i. c. 1.

theſe

theſe events. In the 564th year of Rome, Lucius Scipio, and Caius Laelius being conſuls, the former, who was brother to the firſt Scipio Africanus, paſſed the Helleſpont with his army in order to carry on the war againſt Antiochus. In his march, he came to Ilium, the ancient Troy, where the Ilienſes, and the Romans congratulated one another; the former ſaying that Aeneas, and his generals went from thence; and the latter, that they were deſcended from the Ilienſes: And the joy of both was as exceſſive as That between parents, and their children after a long abſence. The Ilienſes were delighted to ſee their deſcendants, after they had conquered the weſt, and Africa, come to claim Aſia, as their hereditary kingdom; adding, that the deſtruction of Troy was a deſirable event, ſince it was followed by ſo happy a reſurrection. The Romans, on the other ſide, could not ſatisfy their deſire of viſiting their paternal habitation, the nurſery of their anceſtors, and the temples, and images of their gods. [u] *Cum ingreſſi Aſiam Romani Ilion veniſſent, mutua gratulatio Ilienſium ac Romanorum fuit. Ilienſibus Aeneam, caeteroſque cum eo duces, à ſe profectos; Romanis ſe ab his procreatos referentibus. Tantaque laetitia omnium fuit, quanta eſſe poſt longum tempus inter parentes et liberos ſolet. Juvabat Ilienſes nepotes ſuos, occidente et Africâ domitâ, Aſiam ut avitum regnum vindicare; optabilem Trojae ruinam fuiſſe, dicentes, ut tam feliciter renaſceretur: Contra, Romanos, avitos lares, et incunabula majorum, templaque ac deorum ſimulacra inexplebile deſiderium videndi tenebat.* After the defeat of Antiochus, the Roman ſenate ſent ten perſons, the moſt conſiderable of their body, into Aſia with particular inſtructions concerning the terms of the peace, which Antiochus had ſolicited, and with full powers, [w] *libera mandata*, with regard to every thing elſe. After their arrival in Aſia, they rewarded, or puniſhed the cities in that country according to their merit towards, or their offences againſt, the Roman people. And, as none of their acts were, afterwards, reſcinded, or, even, altered by the ſenate of Rome, they muſt be looked upon as the acts of the ſenate itſelf. Among others, who received marks of favor from theſe embaſſadors, the Ilienſes were diſtinguiſhed, not ſo much, as [x] Livy ſays, on account of any late ſervices they had done to the Romans, as in memory of their origin;

[u] Juſtin. B. xxxi. c. 8. [w] Livy, B. xxxvii. c. 56. [x] B. xxxviii. c. 39.

In conſideration of which, they added Rhoeteum, and Gergithum to their territories. For the ſame reaſon, they made the inhabitants of Dardanum free; *Ilienſibus Rhoeteum, et Gergithum addiderunt; non tam ob recentia merita,* quam originum memoriâ. *Eadem et Dardanum liberandi cauſa fuit.* It is remarkable that one of theſe ten embaſſadors was Lucius Aemilius Paullus, [y] the worthy ſon of Aemilius Paullus, who loſt his life in the ſervice of his country, at the unfortunate battle of Cannae. [z] His ſon, twenty two years after this embaſſy, being conſul for the ſecond time, overcame Perſeus, and reduced Macedon to a Roman province. [a] He was maſter of all the Latin and Greek learning, and took particular care to inſtruct his ſons in both: He had, alſo, a great taſte for ſculpture, painting, and all the liberal arts. Theſe things are mentioned to let the reader ſee the improbability, that a man of ſuch qualifications could be impoſed upon in ſo eſſential a point of the Roman hiſtory, as That, which deduced the deſcent of the Romans from the Ilienſes. The reader will remember that the Roman ſenate, when they granted theſe favors to this people, were an aſſembly of the wiſeſt, braveſt, and moſt learned men, then, in the known world, unawed by any power, either foreign, or domeſtic, and could be influenced, in this determination, by nothing but the notoriety of the fact, and their piety to their anceſtors. This was not the only decree of the Roman ſenate in favor of the Ilienſes, though we are not acquainted with the particulars of the reſt: But, that there were others of the like tendency, appears by the following words of Calliſtratus: [b] *Ilienſibus et propter inclytam nobilitatem civitatis,* et propter conjunctionem originis Romanae, *jam antiquitus, et* ſenatus-conſultis, *et conſtitutionibus principum pleniſſima immunitas tributa eſt.*

I lay not the leaſt ſtreſs on the conſtitutions of the Roman emperors; the firſt of whom, Julius Caeſar, had a mind to have it thought that he derived his deſcent from Iülus, one of the followers of Aeneas, if not his ſon: I ſay, I lay no ſtreſs on the conceſſions made to the Ilienſes in Caeſar's time, becauſe the Roman ſenate were, then, ſo far awed by his illegal power, and had ſo far degenerated from the noble freedom of their anceſtors, as to beſtow the groſſeſt flattery upon every whim, which the wantonneſs of his exaltation could ſuggeſt to him:

[y] Paterc. B. i. c. 9. [z] Plutarch's life of Aemilius. [a] Id. ib. [b] In lege. 17.

And,

And, as he had free liberty to derive his deſcent from any hero of antiquity he pleaſed, if he had thought fit to derive it from Alexander, or his horſe Bucephalus, they would have decreed him to be deſcended, in a right line, from either of thoſe heroes.

I have, already, lamented the loſs of the many Greek and Roman hiſtorians, whom Dionyſius has quoted to prove the arrival of Aeneas in Italy; and muſt, now, lament the loſs of Siſyphus Cous, Corinnus, Dares Phrygius, Dictys Cretenſis, and Syagrus, whom he has not quoted; and of whom the four firſt lived in the time of the Trojan war, and writ the hiſtory of it; and the laſt treated the ſame ſubject in verſe many years before Homer. As their writings were, probably, in being at the time Dionyſius writ his hiſtory, if they had contradicted the authors he quotes, he could not have failed to mention this contradiction; though he was under no neceſſity of mentioning their conformity.

THE

# ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

OF

# DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

## THE SECOND BOOK.

THE city of Rome is ſituated in the weſtern parts of Italy, cloſe to the river Tiber, which falls into the Tyrrhene ſea about the middle of the coaſt; from which ſea, the city is diſtant one hundred and twenty ſtadia. The firſt known poſſeſſors of this ſpot were certain Barbarians, natives of the country, called Siceli, who were, alſo, maſters of many other parts of Italy, and of whom not a few viſible monuments remain to this day; among which, are, even, ſome names of places, ſaid to be Sicelian names, which ſhew they, formerly, inhabited this country. The Aborigines, deſcended from the Oenotri, who inhabited [1] the ſea coaſt from Taras to Poſidonia, drove out this people, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the place. Theſe were the holy

ANNOTATIONS on the Second BOOK.

[1] Την απο Ταραντος αχρι Ποσειδωνιας παραλιον. See the 235th annotation on the firſt book.

youth,

youth, conſecrated to the gods, according to their cuſtom, and ſent out by their parents, as it is ſaid, to inhabit that country, which [z] the god ſhould give them. The Oenotri were an Arcadian nation, who left the country, then, called Lycaonia, and, now, Arcadia, of their own accord, in ſearch of a better under the conduct of Oenotrus, the ſon of Lycaon, from whom the nation received its name. While the Aborigines were in poſſeſſion of theſe parts, the firſt, who cohabited with them, were the Pelaſgi, a wandering people, who came from a country, then, called Haemonia, and, now, Theſſaly, where they had lived ſome time. After the Pelaſgi, came the Arcadians from the city of Pallantium, who had choſen for their leader, Evander, the ſon of Mercury, and of the nymph Themis: Theſe built a village upon one of the ſeven hills, that ſtands near the middle of Rome, calling the place Pallantium, from their mother city in Arcadia. Not long after, Hercules, coming into Italy, in his return home, with his army from Erythea, ſome part of it, which was left behind, conſiſting of Greeks, ſettled near Pallantium, upon another of the hills, that, now, make part

[z] Ὑπο τȣ Δαιμονιȣ. Sure the Latin tranſlators had forgotten what our author ſaid in the firſt book, concerning this cuſtom of conſecrating the youth to ſome god, and then ſending them out in ſearch of the country that god ſhould give them; otherwiſe, they would never have rendered this paſſage, *The country, which* fortune *ſhould give them.* However, M. *** has followed them; and le Jay has not ſucceeded much better in ſaying *ſous la protection des dieux*, generally. Δαιμονιον or Δαιμων is explained by our author himſelf in the place beforementioned, ὁ θεος ᾧ καλουμαθειεν απελαυνομενοι, *the god, to whom they had been conſecrated, before they were ſent out.* As moſt of the remarkable things, relating to the original hiſtory, of which this is only a recapitulation, have been, already, explained in the firſt book, the reader will give me leave to refer him to thoſe annotations.

of

of the city of Rome: This was, then, named, by the inhabitants, the Saturnian hill; but is, now, called the Capitoline hill, by the Romans. The greateſt part of theſe were Epei, who abandoned the city of Elis, after their country had been laid waſte by Hercules.

II. The ſixteenth generation after the Trojan war, the Albans [3] built upon both theſe places, and ſurrounded them with a wall, and a ditch: For, till then, there were only cottages of neatherds, and ſhepherds, and huts of other herdſmen; the land thereabouts yielding plenty of graſs, not only, for winter, but, alſo, for ſummer paſture, by reaſon of the rivers, that refreſh, and water it. The Albans were a mixed nation, compoſed of Arcadians, of Pelaſgi, of thoſe Epei, who came from Elis, and, laſt of all, of the Trojans, who, with Aeneas, the ſon of Anchiſes, and Venus, came into Italy after the taking of Troy. It is probable that ſome Barbarians, alſo, who lived in the neighbourhood, or the remains of the ancient inhabitants, were mixed with thoſe Greeks. But all theſe nations, having loſt their national appellations, were called, by one common name, Latines, from Latinus, who had been king of this country. The city, therefore, was built by theſe nations, the four hundred and thirty ſecond year after the taking of Troy, and in the ſeventh Olympiad. The leaders of this colony were twin brothers, and of the royal family; Romulus being

3. Συνοικιζθσι. This word is rendered by all the tranſlators, except le Jay, who has left it out, as if our author had ſaid συνοικθσι, which is not enough: For the Albans did not only *inhabit* theſe two hills, but *incloſed* them within the walls of their new city. And this is the ſenſe of the word συνοικιζω.

the

the name of one, and Remus of the other: By the mother's ſide they were deſcended from Aeneas, and, conſequently, Dardanidae. It is hard to ſay, with any certainty, who was their father: However, the Romans believe them to have been the ſons of Mars. But a conteſt ariſing between them about the command, they did not both continue leaders of the colony: For, one of them being ſlain in the battle, Romulus, who ſurvived, became the founder of the city, and called it after his own name. The great numbers of which this colony had, originally, conſiſted, when ſent from Alba, being, now, reduced to a few, the remainder amounted to no more than three thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe.

III. After the ditch, therefore, was finiſhed, the wall perfected, the neceſſary ſtructure of the houſes completed, and the juncture required they ſhould conſider, alſo, what form of government they were to eſtabliſh, Romulus called the people together by the advice of his grandfather, who had ſuggeſted to him what he was to ſay, and told them that, indeed, "the city, conſidering it was, newly, built, was, ſuf-"ficiently, adorned both with public and private edifices: "But he deſired they would all conſider that theſe were "not the moſt valuable things in cities: For, neither, in "foreign wars, are deep ditches, and high walls ſufficient "to give the inhabitants an [4] undiſturbed aſſurance of their

[4] Απραγμονα σωτηριας ὑπολημψιν παρασχειν. The tranſlators have expreſſed this ſentence differently. Sylburgius has ſaid *certam ſpem afferre*, which I am afraid, is as little exact with regard to the thought, as to the Greek words. *Un rempart entierement ſûr pour metre les Bourgois à couvert*, in M. ***, is liable

"own

" own ſafety, but only to ſecure them from being ſurpriſed " by a ſudden incurſion of the enemy; neither, in civil " commotions, can private houſes afford a ſafe retreat; " theſe being contrived for the comfort of leiſure, and " tranquillity, and neither prevent miſchief in thoſe, who " [5]practiſe it againſt their neighbours, nor give confidence " to thoſe, againſt whom it is practiſed: That no city, " hitherto, ſupported, alone, with theſe decorations, ever " attained to greatneſs, and a laſting happineſs; nor, from a " want of magnificence, either in public, or private build- " ings, was ever hindered from being great and happy: " But, he told them, there were other things, that pre- " ſerve, and aggrandize cities: In foreign wars, ſtrength in " arms; which is acquired by courage, and exerciſe; and, " in civil commotions, unanimity among the citizens. This, " he ſaid, the temperance, and juſtice of each particular " citizen would, moſt effectually, adminiſter to the whole " body: That thoſe, who employ themſelves in the exerciſe " of arms, and, at the ſame time, are maſters of their paſ- " ſions, are the greateſt ornaments to their country; and

to the laſt of thoſe exceptions. *On ne devoit pas compter d'etre en ſeûreté*, is better in le Jay. It is certain that σωτηρίας ὑπολήψις ſignifies more than *ſafety*; it ſignifies *ſecurity*.

5. Το επιβουλευον, etc. Stephens, Caſaubon, and Portus, after great pains to reſtore this ſentence, have left it out of joint. The reaſon is, they had never ſeen the Vatican manuſcript, which, by reading επιβουλευον, inſtead of επιβουλευειν, as it ſtands in all the editions, has, in a great meaſure, cleared up the ſenſe. But there is one word, which that manuſcript has ſuffered to remain, and which none of thoſe learned men have thought of altering, that is, βεβηκεναι, which can have nothing to do here: For which reaſon, I would ſubſtitute βεβιωκεναι in its room.

" theſe

" theſe are the men, who provide both the commonwealth " with impregnable walls, and themſelves with a ſafe retreat. " That the form of government ſupplies thoſe, who have, " prudently, inſtituted it, with [6] men of bravery, and juſtice, " and who practiſe every other virtue; while, on the other " ſide, bad inſtitutions render men cowardly, and rapacious, " and the ſlaves of foul deſires. He added, that he had " been informed by men of age, and great knowledge in " hiſtory, that of many numerous colonies, planted in fruitful " countries, ſome, by falling into ſeditions, had been, im- " mediately, deſtroyed; others, after a ſhort reſiſtance, forced " to become ſubject to their neighbours, and [7] to exchange " both their fruitful country for a barren land, and their " liberty for ſlavery: While others, leſs numerous, ſettled " in places, not altogether fertil, have, in the firſt place, " continued to be free themſelves, and, afterwards, to com- " mand others: And that the misfortunes of the numerous

[6] Μαχήλας δε, etc. Hudſon has given us various Latin tranſlations of this ſentence; two of which have been followed by the French tranſlators. But every one of theſe verſions ſuppoſes that our author intended to make the men of bravery, and juſtice ſerve as models to the legiſlators: Whereas, I underſtand his ſenſe to be that the form of government, inſtituted by theſe legiſlators, will inſpire the others with bravery, and a love of juſtice. And this, I think, is confirmed by what he ſays preſently after, that the happineſs, or unhappineſs, of colonies is owing to nothing ſo much as to their different forms of government. But the reader will determine which of theſe interpretations is beſt ſupported by the words of the text.

[7] Την χειρονα τυχην διαλλαξασθαι. I have taken a liberty in this place, which I have, very ſeldom, allowed myſelf. There is ſuch a falſeneſs in this expreſſion, ανλι της κρειτλονος χωρας την χειρονα τυχην διαλλαξασθαι, that I cannot think our author, who was ſo juſt a critic, as well as ſo accurate a writer, could ever ſuffer this expreſſion to eſcape from his pen. The ſmall alteration I would make in reading την χειρονα ἁμα τη τυχη διαλλαξασθαι, will, I hope, be thought to correct this inaccuracy of expreſſion, without making any alteration in the ſenſe.

" colonies, and the happineſs of thoſe, that were leſs ſo, " flowed from no other cauſe than the form of their re- " ſpective governments. If, therefore, there was but one " ſort of government received by all men, and calculated to " render cities happy, the choice would not be difficult: But " he was told, he ſaid, there were various forms of govern- " ment both among the Greeks, and Barbarians; of all " which, three were, chiefly, commended by thoſe, who " had experienced them: However, that [8] none of them " was perfect, each having ſome inbred evils, that accom- " pany it, which created great difficulty in the choice. He, " therefore, deſired them to deliberate at leiſure, and let him " know, whether they would be governed by a ſingle perſon, " or by a few; or, whether they would, [9] under proper " laws, commit the adminiſtration of the commonwealth to " the whole body of the people: And, which form of go- " vernment ſoever you ſhall think fit to eſtabliſh, ſays he, I

[8] Και τȣτων ȣδεμιαν ειναι των πολιτειων ειλικρινη, προσειναι δε τινας ἑκαστῃ κηρας συμφυτȣς. I do not ſo much wonder that the other commentators have not taken notice of the analogy between our author, and [a] Polybius, in treating this ſubject, as that Caſaubon, who has publiſhed a very fine edition of the latter, ſhould not remember it: However, as I have tranſlated that fragment of Polybius, it would be inexcuſable in me not to lay that paſſage before the reader, that he may ſee in what manner our author has taken the ſenſe, without taking the words. Polybius ſays, Παν ειδος πολιτειας ἁπλȣν, και κατα μιαν συνεστηκως δυναμιν επισφαλες γιγνεται. And, again, Των πολιτειων συγγινεται κατα φυσιν ἑκαστῃ, και παρεπεται τις κακια. I believe the reader will find that, notwithſtanding the thought in both is the ſame, our author has much the advantage in the expreſſion.

[9] Ειτε νομȣς καταστησαμενοι, etc. If the reader pleaſes to compare the text, as it ſtands in the Vatican manuſcript, with the reading of the editions, he will ſee how much we are beholden to that manuſcript for the reſtitution of this period.

[a] B. vi. p. 458.

" ſhall,

" ſhall, readily, comply with it, and neither think myſelf " unworthy to command, nor refuſe to obey. I am ſatisfied " with the honors you have conferred on me, firſt, by ap- " pointing me leader of the colony, and, afterwards, by " giving my name to the city: For, of theſe, neither a " foreign war, nor a civil diſſenſion, neither time, that " deſtroyer of all great things, nor any other ſtroke of angry " fortune can deprive me: But, theſe honors, both living, " and dead, I ſhall enjoy for ever."

IV. This was the ſpeech, that Romulus, by the direction, as I have ſaid, of his grandfather, made to the people: And they, having conſulted together by themſelves, returned this anſwer: " We do not, at all, deſire a new form of govern- " ment, nor to change That, which our anceſtors have ap- " proved of as the beſt, and delivered down to us: In this, we " ſhew, both a deference for the ſenſe of our elders, whoſe great " prudence we admire in eſtabliſhing it, and our own ſatiſ- " faction in our preſent condition: For we could not, with " reaſon, find fault with an inſtitution, that has afforded " us, under our kings, the greateſt of human bleſſings, " liberty, and the command of others. This, therefore, " is our reſolution concerning the form of government: " And this honor, we conceive, none has ſo good a title to, " as yourſelf, by reaſon of your being of the royal family, " as well as of your virtue; but, above all, becauſe you have " been the leader of our colony, and have convinced us of " your great ſpirit, and great prudence; not ſo much by " your words, as by your actions." Romulus, hearing this,

ſaid; "It was a great ſatisfaction to him to be judged "worthy of the kingdom: But that he ſhould not accept "that honor until the gods ſhould, by favourable omens, "confirm their choice."

V. And they, alſo, approving of this, he appointed a day, in which he deſigned to conſult the gods concerning the command they had offered him: And, when the time was come, he roſe by break of day, and went out of his tent: Then, ſtanding abroad, [10] in a void place, after the cuſtomary ſacrifice, he prayed to Jupiter, the king, and to the reſt of the gods, whom he had choſen for the patrons of this colony, that, if it was their pleaſure he ſhould be king of the city, they would reveal it by ſome heavenly ſigns: This prayer being ended, a flaſh of lightning ran from the left to the right. The Romans, upon the information, either of the Tyrrhenians, or of their anceſtors, [11] look upon the lightning,

10. Εν καθαρῳ χωριῳ. I much doubt whether this ſignifies *en un lieu pur*, as M. * * * has rendered it, after the example of the Latin tranſlators; becauſe, our author ſays nothing concerning the conſecration of the place. I have choſen rather to render it *a void place*, that is, *a place free from any obſtruction*; in the ſame manner as [b] Ariſtophanes ſays εν καθαρῳ; and as [c] Livy uſes the word *purus*, *Poſtero die ſignis collatis dimicaturum* puro *ac patenti campo*.

11. Τιθενται δε Ρωμαιοι, etc. The reaſon, given by our author, why the Romans looked upon the lightning, that appeared on the left hand, to be an auſpicious omen, is much more plauſible (according to the aſtronomy then received) than that grammatical reaſon, given by [d] Plutarch, who ſays that *ſiniſter* is derived from *ſinere*. It muſt be obſerved that the Romans looked upon the ſigns, that appeared on their left, to be favourable; and that the Greeks looked on Thoſe, that appeared on their right, to be ſo: The reaſon of which difference, was, that the former turned their faces to the eaſt in performing theſe augural ceremonies; and the latter, to the north. This paſſage of our author proves the firſt; to which I ſhall add another, out of [e] Livy, relating to the

[b] Εκκλη. v. 320. [c] B. xxiv. c. 14. [d] Rom. Quaeſt. [e] B. i. c. 18.

that

that paſſes from the left to the right, as a happy omen: Their reaſon is, according to my opinion, that the beſt ſeat, and ſtation for thoſe, who make augural obſervations, is That, which looks towards the eaſt; from whence, both the ſun, and moon riſe, as well as the planets, and fixed ſtars; and the revolution of the heavens, by which all things contained in them are, ſometimes, above the earth, and, ſometimes, beneath it, from thence begins its circular motion: Now, to thoſe, who turn their faces to the eaſt, the northern parts of the world are on the left; and the ſouthern, on the right; and the former are looked upon as more honourable than the latter: For, in the northern parts, the pole of the axis, upon which the earth turns, is elevated; and, and of the five circles, which incompaſs the ſphere, That, called the arctic circle, always appears on that ſide; while, in the ſouthern parts, the other, called the antarctic circle, is depreſſed, and inviſible to us. There is reaſon, therefore, to look upon thoſe ſigns in the heavens, and the air, to be the beſt, which appear on the beſt ſide: And ſince, thoſe parts, that are turned towards the eaſt, have the pre-eminence

inauguration of Numa Pompilius: *Augur ad laevam ejus, capite velato, ſedem cepit, dextrâ manu baculum ſine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellaverunt. Inde ubi proſpectu in urbem agrumque capto, deos precatus, regionem ab oriente ad occaſum determinavit; dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad ſeptentrionem eſſe dixit.* By this, it appears that his face was turned to the eaſt. And, that the Greeks turned their faces to the north, upon theſe occaſions, may be proved by many paſſages out of their moſt approved writers; but I ſhall content myſelf with This of [f] Homer, who makes Hector ſay thus to Polydamas.

των ȣτι μετατρεπομ', ȣδ' αλεγιζω,
Ειτ' επι δεξι' ιωσι προς ηω τ' ηελιον τε,
Ειτ' επ' αριςερα τοιγε, ποτι ζοφον ηεροεντα.

[f] Iliad μ. ℣. 238.

over

over the weſtern parts, and of the eaſtern parts themſelves, the north-eaſt are higher than the ſouth-weſt, thoſe ought to be eſteemed the beſt. But ſome write that the anceſtors of the Romans long ago, and, before they had learned it from the Tyrrhenians, looked upon the lightning, that came from the left, as a happy omen: For, they ſay, that, when Aſcanius, the ſon of Aeneas, was warred upon, and beſieged by the Tyrrhenians under the command of Mezentius, their king, and upon the point of ſallying out of the town for the laſt time, his affairs being, now, deſperate, he prayed to Jupiter, and to the reſt of the gods, with lamentation, to incourage this ſally with ſome happy omens; and, [12] the ſky being clear, it lightened on the left; and that this battle, being attended with a moſt happy event, his poſterity, ever after, looked upon this ſign as fortunate.

VI. After Romulus, therefore, had, upon that occaſion, received the ſanction of heaven, he called the people together; and, having given them an account of the auſpicious omens, he was choſen king by them, and inſtituted this cuſtom to be obſerved by all his ſucceſſors, that none of them ſhould accept the dignity of king, or any other magiſtracy, until, even the gods had given a ſign of their approbation: And this cuſtom, relating to the auſpices, continued to be, long, obſerved by the Romans, not only, under

[12] Αἰθρίας ϐσης ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀστραψαι τὸν ϐροντον. This tradition Virgil has adapted to the *coup d'eſſay* of Aſcanius, when he was beſieged by the Rutuli, commanded by Turnus, and inſulted by Remulus. Aſcanius addreſſes his prayers to Jupiter, after which, [g] Virgil ſays,

*Audiit, et caeli genitor de parte ſerenâ*
Intonuit laevum.

[g] Aen. ix. ℣. 630.

their

their kings, but, alſo, after the diſſolution of monarchy, in the elections of their conſuls, praetors, and other legal magiſtrates: But it is diſuſed at this time, the appearance of it being preſerved only for form ſake: For, thoſe, who are deſigned magiſtrates, paſs the night in tents, and, riſing by break of day, perform their prayers in the open air; then, [13] ſome of the augurs preſent, who are paid by the public, declare that a flaſh of lightning from the left, which had not happened, ſignifies the approbation of the gods; and they, having, by this report, received the omen, depart, in order to enter upon their magiſtracies. Some looking upon this alone as ſufficient, that no contrary, or forbidding omens had appeared; others, even, in oppoſition to the will of heaven prohibiting their election, and, ſometimes, by violence, rather ſeize, than receive their dignities: By which means, many armies of the Romans have been, utterly, de-

[13] Τῶν δὲ παρόντων τινες ὀρνιθοσκοπων, etc. This function of the augurs to obſerve the heavenly ſigns, was called, by the Romans, *ſervare de coelo:* The diſuſe of which is cenſured, with great ſpirit, by [h] Lucan,

*Nec* coelum ſervare *licet: tonat augure ſurdo,*
*Et laetae jurantur aves, bubone ſiniſtro.*

The diſuſe of this farce was, indeed, of no great conſequence: But the violence, uſed in elections, which our author, preſently, complains of, proved fatal to the liberty of Rome; as it muſt be to That of every country, where it is practiſed. By this time, I hope, the reader will acquit our author of any deſign to flatter Auguſtus, ſince no man ever uſed greater violence than he, in extorting his firſt conſulſhip from the ſenate. He was at the head of an army, raiſed by his country to oppoſe the ambitious deſigns of Marc Antony, when he ſent ſome of his officers to the ſenate to demand, rather than to deſire the conſulſhip. This imperious manner of applying to the ſenate, being received with the indignation it deſerved, [i] one of theſe officers laid his hand upon his ſword, and had the inſolence to ſay to the ſenate, "[k] If "You will not give the conſulſhip to "Caeſar, This ſhall."

[h] B. v. ℣. 395. [i] Sueton. life of Auguſtus, c. 26. [k] Dion Caſſius, B. xlvi. p. 363.

ſtroyed

ſtroyed at land; many fleets have been loſt, with all their people, at ſea; and other great and dreadful calamities have befallen the commonwealth; ſome in foreign wars, and others in civil diſſenſions: But the moſt remarkable and the greateſt happened, even, in my time, when Licinius Craſſus, a man inferior to no commander of his age, led his army againſt the Parthians, contrary to the will of heaven, and in contempt of the innumerable omens, that oppoſed his expedition. But a great deal might be ſaid concerning the contempt of the gods, that prevails among ſome people at this time.

VII. Romulus, who was, thus, choſen king by the concurrence both of gods, and men, is allowed to have been a man of great military accompliſhments, and perſonal bravery, and, [14] extremely, capable of inſtituting the moſt perfect ſort

[14] Πολιτειαν εξηγησασθαι την κρατιστην Φρονιμωτατος. Portus, and the two French tranſlators have given this ſenſe to theſe words, *Of great prudence in the government of the ſtate*. This I do not take to be the ſenſe of this paſſage; though I know that εξηγεισθαι την Πελοποννησον in the firſt book of Thucydides ſignifies *to govern Peloponneſus*: But, if we are to give that ſenſe to the word in this place, what becomes of την κρατιστην? I have, therefore, tranſlated it according to the explication Suidas gives of the word; το εξηγησασθαι, ἁμα λεγειν τε περι ὡν αγνοουσιν οἱ ακουοντες, και διδασκειν αυτους περι ὡν πυνθανονται. Sylburgius has ſaid *in republicâ optimè inſtituendâ prudentiſſimus*; which, though it does not quite come up to our author's ſenſe, is, vaſtly, nearer to it, than the other tranſlations. The reader will obſerve, I dare ſay, with ſatisfaction, that our author calls the government, inſtituted by Romulus, the moſt perfect ſort of government; and this we find to have been a mixed government, compoſed of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy. This is the conſtitution ſo much extolled by [1] Polybius, and other great writers of antiquity, and is, nearly, the ſame with That inſtituted by Lycurgus at Sparta, about a hundred years before, which laſted no leſs than ſeven hundred, without any conſiderable alteration.

[1] B. vi. 458.

of

of government. I ſhall relate ſuch of his civil, and military actions, as may be thought worthy of hiſtory: And ſhall, firſt, ſpeak of the form of government he inſtituted, which I look upon, of all others, to be the moſt ſelf-ſufficient, to anſwer all the ends both of peace, and war. This was the plan of it: After he had divided all the people into three parts, he appointed a perſon of the firſt rank to be the chief of each of them: Then, he ſubdivided each of theſe three parts into ten others, and appointed as many of the braveſt men to be the leaders of theſe alſo: The greater diviſions he called *tribes*; and the leſſer, *curiae*; as they are called, even, at this day. Theſe names may be, thus, tranſlated into Greek; *a Tribe*, by [15] Φυλη and Τριτυς; and

[15] Φυλη και τριτυς. There is no doubt but φυλη ſignifies *a tribe*. But τριτυς ſignifies *a third part of a tribe*: Τριτυς εστι το τριτον μερος της φυλης. Harpocration. So that, our author muſt have taken this word for the third part of the Roman people, which it, certainly, was. I find a note in Hudſon, upon this occaſion, in which [m] Graevius is quoted to prove that the Aeolians ſaid τριππυς, inſtead of τριτυς, from whence, the Romans had their word, *tribus*. To confirm this, M. * * *, after mentioning this obſervation of Graevius, quotes Plutarch to ſhew that the Aeolians made uſe of β inſtead of π. I have this place of Plutarch, now, before me, and find he ſays juſt the contrary, *viz.* that the Aeolians uſed π inſtead of β; his words are theſe, [n] παρ' ἡμιν τοις Αιολευσιν, αντι τε β τω π χρωμενοις. I am afraid That gentleman quoted this paſſage of Plutarch, as well as another, already, taken notice of by me in a former [o] note, from ſome French tranſlation, and not from the Greek text, which he could not, poſſibly, have miſtaken. Φρατρια, which follows, is, beyond all doubt, *the third part of a tribe*. Φρατρια εστι το τριτον μερος της φυλης. Harpocration. But this muſt be underſtood of the Athenian tribes: For it is certain that a *Curia*, which our author has explained by the word φρατρια, was *the tenth part* of a Roman tribe. This ſubdiviſion of the tribes into *Curiae* admits of no doubt. The firſt diviſion of the people into *tribes* is not, ſo generally, allowed; becauſe [p] Livy calls them *centurias equitum*: [q] He calls them, again, by that name in relating

[m] Rom. ant. Praef. [n] Συμποσ. B. vi. p. 694. [o] See the 261st annot. on the firſt book.
[p] B. i. c. 13. [q] B. i. c. 36.

*a Curia*, by Φρᾶτρια and Λοχος; *the commanders of the Tribes*, by Φυλαρχοι and Τριτυαρχοι, whom the Romans call *Tribuni*; and *the commanders of the curiae*, by Φρατριαρχοι and Λοχαγοι, whom they call *Curiones*; [16] theſe curiae were, again, divided

the affair of Attius Navius. But, we are not to wonder that Livy contradicts our author, when he contradicts himſelf: For, in ſpeaking of the law, promoted by the tribunes concerning the creation of four pontifs, and five augurs, all plebeians, [r] he calls them *tres antiquae tribus, Ramnenſes, Titienſes, Luceres.*

16. Διηρηντο δε και εις δεκαδας αι Φρατρεαι προς ανδρ. There is a note in Hudſon, in which [s] Graevius is, alſo, quoted, upon this occaſion, for ſaying that our author *aliquid humani paſſus eſt*, and that no hiſtorian but himſelf mentions this diviſion of the curiae into decuriae; and that Polybius, and Varro, ſay the turmae were divided into decuriae. This note M. *** has tranſlated literally. I will ſuppoſe that no other author mentions this diviſion of the curiae. Is he not the only author, alſo, who mentions many other particulars relating to the original conſtitution of the Romans? And, are any of theſe diſbelieved becauſe he alone relates them? Certainly not. Even Graevius himſelf mentions many things, that rely, ſolely, on his authority. I know no author, from whom we could have expected an account of this original diviſion of the Roman people, but Livy, and Plutarch in his life of Romulus. As to the firſt, we have ſeen in the preceding note, what a contradictory account he gives of it. And Plutarch ſays, only, that Romulus divided all the people, who were of an age to bear arms, into legions; and that each legion conſiſted of three thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe. As Graevius has not mentioned the place in Polybius, to which he refers, it muſt be in the [t] ſixth book, where, in ſpeaking of the military conſtitution of the Romans, he ſays they divide the horſe into ten *turmae*, which he calls ιλαι; and, after he has given an account of their method of chuſing their officers, he ſays theſe officers are called *decuriones*; from whence, I ſuppoſe, Graevius concluded that the *turmae* were divided into *decuriae*, which, I dare ſay, was ſo. But Polybius ſpeaks, all along, of the military inſtitutions, that were in uſe in his time; and this can have nothing to do with the original diviſion of the people made by Romulus. The paſſage Graevius refers to in Varro, though he has not mentioned it, can be no other than this; [u] *Turma, terma eſt: E in U abiit: Quod terdeni equites ex tribus tribubus Tatienſium, Rhamnenſium, et Lucerum fiebant. Itaque primi ſingularium decuriarum decuriones dicti: qui ab eo ſigulis turmis ſunt etiam nunc terni.* This paſſage of Varro proves that the *turmae* were divided into *decuriae*; but it does not prove that the *curiae* were not, alſo, divided into *decuriae*: However, it, plainly, ſhews that the

[r] B. x. c. 6. [s] Praef. to Vol. i. Ant. Rom. [t] P. 471. [u] De ling. Lat. B. iv. c. 16.

by

by him into ten parts, each having its own leader, called, in the language of their country, *Decurio*. The people being, thus, diſtributed into tribes, and curiae, he divided the land into thirty equal portions, and gave one of them to each curia, having, firſt, ſet apart as much of it, as was ſufficient, for the ſacrifices, and temples, and, alſo, reſerved ſome part of the land for the uſe of the public. This was one diviſion, made by Romulus, both of the men, and the land, which eſtabliſhed the greateſt equality among them all.

VIII. The other was of the men only, and diſtributed the good offices, the honors, and dignities, of which I ſhall, now, give an account: He diſtinguiſhed thoſe, who were eminent for their birth, and celebrated for their virtue, and whom he knew to be rich in the account of thoſe times, and had children, from the obſcure, the mean, and the poor. Thoſe of the lower rank, he called *Plebeians*, whom the Greeks would call Δημοτικοι, *common people*; and thoſe of the higher, *Fathers*; either becauſe they were elder than the others, or becauſe they had children, or from their high birth, or for

*Tatienſes*, *Rhamnenſes*, and *Luceres* were not *centuriae equitum*, as Livy calls them, but tribes. We have ſeen from our author, and Plutarch, that the number of men, originally, conſiſted of 3300: Three hundred of which were horſe. Now, this preciſe number of three hundred horſe ſeems to have been derived from the diviſion of the *curiae* into *decuriae*. I ſhall explain myſelf. Romulus divided theſe 3300 into three tribes; conſequently, each tribe conſiſted of 1100 men; Each of theſe tribes he, again, divided into ten *curiae*; every *curiae*, therefore, conſiſted of 110 men: Theſe, he ſubdivided into ten *ducuriae*, conſiſting each of 11 men: Now, as the number of horſe amounted to 300, take one man out of each *decuriae*, and you have the 300 horſemen.

3 tribes, each 1100 = 3300.
30 curiae, each 110 = 3300.
300 decuriae, each 11 = 3300.

all theſe reaſons; having, probably, taken the example from the ſyſtem of government, which, at that time, prevailed at Athens. For the Athenians divided their people into two parts, and called thoſe, who were diſtinguiſhed by their birth, and fortunes, Ευπαλριδαι, *well-born*; to whom the adminiſtration of the government was committed; and the reſt of the people, who had no ſhare in it, Αγροικοι, *Huſbandmen:* But, in proceſs of time, theſe, alſo, were admitted to the magiſtracy. Thoſe, who give the moſt probable account of the Roman government, ſay, that, for theſe reaſons, thoſe perſons were [17] called *Fathers*, and their poſterity, *Patricians:* But others, conſidering the thing in the light their own envy places it, in order to calumniate the Romans, as if they were, ignobly, deſcended, ſay they were not called Patricians, for the reaſons I have alledged, but, becauſe theſe only could name their fathers; as if all the reſt were fugitives, and unable to ſhew that their fathers were free men. To prove which, they ſay that, whenever their kings thought proper to aſſemble the Patricians, the cryers called them both by their own names, and the names of their fathers; while officers, appointed for that purpoſe, ſummoned the Plebeians all at once to the aſſemblies, by the ſound of oxens horns. But neither is the calling of the Patricians, by the cryers, any argument of their nobility, nor the ſound of the horn, any mark of the ignobleneſs of the Plebeians: The

[17] Κληθηναι φασι τους ανδρας εκεινους πατερας, και τους εκ γενους αυτων, πατρικιους. This opinion [w] Livy has, alſo, imbraced, *Patres certe ab honore, patriciique progenies eorum appellati.*

[w] B. i. c. 8.

former

former being deſigned for an honor, and the latter for expedition. Since it was not poſſible, in a ſhort time, to call every one of the plebeians by name.

IX. After Romulus had diſtinguiſhed thoſe of ſuperior rank from their inferiors, he inſtituted laws, by which the duty of each was preſcribed. He appointed the patricians to be prieſts, magiſtrates, and judges, to aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration, and dedicate themſelves to the government of the city. The plebeians were excuſed from theſe duties, as unacquainted with them, and, from their ſmall fortunes, wanting leiſure to attend them; but directed to apply themſelves to agriculture, feeding of cattle, and the exerciſe of gainful trades; leſt they ſhould raiſe ſeditions, as it happens in other cities, when either the magiſtrates abuſe their inferiors, or the common people, and poorer ſort, envy their ſuperiors. He placed the plebeians as a truſt in the hands of the patricians, by allowing every plebeian [18] to chuſe any patrician he himſelf thought fit for his patron: In

18. Νεμειν προσαλην. This was the term in uſe among the Athenians, ſignifying *to chuſe a patron.* Αναγκαιον γαρ ην εκασῳ των μετοικων πολιτην τινα Αθηναιων νεμειν προσαλην. Harpocration. In default of which, they were liable to an action, called, Απροσατιον. I am ſenſible that Dionyſius does not compare the Μετοικοι at Athens with the Roman clients, but the Θητες; and, becauſe we find nothing in the Attic writers to convince us that the Θητες were, in later times, obliged to have patrons, as well as the Μετοικοι, we we ought not, from thence, to conclude, with ſome learned men, that they were not, originally, under that obligation; which is all that our author ſays. This I know, that, if there had been no ſuch cuſtom at Athens, [x] Terence would have been guilty of a great incongruity in making Chaerea ſay in the Eunuch, the ſcene of which is laid at Athens,

*Thaïs patri ſe commendavit, in clientelam et fidem; Nobis dedit ſe.*

x Act. v. Scene 9.

this,

this, he improved an ancient Greek cuſtom, long in uſe among the Theſſali, and, originally, among the Athenians. For the former treated their clients with haughtineſs, impoſing on them offices unbecoming the condition of freemen; and, if, at any time, they diſobeyed their commands, they beat them, and abuſed them, in all other reſpects, as if they had been ſlaves they had purchaſed. The Athenians called their clients, Θῆτες, *ſervants*, from their *ſervitude*: And the Theſſali called theirs, Πενεσται, *poor men*, plainly, reproaching them, by this name, with their condition. But Romulus recommended the thing by a handſome appellation, calling this pre-eminence over the poor, and meaner ſort, *a Patronage*: And, by propoſing good offices to each of them, he rendered their connexion full of humanity, and ſuch as became fellow-citizens.

X. The laws, then, inſtituted by him concerning patronage, have, long, continued in uſe among the Romans, and are as follows: The duty of the patrons was to explain to their clients thoſe laws they were ignorant of; to take the ſame care of them, when abſent, as preſent; doing every thing for them, that parents do for their children, with regard both to money, and the contracts, that relate to it; to ſue for their clients, [19] when injured, and defend

[19] Ει τις βλαπτοιτο περι τα συμβολαια. I am convinced that this ſentence was inſerted by ſome tranſcriber to explain αδικουμενων in the former. It is a plain tautology; and I wonder none of the commentators obſerved it. I have confined εγκαλεσιν to a legal ſenſe, in which it is often uſed, and not ſaid, generally, *their* accuſers, as all the other tranſlators have rendered it. And, in this ſenſe, I think, it anſwers better to δικας λαγχανειν, that precedes it.

them,

them, when ſued; and, to ſum up many things in few words, to procure them, both in private, and in public affairs, all that tranquillity they, chiefly, ſtood in need of. The duty of the clients was to aſſiſt their patrons in providing fortunes for their daughters, if the fathers wanted money; to pay their ranſom to the enemy, if any either of them, or of their children, were taken priſoners; to bear their patrons loſſes in private ſuits, and diſcharge, out of their own purſes, the fines, payable to the public by thoſe, who were condemned, which the clients were to look upon as a benevolence, not a loan; to aſſiſt their patrons in ſupporting the charge of their magiſtracies, and dignities, and all other public expences, in the ſame manner as if they were their relations. It was impious and illegal both for patrons, and clients to accuſe each other in courts of juſtice, to bear witneſs, or give their votes againſt each other, [20] or to be found among each others enemies: And, whoever was convicted of any of theſe crimes, he was guilty of [21] treachery by virtue of a

[20] Μέλα των ἐχθρων ἐξέλαζεσθαι. I have paſſed by in ſilence many odd tranſlations of le Jay; but his verſion of this ſentence is too extraordinary to be omitted; this it is, *de rien faire qui fiſt ſoupçonner des inimitiez entre eux.* The other French tranſlator has ſaid very well, *ſe ranger du parti des ennemis:* I wiſh he had ſupported his tranſlation in any other manner than by tranſlating, literally, the note in Hudſon without any acknowledgment.

[21] Προδοσιας. Both the French tranſlators have rendered this, *Trahiſon*, I think, very properly; becauſe that word, in their language, ſignifies *treachery*, not *treaſon*, which they expreſs by *lèze majeſté*. Had Livy thought fit to mention this fine inſtitution, in his account of the actions of Romulus, we ſhould, certainly, have known whether *proditio*, which is the word made uſe of by the Latin tranſlators, was the name given by the Romans to this crime. So far is certain, that *proditio* was the name they gave to a private correſpondence with an enemy. This crime the citizens of Nola had been guilty of; for which reaſon, Marcellus cauſed many of them

law-

law inſtituted by Romulus, and might be, lawfully, put to death by any man, as a victim devoted to the infernal Jupiter: For it was the cuſtom among the Romans, to devote thoſe perſons they had a mind ſhould be put to death with impunity to ſome divinity, and, particularly, to the infernal gods: Which Romulus put in practice upon thoſe occaſions. By this means, the connexion between the patrons, and their clients continued for many generations, differing in nothing from the ties of blood, and deſcended to their childrens children: And it was a matter of great praiſe to men of illuſtrious families to have numerous clients, and, not only to preſerve the ſucceſſion of hereditary patronages, but alſo, by their own virtue, to add the acquiſition of others. It is incredible how great a conteſt there was between the patrons, and clients, each ſtriving to ſurpaſs the other in benevolence, and not to be outdone in good offices; the clients being, ever, ready to render all poſſible ſervice to their patrons; and the patrons avoiding, by all means, to give their clients any trouble; and admitting of no pecuniary preſents. So much was their behaviour ſuperior to all pleaſure; and virtue, not fortune, was the meaſure of their happineſs.

to be put to death; [y] *ſupra ſeptuaginta damnatos* Proditionis *ſecuri percuſſit.* [z] Virgil has, alſo, ranked the delinquents, mentioned by Dionyſius, among the greateſt criminals;

*et fraus innexa clienti.*

Upon this occaſion, Servius ſays, *ex lege duodecim tabularum venit; in quibus ſcriptum eſt, Patronus, ſi clienti fraudem fecerit, ſacer eſto.* But it is well known, that the decemvirs enacted many things confirmatory of old laws, as well as introductory of new ones.

[y] B. xxiii. c. 17. [z] Aen. B. vi. ℣. 609.

XI. It

XI. It was, not only, in the city itſelf that the plebeians were under the patronage of the patricians, but every Roman colony, and every city in alliance, and friendſhip with them, and, alſo, [22] every conquered town choſe ſuch protectors, and patrons among the Romans as they thought fit. And the ſenate has, often, referred matters in diſpute, in theſe cities, and provinces, to their patrons, and confirmed their determination. And, indeed, ſo firmly was this harmony, which owed its birth to theſe inſtitutions of Romulus, eſtabliſhed among the Romans, that, though, as it often happens, in all cities, both great and ſmall, many great political conteſts have ariſen between the people, and their magiſtrates, they never, [23] within the courſe of ſix hundred and twenty years, proceeded to bloodſhed, and mutual.

22· [a] Και των εκ πολεμου κεκρατημενων ἐκαστη. In proportion as the Romans extended their conqueſts, theſe *clientelae* became more extenſive. Thus, the *Bononienſes* were clients of the *Antonii*; the *Lacedaemonians* of the *Claudii*; the *Syracuſians* of the *Marcelli*; and the *Puteolani* of *Caſſius*, and *Brutus*.

23· Ενιος ἐξακοσιων και εικοσιν ετων. Our author, moſt certainly, knew that Tiberius Gracchus was tribune of the people, and ſlain during his tribuneſhip in the year of Rome 621 in the conſulſhip of P. Minucius Scaevola, and L. Calpurnius Piſo; and that his brother, Caius Gracchus, was killed ten years after: So that, he could neither ſay that no civil blood was drawn in any political conteſt at Rome, till the year 630; nor date the beginning of theſe barbarities from the tribuneſhip of Caius Gracchus. We muſt, therefore, read εικοσι, inſtead of τριακοντα, and Tiberius, inſtead of Caius Gracchus. M. *** ſeems to triumph in having diſcovered that this cuſtom of the Romans, in making an amicable end of their conteſts, did not laſt above 620 years. I wiſh he would let us know what nation, what government ever ſubſiſted half that time, without being ingaged in civil wars, and mutual ſlaughter. This is not the place to enter into the merits of the Agrarian law: I ſhall reſerve That till we come to the affair of Spurius Caſſius, who, firſt, propoſed it; or, rather, firſt attempted to reſtore the obſervance of a law, as old as their conſtitution, but, long ſince, ſilenced by power.

[a] Suet. in Aug. c. 17. id. in Tib. c. 6. Liv. B. xxv. c. 29. Cic. Phil. ii. c. 41.

ſlaughter; but, by perſuading, and informing one another; by ſubmitting in ſome things, and receiving a voluntary ſubmiſſion in others, they put an end to their diſputes in ſuch a manner, as became fellow citizens. But, from the time that Tiberius Gracchus, while tribune of the people, diſſolved the harmony of the government, they have been, perpetually, deſtroying, and baniſhing one another, and refraining from no exceſs to gain the ſuperiority. But the relation of theſe events ſhall be reſerved to a more proper place.

XII. As ſoon as Romulus had regulated theſe things, he determined to form a ſenate in order to aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration of the government. With this view, he choſe a hundred perſons out of the patricians, according to the following deſignation: He himſelf choſe one out of their whole body, whom he judged to be the moſt worthy of that diſtinction, and whom he thought fit [24] to intruſt with the government of the city, whenever he himſelf ſhould be obliged to lead the army out of the Roman territories: He, then, ordered each of the tribes to chuſe three perſons, who were of an age the beſt qualified for prudence, and, alſo, diſtinguiſhed by their birth. After theſe nine were choſen, he ordered each curia, likewiſe, to

24. Τας καλα πολιν οικονομιας. This magiſtrate was called, by the Romans, *Praefectus urbis*; and [b] Tacitus ſays that Denter Romulius was the perſon inveſted with this dignity by Romulus: That Numa Marcius was appointed *Praefectus urbis* by Tullus Hoſtilius; and Spurius Lucretius by Tarquinius Superbus: Maecenas, every body knows, injoyed this poſt under Auguſtus.

[b] Ann. B. vi. c. 11.

chuſe

chuſe three patricians, the moſt deſerving of that truſt: Then, adding to the firſt nine, who had been elected by the tribes, the ninety, who were, then, choſen by the curiae, and appointing the perſon, he himſelf had, firſt, choſen, [25] to be their preſident, he completed the number of a hundred ſenators. The name of this council may be expreſſed, in Greek, by Γερουσια, *a Senate*, and is called ſo by

[25] Ἡγεμονα. This perſon was prince of the ſenate; and, purſuant to this inſtitution of Romulus, was the firſt ſenator; his name being firſt called over by the cenſors after their creation. We find he was, upon this occaſion, choſen by Romulus himſelf; [c] afterwards, the two cenſors drew lots for this choice, and he, to whoſe lot it fell, generally, choſe the oldeſt cenſorian; though, if he thought fit, he might name any other ſenator. He was, never, removed from this dignity, unleſs he was expelled the ſenate. [d] He delivered his opinion the firſt of all the conſular ſenators: For, I believe, the prince of the ſenate was, always, a conſular ſenator; and, by the firſt paſſage of Livy, referred to in this note, it appears that Q. Fabius Maximus was, actually, conſul, when he was choſen prince of the ſenate. I obſerve that Cicero, generally, calls the prince of the ſenate *princeps ſenatûs*; and Livy, *princeps in ſenatu*. By a note of Dr. Chapman, in his very learned eſſay on the Roman ſenate, I find, that he interprets with Zamoſcius, τον αριστον απεδειξε in our author, *he appointed one to be prince of the ſenate:* I grant, indeed, that Romulus appointed the ſame perſon to be prince of the ſenate, whom he had, before, named for a ſenator, and to whom he propoſed to commit the government of the city, when he himſelf ſhould be in the field: But I deny that, when he choſe him a ſenator, he made him prince of the ſenate: For we find that, before this appointment, he choſe this perſon ſenator, and ordered the three tribes to chuſe nine ſenators, and the thirty curiae ninety: *Then*, επειτα, having added the ninety, choſen by the curiae, to the nine, choſen by the tribes, and appointed the ſenator *he himſelf had choſen* to be prince of the ſenate, he completed the number of three hundred. By this, it appears, I think, very plainly, that this appointment was ſubſequent to all theſe elections: And, to ſuppoſe our author meant the ſame thing when he ſaid τον αριστον απεδειξεν, as when he ſaid ἡγεμονα ποιησας, is to ſuppoſe him guilty of a repetition; and, what is worſe, to make the appointment of the prince of the ſenate both to precede, and follow the election of the reſt of the ſenators.

[c] Liv. B. xxvii. c. 11.

[d] Varro in Gell. B. xiv. c. 7.

the Romans to this day: But, whether from the advanced age of the perſons, who were admitted into it, or from their virtue, it obtained this appellation, I cannot, certainly, ſay: For the ancients uſed to call perſons of great age, and great merit, Γερόντες, *Old-men*: Thoſe, who compoſed the ſenate, were called [26] *Conſcript-fathers*; and, to this day, they retain that name. This, alſo, was a Greek cuſtom: For it is certain that kings, as well ſuch, as inherited the kingdoms of their anceſtors, as thoſe elected by the people, had a council compoſed of the moſt virtuous men, as Homer, and [27] the moſt ancient of the poets teſtify; nei-

[26] Πάλαι ἐγγραφοι. *Patres conſcripti.* And, thus, the ſenate was, certainly, called in his time, as appears by the teſtimony of all authors. Livy ſays they were called ſo, originally, upon this occaſion: Tarquinius Superbus had, under various pretences, put many of the ſenators to death. After his expulſion, Brutus choſe, or, rather, recommended to the people to chuſe, the moſt conſiderable of the knights to ſupply their places; from whence, they were called *Conſcripti*: [e] *Traditumque inde fertur, ut in ſenatum vocarentur, quiPatres, quiqueConſcripti eſſent: Conſcriptos videlicet in novum ſenatum appellabant lectos.* Feſtus ſays pretty much the ſame thing; and adds, that the number of theſe new ſenators amounted to 164. But he miſtakes in ſaying that P. Valerius did this, when Livy, expreſly, ſays it was Brutus, his collegue. Dionyſius lays great ſtreſs upon the advanced age of the ſenators; and [f] Salluſt, on the ſame occaſion, makes a noble obſervation; *Delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium ſapientiâ validum, reipublicae conſultabant.*

[27] Καὶ οἱ παλαιόταλοι των ποιητων μαρτυρουσι. This is, alſo, confirmed by the hiſtorians. [g] Thucydides ſays, that the ancient governments in Greece were hereditary, limited, monarchies; πρότερον δε ησαν επι ῥητοις γεραισι παλαιαι βασιλειαι; and ſuch was the government inſtituted by Romulus, not unlike That of Sparta, which laſted ſeven hundred years, as has been, already, ſaid: The cauſe of which duration, [h] Ariſtotle aſcribes to the limitations of the kingly government: Upon which occaſion, he ſays, that Theopompus, a prince of great moderation, which he ſhewed by inſtituting the ephori, being aſked by his wife, whether he was not aſhamed to leave the kingdom more limited to his ſons,

[e] B. ii. c. 1. [f] Bell. Cat. c. 6. [g] B. i. c. 13. [h] Περι πολιτ. B. v. c. 11.

ther

ther was the power of the ancient kings arbitrary, and without controle, as it is at this day.

XIII. After Romulus had inſtituted the ſenate, conſiſting of a hundred elders, he concluded, very reaſonably, that he ſhould, alſo, ſtand in need of a body of young men, both for the guard of his perſon, and for ſudden ſervices, and formed a corps of three hundred men, the moſt robuſt, and of the moſt illuſtrious families, whom the curiae choſe in the ſame manner they had choſen the ſenators, each curia electing ten; and theſe he had always about his perſon: They were all called by one common name, [28] *Celeres*, according to

than he had received it from his father, anſwered, that he was not at all aſhamed of it, becauſe he ſhould leave it much more laſting; παραδιδωμι γαρ πολυχρονιωτερον; and the event juſtified his prediction.

28. Κελερες. [i] Plutarch gives the ſame reaſon, and, almoſt, in the ſame words, for this appellation; απο της περι τας υπηρεσιας οξυτητος; which he, viſibly, took from our author among many other things. Feſtus thinks this body of horſe received their name from *Celer*, who killed Remus, and was their firſt commander. The commander of theſe celeres was called *Tribunus Celerum*: This poſt was injoyed by Brutus, when Tarquinius was expelled, and gave him a right to aſſemble the people; as we ſhall ſee, when we come to that part of the hiſtory. All theſe circumſtances, I think, deſerved the attention of the commentators; particularly, the following one, which is attended with a difficulty, that I can eaſier ſtate, than explain. Livy, as I have ſaid in a former note, calls the Ramnenſes, Titienſes, and Luceres, centuries of horſe, in two places, and tribes in another: Theſe cenuries, [k] he ſays, Romulus created, juſt after the peace with the Sabines; and, afterwards, he ſays of Romulus, that he inſtituted theſe 300 celeres; [l] *trecentoſque armatos ad cuſtodiam corporis, quos* Celeres *appellavit, non in bello ſolum, ſed etiam in pace habuit.* Are theſe 300 celeres the ſame with the three centuries of horſe he firſt mentioned? Certainly not. The firſt, therefore, were tribes, and ſo they are called by Varro; [m] *ager Romanus primum diviſus in partes tres, a quo* tribus *appellatæ*, Tatienſium, Ramnenſium, Lucerum. This will, ſufficiently, ſhew the error, into which almoſt all the men of learning have fallen in treating this ſubject: They derive the equeſtrian order from

[i] Life of Romulus. [k] B. i. c. 13. [l] Ib. c. 15. [m] De Ling. Lat. B. iv. c. 9.

moſt

most writers, from the *Celerity* of their service: For those, who are ready, and quick in performing any thing, the

the institution of these tribes. As little do I think those in the right, who derive this order from the celeres, who were foot, as well as horse; since our author says that, according to the ground, they fought either on horseback, or on foot: For I think it plain that, though Romulus made use of horse in his armies, the institution of the equestrian order, as distinguished from the senate, and people, was owing to Servius Tullius, who, as our [n] author will inform us at large, divided the whole body of the people into six classes; into the first of which he threw all, whose fortunes amounted to no less than a hundred minae, about 322 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.* sterling; of these he formed eighty centuries of foot. He, then, chose eighteen centuries of horse, and added them to the eighty centuries of foot; so that, the first class consisted of eighty centuries of foot, and of eighteen centuries of horse. But, even here, the equestrian census is not, plainly, distinguished from That of the foot: For, in speaking of the former, he says they consisted of those, who had the greatest property, not less than a hundred minae, ἧς το μεγιςον τιμημα ην της ουσιας, ουκ ελαττον ἑκατον μνων; and, when he speaks of the horse, he says, they had the greatest fortunes, and were of illustrious families, [o] εκ των εχοντων το μεγιςον τιμημα, και κατα γενος επιφανων. Here, therefore, we do not find that the equestrian census was different from That of the foot, who composed the eighty centuries, which consisted both of patricians, and plebeians. The only difference, that appears here between the horse, and the foot of the first class, is, that the former were of illustrious birth. And [p] Livy, speaking of the same thing, says they were *ex primoribus civitatis:* He says, also, that they were called to give their votes, before the eighty centuries of foot; [q] *Equites enim vocabantur primi; octoginta inde primae classis centuriae.* This being so, when shall we say the equestrian census was instituted, I mean such a census, as to intitle the possessor of it to be, *ipso facto*, a knight? The first mention I find, any where, of the equestrian census is in Livy; where, after he has given an account of the check, which the Roman army received before Veii, and of the consternation the news of it occasioned at Rome, he says, [r] *quum repente, quibus census equester erat, equi publici non erant assignati, consilio prius inter sese habito, senatum adeunt; factâque dicendi potestate*; equis se suis stipendia facturos *promittunt.* This was the in year of Rome 351, when eight consular tribunes were created, as Livy says, though the *fasti consulares* mention but six for that year. Now, it must be remembered, that the censorship had been created forty years before, in the consulship of T. Quinctius Capitolinus, for the fifth time, and of M. Geganius Macerinus, for the second time. And [s] Livy tells us, in the same place, that, in process of time, the senate, and the

[n] B. iv. c. 16. [o] Ib. c. 18. [p] B. i. c. 43. [q] Id. ib. [r] B. v. c. 7. [s] Id. B. iv. c. 8.

Romans

Romans call *Celeres:* But Valerius Antias ſays they had this name from their commander: For the moſt conſiderable man, alſo among them, was their captain, who had three centurions under him, and theſe, again, had others under them, who had inferior commands. Theſe celeres, conſtantly, [29] attended Romulus in the city, armed with pikes,

centuries of knights became ſubject to the juriſdiction of this magiſtracy, *ſenatûs, equitumque centuriae, decoris, dedecoriſque diſcrimen ſub ditione ejus magiſtratûs.* From all theſe circumſtances, I think it probable, that the cenſors, when they reviewed the centuries of horſe at every luſtrum, had power to grant *a public horſe* to every perſon poſſeſſed of the qualifications inſtituted by Tullius, that is, the cenſus, before mentioned, and who were of illuſtrious birth. Theſe were the only cavalry the Romans, anciently, made uſe of. Afterwards, indeed, their horſe was raiſed not, only, in Italy, but in the provinces; and the diviſions of it were, then, called *Alae*, not *Turmae*; which laſt term was peculiar to the diviſions of the Roman horſe. Of this diſtinction many inſtances may be found in Caeſar. It is not certain, therefore, when the knights began to be diſtinguiſhed from the plebeians by the poſſeſſion of four hundred thouſand ſeſtertiûm, or 3229 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* ſterling, and by the golden ring. I know it is thought that both theſe were inſtituted by Tiberius in the ninth year of his reign: To ſupport which, the authority of Pliny is alledged, who ſays, [t] *Tiberii demum principatûs anno nono in unitatem venit equeſter ordo; annulorumque auctoritati forma conſtituta eſt.—Hac de cauſâ conſtitutum ne cui jus id eſſet, niſi cui ingenuo ipſi, patri, avoque materno ſeſtertium* cccc *cenſus fuiſſet, et lege Juliâ theatrali in* xiv *ordinibus ſedendi.* But this law of Tiberius can only be underſtood to make it neceſſary that the father, and grandfather ſhould have thoſe qualifications, as well as the perſon who claimed the benefit of it: For, by the paſſage, already quoted from Livy, it is plain there was a *cenſus equeſtris* eſtabliſhed, even, before the ſiege of Veii: And, as to the gold ring, it appears by another paſſage of Livy, that it was worne by the knights at the time of, and probably before, the ſecond Punic war. We find, by him, that Annibal, after the battle of Cannae, ſent his brother Mago to Carthage, to carry the news of his victory; who, in order to convince the Carthaginian ſenate of the number of Romans ſlain in that battle, produced three buſhels of gold rings; and told them that theſe were worne only by the knights, *neminem, niſi equitem, atque eorum ipſorum primores, id gerere inſigne* [u].

[29] Αὐτῷ ἠκολούθουν. *Suivoient leur capitaine,* ſays M. * * *; when it is paſt all diſpute, that this muſt be un-

[t] B. xxxiii. c. 2.

[u] B. xxiii. c. 12.

and

and executed his orders: and, in a day of battle, they charged before him, and defended his perſon. Theſe, generally, had the advantage in every action, ingaging firſt, and retreating laſt: They fought on horſe-back, where the ground was proper for it; and on foot, where it was rough, and inconvenient for the horſe. This cuſtom Romulus ſeems to have borrowed from the Lacedaemonians; being informed that, among them alſo, three hundred of the braveſt youth attended the kings, as their guards, and defenders in war, and fought both on horſe-back, and on foot.

XIV. Having made theſe regulations, he diſtinguiſhed the honors, and prerogatives, which he thought proper that each of the orders ſhould injoy. The particular functions of the king were theſe: In the firſt place, the ſupremacy in religious ceremonies, and ſacrifices, and the performance of every thing relating to divine worſhip: ſecondly, the guardianſhip of the laws, and cuſtoms of the country, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, in all caſes, whether founded on the law of nature, or the civil law: He was, alſo, to take cognizance, in perſon, of the greateſt crimes, leaving the leſſer to the ſenate; and to obſerve that no er-

derſtood of Romulus, not of their captain, as le Jay has tranſlated it. Again, when the former comes to παραστησαι, he ſays *avec leurs boucliers ils mettoient les autres ſoldats à couvert*; whereas the ſenſe is, *ils mettoient Romulus à couvert*; unleſs it can be ſuppoſed that three hundred men can cover a whole army with their bucklers: And, here alſo, le Jay has the advantage over his countryman, by applying this word to the defence of Romulus; but, then, he has left out των κελευομενων υπηρεται, and προμαχοι. The example our author, preſently, makes uſe of, I mean, the guards of the Lacedaemonian kings, leaves no room to doubt that theſe celeres were the guards of Romulus, and not of their fellow-ſoldiers.

rors

rors were committed in their judgements: He was to aſſemble both the ſenate, and the people; to deliver his opinion firſt, and purſue the reſolutions of the majority. Theſe functions he aſſigned to the king, and, with theſe, the abſolute command in war. The honor, and power he attributed to the ſenate were theſe; to deliberate, and give their votes concerning every thing the king propoſed to them; and all queſtions to be determined by the majority. This, alſo, Romulus took from the conſtitution of the Lacedaemonians: [30] For neither were their kings arbitrary, but the whole power of the government was veſted in the ſenate. To the people he granted theſe three privileges; to chuſe magiſtrates; to enact laws; and to determine concerning war, when propoſed by the king: But, even, in theſe points, their power was not without controll, the concurrence of the ſenate being neceſſary to give a ſanction to their determinations. The people did not give their votes promiſcuouſly, but were called in their curiae;

30. Ουδε γαρ οι Λακεδαιμονιων βασιλεις, etc. The conſtitution of the Lacedaemonians has been, deſervedly, praiſed by the great authors of antiquity; particularly, by [w]Polybius; and Xenophon; which ſhews that, notwithſtanding the rants of the Roman writers, liberty may be enjoyed in its utmoſt extent under a kingly government, properly, limited; I wiſh I might ſay that licentiouſneſs could not. The Lacedaemonians, it ſeems, had a cuſtom of renewing their oaths of allegiance to their kings every month, and their kings of renewing their oaths to the Ephori, as the repreſentatives of the people. The oath of the king was to govern according to law; and That of the Ephori to preſerve his power unſhaken, as long as he preſerved his oath inviolate: [x]Ο δε ὁρκος εϛι τῳ μεν βασιλει, καλα τους της πολεως κειμενους νομους βασιλευσειν· τη δε πολει, εμπεδορκουντος εκεινου, ασυφελικτον την βασιλειαν παρεξειν. The intention of theſe oaths was, only, to explain what muſt, neceſſarily, be underſtood in all limited monarchies.

w B. vi. p. 459. x Xenophon Περι πολιτ. Λακεδ. p. 690. Edit. Leunclav.

and, whatever was reſolved upon by the majority of the curiae, was carried up to the ſenate: But this cuſtom is, now, inverted: For the ſenate does not deliberate upon the reſolutions of the people, but the people have full power over Thoſe of the ſenate. I ſhall leave it to others to examine which of theſe cuſtoms is the beſt. By this diſtribution, not only the civil affairs were adminiſtred with prudence, and regularity, but, alſo, Thoſe relating to war were carried on with diſpatch, and obedience: For, whenever the king thought proper to lead out his army, there was, then, no neceſſity for the tribunes to be choſen for the tribes, or the centurions, for the [31] centuries, or the commanders of the horſe; neither was it neceſſary to take an account of their numbers, to divide them into centuries, or for every man to take his poſt: But the king gave his orders to the tribunes, they to the centurions, and theſe to the decurions, each of whom drew out thoſe, who were under their command: And, whether the whole army, or part of it were called, they, at one command, preſented themſelves ready with their arms at the place appointed.

XV. By theſe inſtitutions, Romulus, ſufficiently, regulated, and, properly, diſpoſed the city both for peace, and war: He rendered it conſiderable, and populous by theſe: In the firſt place, he obliged the inhabitants to bring up all their male children, and the firſt born of the female; and forbid them to deſtroy any under three years of age, unleſs

31. Κατὰ λοχους. I was wondering how the French tranſlators came to miſtake the ſenſe of this word, and to render it *par curies*, when I caſt my eye upon the tranſlation of Sylburgius, and found he had ſaid *per curias*.

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they were lame, or monſtrous from their birth: Theſe he allowed their parents to expoſe, provided they, firſt, ſhewed them to five of their neighbours, and theſe, alſo, approved of it: And, beſides other penalties, he puniſhed thoſe, who diſobeyed this law, with the confiſcation of half their fortunes. After this, finding that many cities in Italy were very ill governed, both by tyrannies, and oligarchies, he propoſed to give entertainment to, and attract, the fugitives of theſe cities, who were very numerous, [32] without diſtinguiſhing either their calamities, or their fortunes, provided, only, they were freemen: This he did with a view both of increaſing the power of the Romans, and of leſſening That of their neighbours; though he covered his deſign with a ſpecious pretence, aſcribing it to the honor of the gods: For the place between the capitol and the citadel (which, in the Roman language, is, now, called *Inter duos lucos* [33], *The ſpace between the two groves*; and was, then, called ſo from its ſituation, the valley being ſhaded by thick woods on both ſides, where it joins to the hills) he conſecrated, and made it an [34] aſylum for all ſupplicants; and, building

32. Διακρινων ȣτε συμφορας, ȣτε τυχας. There is great reaſon to gather from theſe words, that, if ſome of theſe fugitives fled from perſecution, others fled from juſtice.

33. Μεθοριον δυοιν δρυμων. This will be beſt explained by the words of Livy, upon the ſame occaſion, *Locum, qui nunc ſeptus deſcendentibus* inter duos lucos *eſt, aſylum aperit*. The reaſon why [y] Livy ſays that place was *ſeptus*, in his time, is given by [z] Dion Caſſius, in whom we find that this aſylum of Romulus was only nominal, ſince it was incloſed in ſuch a manner as not to be entered; ȣτω γαρ περιεφραχθη, ὡςε μηδενα ετι τοπαραπαν εσελθειν ες αυτο δυνηθηναι.

34. Ασυλον. This inſtitution, alſo, Romulus, in all probability, took from the Athenians, in whoſe city, the deſcendants of Hercules inſtituted the

[y] B. i. c. 8. [z] B. xlvii. p. 385.

a temple there (but to what god, or genius he dedicated it, I cannot certainly ſay) under the color of religion he ingaged to protect thoſe, who fled to it, from their enemies; and, if they choſe to remain with him, he communicated to them the rights of Roman citizens, and promiſed them a ſhare of the lands he ſhould take from the enemy. This encouragement drew thither, from all parts, a confluence of people, who fled from their private calamities: Neither had they, afterwards, any thoughts of removing to any other place, being detained there by daily inſtances of his affability, and favor.

XVI. Beſides theſe inſtitutions, Romulus introduced a third, which the Greeks, of all others, ought to have practiſed, it being, in my opinion, the beſt of all inſtitutions, as it has laid the moſt ſolid foundation for the liberty of the Romans, and not a little contributed to raiſe them to the empire they have acquired. It was this: Not to put to death, or make ſlaves of, the men taken in the conquered cities, or [35] lay waſte their territories: But to ſend inhabitants thither to poſſeſs ſome part of the country by

firſt aſylum, which was a temple dedicated to Mercy. The abuſes of theſe aſyla, which were very common in the Greek cities, were much complained of in the ſenate, in the reign of Tiberius; who, as [a] Tacitus ſays, *reformed* them, *modus praeſcribebatur:* For which reaſon, among many others, I believe [b] Suetonius is miſtaken, when he ſays that Tiberius *abolevit et jus, moremque aſylorum, quae uſquam erant.* However, that may be, the church of Rome has retained this Pagan inſtitution with all its abuſes, which, now, are, and, for many ages, have been, carried to a greater height than they, ever, were by thoſe, from whom they derived it.

35. Μηλοβοτος χωρα, ὑπο πολεμιων εξερημωθεισα. Suidas.

[a] Annal. B. iii. c. 63.

[b] Life of Tiberius, c. 37.

lot,

lot, and to make theſe conquered cities Roman colonies; and, even, to communicate to ſome of them the privileges of Roman citizens. By theſe, and the like inſtitutions, he aggrandized this colony (as the event ſhewed) which, in its infancy, was very inconſiderable: For, the number of thoſe, who, with him, were the firſt founders of Rome, did not amount to more than three thouſand foot, nor quite to three hundred horſe: Whereas, he left behind him, when he diſappeared, forty ſix thouſand foot, and near a thouſand horſe. Romulus having been the author of theſe inſtitutions, the kings of Rome, who ſucceeded him, and, after them, the annual magiſtrates, purſued the ſame meaſures, with ſuch additions, as rendered the Roman people, not at all, inferior in number to thoſe nations, that are accounted the moſt populous.

XVII. [36] When I compare the cuſtoms of the Greeks with theſe, I can find no reaſon to extol either Thoſe of the

[36] Τα δε Ελληνων εθη παρα ταυτα εξελαζων, etc. Our author has great reaſon, when he compares the inſtitutions of the Greeks with Thoſe of the Romans, to give the preference to the latter. The Romans knew that neither power, nor riches could be acquired, or preſerved, but by numbers of people; and, for that reaſon, communicated the rights of their city to all men, even to thoſe, who had been their enemies. There is ſomething ſo noble, ſo humane, as well as politic in this proceeding, that the reſervedneſs, and jealouſy of the Greek cities, with regard to their privileges, when compared to That, muſt appear mean, illiberal, and weak; but the expulſion of foreigners from Sparta, was deteſtable. Theſe principles of government muſt diſpeople every country, and, by diſpeopling it, make its fate depend upon the event of every battle. The obſervation our author makes upon the weakneſs of the Lacedaemonians, after their defeat at Leuctra, was made, before, by [c]Ariſtotle, who, though he does not mention that battle, can mean no other; μιαν γαρ πληγην ουκ υπηνεγκεν ἡ πολις, αλλ' απωλετο δια την ολιγανθρωπιαν. *Their city could not ſupport itſelf under a ſingle ſtroke, but was deſtroyed through*

[c] Περι πολ. Λακ.

Lace-

Lacedaemonians, or of the Thebans, or, even, of the Athenians, who value themſelves the moſt for their wiſdom; all who, jealous of their nobility, and, communicating to none, or to very few, the privileges of their cities (for I ſay nothing of thoſe, who expel foreigners) were ſo far from receiving any advantage from this haughtineſs, that they became the greateſt ſufferers by it. The Spartans, after their defeat at Leuctra, where they loſt ſeventeen hundred men, were not only unable, afterwards, to recover themſelves from that calamity, but, ſhamefully, abandoned the com-

*the want of people.* The battle of Leuctra, a village in Boeotia, was fought in the archonſhip of Phraſiclides at [d]Athens, that is, in the ſecond year of the 102[d] Olympiad. The Thebans were commanded by the greateſt man of his age, Epaminondas; and the Lacedaemonians by Cleombrotus, who was ſlain in the action, or died, preſently after, of his wounds. Hudſon ſays in a note upon this occaſion (which M. *** has tranſlated) that our author has diminiſhed the number of the Lacedaemonians, who were ſlain in that battle; and adds that they amounted to four thouſand men; for which, he quotes Xenophon. I have the paſſage of Xenophon, now, before me, and, by that, it appears that the [e] Lacedaemonians loſt near a thouſand men, and the Spartans about four hundred. Xenophon's words are theſe; οἱ δὲ πολεμιαρχοι, ὁρωνλες μεν των συμπανλων Λακεδαιμονιων τεθνεωλας ΕΓΓΥΣ ΧΙΛΙΟΥΣ, ὁρωνλες δ' αυλων Σπαρλιαλων ονλων των εκει ὡς ἑπλακοσιων τεθνηκολας ΠΕΡΙ ΤΕΤΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΥΣ. So that, Dionyſius, inſtead of diminiſhing the numbers of the ſlain, has increaſed them; which ſhould convince modern authors how cautious they ought to be in cenſuring the great writers of antiquity. The ſame French tranſlator has rendered την πολιν αναλαβειν, *ſe relever, ni rebâtir leur ville:* He ſhould have contented himſelf with the firſt, which is the ſenſe of the Greek words: For, by adding the other, he has let his readers ſee that he imagined the city of Sparta was demoliſhed by the Thebans after the battle of Leuctra; which is ſo far from being true, that, when the Thebans, and their allies made an irruption into Laconia ſometime after that battle, and approached Sparta, Ageſilaus obliged them to retire, and preſerved the city, though it was without walls; ὁμως διεφυλαξε την πολιν, και ταυλα ἀτειχιστον ουσαν, as [f]Xenophon ſays.

[d] Diod. Sicul. B. xv. p. 484. Edit. Steph.

[e] Ελλην. B. vi. p. 597. Edit. Leunclav.

[f] In Ageſil. p. 662.

mand

mand of Greece. The Thebans, and Athenians, [37] by a ſingle misfortune at Chaeronea, were deprived, not only, of the government of Greece by the Macedonians, but, alſo, of the liberty they had inherited from their anceſtors. But the Romans, though ingaged in great wars both in Spain, and Italy, and employed, at the ſame time, in recovering Sicily, and Sardinia, which had revolted, Macedon, and Greece being, then, in arms againſt them, and Carthage contending, again, for empire, while the greateſt part of Italy, was, not only, in open rebellion, but, alſo, drawing upon them the Hannibalic war; though ſurrounded with ſo many dangers at the ſame time, they were ſo far from being oppreſſed by theſe misfortunes, that they derived, even, an additional ſtrength from thence, the number of their ſoldiers enabling them to encounter every danger, and not, as ſome imagine, the benevolence of fortune: Since, for all her aſſiſtance, they had been, utterly, ruined [38] by the ſingle

37. Ἐξ ἑνὸς τῦ περὶ Χαιρωνειαν ἀλυχημάλος. We find, by [g] Diodorus Siculus, that the battle of Chaeronea was fought the year Charondas was archon at Athens, which was the third year of the 110th olympiad. Philip, who commanded the Macedonians, was, not only, ſuperior to the Athenians, and Thebans, in the number of his forces, but, alſo, in military ſkill; the former having, before, loſt their beſt generals, Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timotheus. It is remarkable that Philip, in rejoicing for this victory, got very drunk, which was no unuſual thing with him; and, in that condition, inſulted his priſoners; when Demades, an Athenian orator, who was one of them, aſked him if he was not aſhamed, when fortune had given him an opportunity of acting the part of Agamemnon, to act That of Therſites? This reproach chaſtiſed Philip, who, not only, ceaſed to inſult his priſoners, but gave them their liberty without ranſom.

38. Ἐξ ἑνὸς τῦ περὶ Κάννας πλωμαλος. It is plain that our author followed Polybius in the account he gives of the loſs ſuſtained by the Romans at

[g] B. xvi. p. 553.

defeat

defeat they received at Cannae, where of ſix thouſand horſe, only three hundred and ſeventy, and, of fourſcore thouſand foot, of which the infantry of the commonwealth conſiſted, little more than three thouſand eſcaped.

XVIII. I admire, therefore, theſe inſtitutions of the man; and, alſo, Thoſe I am going to relate: He was perſuaded that the good government of cities was owing to theſe cauſes, which all politicians boaſt of, but few eſtabliſh; firſt, the favor of the gods, the enjoyment of which gives ſucceſs to every every enterpriſe; next, temperance, and juſtice, by which the citizens, being leſs diſpoſed to injure one another, are more inclinable to unanimity, and make virtue, not ſhameful pleaſures, the meaſure of their happineſs; and laſtly, military courage, which renders, even, the other virtues uſeful to their poſſeſſors: He was ſenſible that none of theſe advantages are the effects of chance; but that good laws, and the emulation of worthy purſuits render a commonwealth pious, juſt, temperate, and warlike. He

the battle of Cannae; and yet, which is very ſtrange, Polybius is quoted by M. ***, in his note upon this paſſage, to diſprove what our author aſſerts. This will lay me under an obligation of quoting the words of Polybius, which agree, exactly, with Thoſe of Dionyſius. As to the numbers of foot, and horſe, of which the Roman army conſiſted, [h] Polybius ſays, ησαν δε συν τοις συμμαχοις, πεζων εις οκτω μυριαδας, ιππεις δε μικρω πλειους των εξακισχιλιων. Then, after deſcribing the battle, and the defeat of the Romans, [i] he gives this account of the loſs they ſuffered in their horſe; των μεν γαρ εξακισχιλιων ιππεων, εβδομηκοντα μεν εις Ουενυσιαν μετα Γαιυ διεφυγον, περι τριακοσιους δε των συμμαχων σποραδες, εις τας πολεις εσωθησαν. And, in ſpeaking of the loſs they ſuſtained in their foot, [k] he ſays, εξ αυτης δε της κινδυνυ, τρισχιλιοι μονον ισως εις τας παρακειμενας πολεις διεφυγον. I ſhall not tranſlate theſe paſſages of Polybius in this note, becauſe I think I have done that already in tranſlating the account given by our author in the text.

[h] B. iii. p. 263. [i] P. 266. [k] P. 267.

took

took great care, therefore, to encourage theſe, beginning with the worſhip both of the gods, and genius's; and, according to the moſt approved rites in uſe among the Greeks, he appointed temples, places conſecrated, altars, the erecting of images, the repreſentations, and ſymbols of the gods, and declared their power, the beneficent preſents they made to mankind, the particular holidays appropriated to each god, or genius, the ſacrifices, which are moſt acceptable to them, the feſtivals, public games, and days of reſt, and every thing of that nature: But he rejected all ſuch traditional fables concerning the gods, as are mixed with blaſphemies, or calumnies, looking upon them as wicked, uſeleſs, and indecent, and unworthy, not only of the gods, but, even, of good men: And accuſtomed his people to think, and ſpeak of the gods with the greateſt reverence, and to attribute no paſſions to them unbecoming their happy nature.

XIX. For this reaſon, it is not ſaid, among the Romans, either that Caelus was gelt by his own ſons; that Saturn deſtroyed his own children to ſecure himſelf from their attempts; or that Jupiter dethroned Saturn, and confined his own father in the dungeon of Tartarus: There is no mention made, among them, of the wars, wounds, or bonds of the gods, or of their ſervitude among men: Neither are there, among them, any proceſſions, performed in mourning habits, with expreſſions of ſorrow, and attended with the plaints, and lamentations of women bewailing the diſappearance of deities; ſuch as the Greeks perform in commemorating the rape of Proſerpine, and the adventures of Bacchus,

with many other things of the like nature. There is no ſuch thing to be ſeen among them (though their manners are, now, corrupted) as enthuſiaſtic tranſports, or Corybantic phrenſies; no begging under the color of religion, no Bacchanals, or ſecret myſteries, no promiſcuous watchings of men, and women in the temples; nor any other extravagance of this kind: But all reverence is ſhewn to the gods, both in their words, and actions, beyond what is practiſed either among the Greeks, or Barbarians: And, what I admire above all things, notwithſtanding the reſort of innumerable nations to Rome, who are all under a neceſſity of worſhiping their own gods according to the cuſtoms of their reſpective countries; the commonwealth has never, by public authority, adopted any of thoſe foreign inſtitutions; a misfortune many other cities have fallen into: But, if, purſuant to ſome oracle, any images of the gods have been brought thither from foreign nations, [39] they honor them according to their own rites, baniſhing all fabulous impoſtures; and, in this manner, they worſhip the image of the Idaean goddeſs: For the praetors perform annual ſacrifices, and celebrate annual games in honor of her, according to the Roman cuſtoms: But the prieſt, and

39. Τοις ἑαυτῆς αυτα τιμᾳ νομοις. This adherence of the Romans to their own rites, and ceremonies, upon their adopting any foreign object of worſhip, appeared, remarkably, when they received Chriſtianity: For they retained, and ſtill retain their own rites, and their old temples; and, when new ones are erected, the ſame poſition to the eaſt, their ſtatues, pictures, incenſe, holy water, proceſſions, and all the gaudy apparatus of their former worſhip: So that, they ſtill preſerve their old religion, and have, only, changed the object of it.

prieſteſs

prieſteſs of this goddeſs are Phrygians. Theſe carry her image in proceſſion about the city, aſking alms in her name, according to their cuſtom, and wearing figures upon their breaſt, and ſtriking their tymbals, while their followers play tunes upon their flutes in honor of the mother of the gods: But no Roman born is, by any law, or ordinance of the ſenate, obliged to walk in proceſſion through the city to the ſound of flutes; to aſk alms, or, dreſſed in a party coloured habit, to worſhip the goddeſs with Phrygian ceremonies: So fearful are they of admitting any foreign cuſtoms in religion; and ſo great is their averſion to all indecent fables.

XX. However, let no one imagine I am not ſenſible that ſome of the Greek fables are of uſe to mankind; ſome being deſigned to explain the works of nature by allegories; others, to adminiſter comfort to people in diſtreſs; theſe to free the mind from agitations, and terrors; thoſe to remove ill-grounded opinions, and ſeveral invented for ſome other uſeful purpoſe: Though, I ſay, I am not leſs acquainted with theſe things than the reſt of the world, yet I am cautious of receiving them as a part of religion; and much more inclined to the theology of the Romans, when I conſider that the advantages, flowing from the Greek fables, are ſmall, and extend only to thoſe, who have examined the end, for which they are deſigned; and this philoſophy few are acquainted with; while the vulgar, who are ignorant of it, generally take theſe fables in the worſe ſenſe, and fall into one of theſe two errors; they either de-

ſpiſe the gods, as ſubject to many misfortunes; or abandon themſelves to the moſt ſhameful exceſſes, which they ſee are attributed to the gods.

XXI. But I leave theſe conſiderations to thoſe, who make the ſpeculative part of philoſophy only their ſtudy. As to the conſtitution, eſtabliſhed by Romulus, I think, theſe things, alſo, are worthy the notice of hiſtory: Firſt, that he appointed a great number of perſons to perform divine ſervice. And, indeed, no man can name any new-built city, in which ſo many prieſts, and miniſters of the gods were ordained from the beginning: For, without mentioning thoſe,[40] who are inveſted with family prieſthoods, threeſcore were appointed in his reign to perform divine ſervice for the proſperity of the commonwealth, both in the tribes, and the curiae: I only repeat what[41] Terentius Varro, the moſt learned man of his age, has written in his antiquities. In the next place; whereas others, generally, make choice of ſuch, as are to preſide over religious matters, in a mean, and inconſiderate manner; ſome thinking fit to

40. Συγγενικας ιερωσυνας. M. * * * has tranſlated this, *qui ſuccedoient aux dignitez ſacerdotales de leurs peres*; the ſenſe of which is that the prieſthood was hereditary at Rome; whereas the contrary of this is very well known to all men of learning. The prieſts mentioned here by our author were thoſe, who performed the ſacrifices peculiar to their families, which [l] Cicero calls *ſacrificia gentilia*, and in a particular place. Of this we find a remarkable inſtance in [m] Livy, where Fabius came out of the capitol, then beſieged by the Gauls, and paſſed through their army to the Quirinal hill, which was the particular place appointed for the performance of his family rites; *ſacrificium erat ſtatum in Quirinali colle genti Fabiae.*

41. Τερεντιος Ουαρρων. This author is, often, quoted by Dionyſius, and, often, mentioned by me in the notes, as the greateſt antiquary Rome ever produced.

[l] De haruſp. reſpon. c. 15. [m] B. v. c. 46.

make

make public ſale of this honor; others, diſpoſing of it by lot; he would not ſuffer the prieſthood to be either venal, or diſtributed by lot; but made a law, that each curia ſhould chuſe two perſons, both above fifty years of age, of diſtinguiſhed birth, and virtue, competent fortune, and without any bodily defect: Theſe were not to enjoy their honors during any limited time, but for life, freed from military employments by their age, and, from the cares of civil government, by this law.

XXII. And, becauſe ſome rites were to be performed by women, others by boys, whoſe fathers, and mothers were living, to the end that theſe, alſo, might be adminiſtred in the beſt manner, he ordered that the wives of the prieſts ſhould be aſſociated to their huſbands in the prieſthood; and, if any functions were forbidden by the laws of the country to be adminiſtred by men, theſe women were to perform them; and their ſons to exerciſe Thoſe, that belonged to them; and, that the prieſts, who had no children, ſhould chuſe out of the other families of each curia, the moſt beautiful boy, and girl; the firſt to be aſſiſtant in the holy functions, till the age of manhood; and the girl to be ſo, as long as ſhe continued unmarried: Theſe inſtitutions, alſo, in my opinion, he borrowed from Thoſe of the Greeks: For, whatever functions are adminiſtred in the Greek ceremonies by thoſe they call [42] Κανηφοροι, *Baſket-bearers*, the ſame

[42] Κανηφοροι. I ſee no reaſon to ſuſpect this reading; ſince it is certain that they were called *Canephorae* by the Romans. And, by that name, Cicero calls the two brazen ſtatues of Polycletus, which Verres took from Hejus of Meſſana: I ſhall quote the paſſage, becauſe, by that, it will appare

are performed by thoſe, whom the Romans call by the ſame name: During theſe ceremonies, they wear on their heads the ſame kind of crowns, with which the ſtatues of the Epheſian Diana are adorned among the Greeks. And the functions, which, among the Tyrrhenians, and before, among the Pelaſgi, were adminiſtered by thoſe, they called, [43] Cadoli, in the rites of the Curetes, and in Thoſe of the great gods, were performed, in the ſame manner, by thoſe miniſters to the prieſts, who are, now, called, by the Romans, Camilli. Beſides, Romulus ordered one ſoothſayer out of each tribe to aſſiſt at the ſacrifices: This ſoothſayer we call Ιεροσκοπος, *an inſpector of the victims*; and the Romans, preſerving ſomething of the ancient appellation, *Aruſpex*: He, alſo, made a law that all the prieſts, and miniſters of the gods ſhould be choſen by the curiae; and that their election ſhould be confirmed by thoſe, who, by their prophetic art, interpret heavenly omens.

pear in what altitude both painters, and ſculptors ought to repreſent the Canephorae; [n] *Erant aenea praeterea duo ſigna, non maxima, verum eximiâ venuſtate, virginali habitu atque veſtitu, quae manibus ſublatis ſacra quaedam, more Athenienſium virginum, repoſita in capitibus ſuſtinebant:* Canephorae *ipſae vocabantur. Sed earum artificem — Polycletum eſſe dicebant.*

43. Καδωλοι. I can make nothing of this word. The commentators, though they differ with regard to the word, that ſhould be ſubſtituted in its room, yet all agree in diſcarding this. Under theſe difficulties, I ſhall offer a conjecture of my own; I would read Καμιλλοι: My reaſon is, that Varro ſays the miniſter of the great gods is called, in Samothrace, Caſmillus, which, he ſays, is a Greek word; and that he found it in [o] Callimachus. *Hinc* Caſmillus *nominatur in Samothraciis myſteriis deus quidam, adminiſter diis magnis. Verbum Graecum arbitror, quod apud Callimachum in poematis ejus inveni.* And I, really, think that [p] Virgil, who, every where, ſhews himſelf to have been, perfectly, acquainted with the antiquities of his country, alludes to this change of the word Caſmillus to Camillus, when he ſays,

*matriſque vocavit*
*Nomine* Caſmillae, *mutilatâ parte* Camillam.

[n] In Verr. B. iv. c. 3 [o] B. vi. De Ling. Latin. [p] Aen. B. xi. ℣. 543.

XXIII.

XXIII. After he had inſtituted theſe regulations concerning the miniſters of the gods, he aſſigned the proper ſacrifices to each curia, as I ſaid, appointing gods, and genius's for each, whom they were, always, to worſhip; and limited the expences of the ſacrifices, which were to be paid by the public. The curiae performed their appointed ſacrifices with their own prieſts; and, on holy days, they feaſted together in the dining-room belonging to the curia; for each curia had its own: Adjoining thereto a chapel [44] is conſecrated, which is common to all the curia, like the Prytanea of the Greeks: Theſe dining-rooms were, alſo, called curiae; which name they, ſtill, retain. This inſtitution Romulus ſeems to have taken from the diſcipline of the Lacedaemonians, among whom the ſocieties, called [45] Phiditia, were, then, in great requeſt; which inſtitution

44. Καθωσιωῖο. I approve, intirely, of the correction of Sylburgius, who thinks it ought to be καθωσιωῖαι; becauſe our [q] author ſays, poſitively, in ſpeaking of the inſtitutions of Numa, that he erected this chapel, and that Romulus did not build a common temple to Veſta; for which, he there gives a very good reaſon. I obſerve that M. *** takes the πρυῖανεια, here mentioned by our author, to ſignify the houſes, where thoſe, who had deſerved well of the Athenians, were maintained at the public expence, and deduces the etymology of the word from πυρος ταμειον, the place where they kept the fire. But, though πρυῖανεια has that ſignification, it, alſo, ſignifies public dining-rooms, like Thoſe erected by Romulus, and called, by the Romans, *Curiae*; and, in this ſenſe alone, they are analogous to the latter. And as to his etymology, I muſt beg leave to think that πυρολαμειον, more naturally, accounts for the name of thoſe public houſes; which I ſhall ſupport by the authority of the *Etymologicum magnum*; Πρυῖανειον, ſays the author of it, τοπος ην παρ' Αθηναιοις, εν ῳ κοιναι σιῖησεις τοις δημοσιοις ευεργεῖαις εδιδοντο· ὁθεν και πρυτανειον εκαλειῖο, οἱονει πυρολαμειου (πυρος γαρ ὁ σιῖος) τυῖ' εϛι τυ δημοσιυ σιῖυ ταμειον.

45. Φιδιῖια. Thus they are called by [r] Ariſtotle, who explains the word by συσσιῖια; and gives the preference to Thoſe of the Cretans, from whom, he

[q] C. 65. of this book.

[r] Πολιῖικ. c. 7, et 8.

Lycurgus,

Lycurgus, who had learned it from the Cretenſes, ſeems to have introduced to the great advantage of his country; in peace, by promoting frugality, and temperance in their daily repaſts; and in war, by inſpiring every man with ſhame, and repugnance to forſake his companion, with whom he had lived in a communion of libations, ſacrifices, and holy rites. Romulus does, not only, deſerve praiſe for the wiſdom of theſe inſtitutions, but, alſo, on account [46] of the frugality of the ſacrifices he appointed to be offered up to the gods; the greateſt part, if not all, of which remain to this day, and are performed in the ancient manner. I myſelf have ſeen, in the temples, repaſts prepared for the gods, upon wooden tables of ancient workmanſhip; and barley cakes, wafers, and ſpelt, with the primitiae of ſome fruits in baſkets, and ſmall earthen plates, and other things of the like nature, all ſimple, cheap, and void of all oſtentation. I have ſeen, alſo, the libation wines mixed, not in ſilver and gold veſſels, but in little earthen chalices, and ewers; and, greatly, admired the men for adhering to the cuſtoms of

ſays, the Lacedaemonians took this inſtitution: The reaſon he gives for this preference is, that, among the latter, every member of theſe ſocieties was obliged to furniſh a certain ſum of money towards their entertainments; whereas, the expence of the Cretan ſocieties was ſupplied by the public, which, he ſays, was more popular.

46. Της ευτελειας των θυσιων. Livy makes a fine obſervation in relation to a crown of gold of ſmall weight, ſent as an offering to Jupiter by the Latines, and Hernici, when they congratulated the Romans upon the extinction of the decemvirate; [s] *colebantur religiones pie magis quam magnifice.* Afterwards, when this magnificence prevailed in their public worſhip, when their temples were imbelliſhed with ſilver, gold, and precious ſtones, and adorned with ſtatues of the moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, they paid no regard either to religion, or morality.

[s] B. iii. c. 57.

their

their anceſtors, and not degenerating, from their ancient rites, into a vain magnificence. There are, alſo, ſome other inſtitutions, worthy to be both remembered, and related, which owe their birth to Numa Pompilius, the ſucceſſor of Romulus, a man of conſummate wiſdom, and of a rare ſagacity in interpreting the will of the gods: But of theſe I ſhall ſpeak afterwards. Others were added by Tullus Hoſtilius, the third king after Romulus, and by every ſucceeding king: But the ſeeds of them were ſown, and the foundations laid by Romulus, who eſtabliſhed the principal rites of their religion.

XXIV. Romulus, alſo, ſeems to have been the author of that good diſcipline in other things, by the obſervance of which the Roman commonwealth has flouriſhed for many generations; he having enacted many good and uſeful laws, the greateſt part unwritten, but ſome committed to writing: All of which I do not think neceſſary to mention, but ſhall, only, give a ſhort account of thoſe I, chiefly, admire, and look upon as proper to illuſtrate the tenor of his other laws, and to ſhew how auſtere they were, how averſe to vice, and how, nearly, reſembling the lives of the heroes: However, I muſt, firſt, obſerve, that all legiſlators, as well Barbarians, as Greeks, ſeem, in general, to have been, rightly, ſenſible that all cities, as they conſiſt of many families, are moſt likely to injoy tranquillity, when the lives of private men are [47] calm; and to be agitated with many tempeſts, when

47. Οταν οἱ των ἰδιωλων ευσαθωσι βιοι. All the tranſlators have, in my opinion, miſtaken the ſenſe of this expreſſion. M. * * * has ſaid *une vie reglée*; and

they are ruffled; and that every able politician, whether he is a legiſlator, or a king, ought to introduce ſuch laws, as will render private men juſt and temperate. But they do not all ſeem, equally, to have underſtood by what inſtitutions, and by what laws, this may be affected; and ſome of them have committed very great, and, I may ſay, eſſential errors in the principal, and chief parts of legiſlature. Firſt, concerning marriages, and the commerce with women, from which a lawgiver ought to begin (as nature has begun from thence to form our lives) ſome, taking example from wild beaſts, have allowed men, and women [48] to converſe together promiſcuouſly, and without reſtraint, as the proper means to free mankind from the rage of love; to baniſh jealouſy, the parent of mutual ſlaughter; and prevent many other miſchiefs, which both private families, and whole cities are, often, expoſed to through women: Others, by joining one man to

le Jay, *bonne conduite.* I believe the Latin tranſlators miſled them by rendering it *vivendi rationem exactam.* There is no doubt but, if every individual lives regularly, the city will be exceeding regular. This is not ſuch a ſecret in politics, as to have induced our author to quote the authority of all the legiſlators to ſupport it. His meaning is, that every city will continue quiet, as long as the individuals live *with eaſe:* For, nothing tempts men to diſturb the quiet of any government ſo much, as domeſtic uneaſineſs, from what cauſe ſoever it flows. This ſenſe our author has thought fit to expreſs, figuratively, by ορθην πλειν, and to ſay, afterwards, χειμωνα αγειν; to which ευρσθωσι βιοι correſponds in the ſame figure, they being all terms of navigation; and none more ſo than ευρσθην πελαγος, ſo often, uſed by the beſt authors. This figure none of the tranſlators ſeem to have had the leaſt ſuſpicion of.

48. Κοινας τας μιξεις. This was Plato's ſyſtem; and a very extraordinary ſyſtem it is; His words are theſe; [t] τας γυναικας ταυτας των ανδρων τελων πανιων πασας ειναι κοινας, ιδια δε μηδενι μηδεμιαν συνοικειν; for which whim, he is, deſervedly, cenſured by [v] Ariſtotle.

[t] Περι πολιτ. B. v. p. 655. [v] Πολιτ. B. ii. c. 1.

one

one woman, have expelled this rude and ſavage commerce; however, concerning the obſervance of the marriage-rites, and the chaſtity of women, they never attempted to make any regulations whatſoever; but gave up the thing, as impracticable: Others have neither allowed the uſe of women without marriage, like ſome Barbarians; nor neglected the care of them, [49] like the Lacedaemonians; but have inſtituted many laws to keep them within bounds: And ſome have, even, [50] appointed a magiſtrate to inſpect the conduct of women: However, this proviſion was found inſufficient to reſtrain them, and too remiſs to reduce women of bad diſpoſitions to the neceſſity of a modeſt behaviour.

XXV. But Romulus, without giving either to the huſband an action againſt his wife for adultery, or elopement

49. Ωσπερ Λακεδαιμονιοι. Ariſtotle, alſo, finds great fault with the Lacedaemonian women, who, he ſays, abandoned themſelves to all ſorts of exceſs; ζωσι γαρ ακολαςως προς ἁπασαν ακολασιαν, και τρυφερως: It ſeems Lycurgus endeavoured to bring them under ſome government, but they reſiſting, he gave it over: So that they, not their lawgiver, were the cauſe of theſe irregularities. But, continues Ariſtotle, we do not conſider who ought to be excuſed, and who not; but, what is right, and what not; [w] αλλ' ἡμεις ϗ τυτο σκοπυμεν τινι δει συγγνωμην εχειν, ϗ μη εχειν· αλλα περι τυ ορθως, και μη ορθως.

50. Αρχην τινα καλεςησαν επιμελησομενην ευκοσμιας γυναικων. Theſe magiſtrates were called by the Athenians γυναικονομοι: Their duty was, not only, to inſpect the conduct of the women, (which, one would think, might have given them full employment) but, alſo, to enter the houſes of thoſe, who gave entertainments, and to count the gueſts: The maſter of the houſe being finable, if their number exceeded thirty. [x] Athenaeus, from whom I have this account, quotes, upon this occaſion, ſome verſes of Menander, whoſe precious remains cannot be too often tranſcribed,

Παρα ΤΟΙΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΙΣ δε τυς
εν τοις γαμοις
Διακονυλας απογεγραφθαι πυθομενος
Πανλας μαγειρυς καλα νομον καινον τινα,
Ινα πυνθανωνλαι τυς κεκλημενυς εαν
Πλειυς τις ὡν εξεςιν ἑςιων τυχῃ
Ελθων.

[w] Ib. c. 7.

[x] B. vi. c. 11.

without cauſe; or to the wife an action againſt her huſband for waſting her fortune, or for divorcing her without reaſon; without making any laws for the returning, or recovery of the portion, or regulating any thing of this nature; by a ſingle inſtitution, which, effectually, provides for all theſe things, as experience ſhews, he brought the married women, even, chearfully, to behave themſelves with great order, and modeſty: The law was this, "That a woman, married "to her huſband by the holy laws, ſhall partake of all his "fortunes, and ſacrifices." The ancients called holy and lawful marriages, by a Roman appellation, [51] *Farracia*, from the communion of *Far*, *Spelt*; which we call Ζεα; for this was the ancient, and, for a long time, the ordinary food of all the Romans; their country producing great plenty of excellent ſpelt. And, as we Greeks look upon barley to be the moſt ancient grain; and, for that reaſon, begin our ſacrifices with barley-cakes mixed with ſalt, which we call Ουλαι: So the Romans, from an opinion that ſpelt is both

[51] Φαρρακια. I do not remember to have met with *Farratia* in any Latin author for this kind of marriage: The word uſed by them, upon that occaſion, is, *Confarreatio*, derived from *Far*, as our author ſays, *a Cake*, which was uſed in that ceremony. *Far* is called *Spelt* in our language, though I never ſaw any of it in England; but I have ſeen it growing in Germany, where they make bread of it, which is as white as wheat bread; and, indeed, it reſembles wheat in every thing, but the ſize of the grain, which is leſs; and the bread, made of it, is thought to be leſs nouriſhing. It is, generally, ſuppoſed that theſe kinds of marriages were, totally, abrogated by the inſtitution of Thoſe of another kind, called, *Coemptio*, which was a fictitious purchaſe; the married couple being ſuppoſed to purchaſe each other. But we find, by a ſpeech of Tiberius, in [y] Tacitus, that they were not, wholly, diſuſed, even, in his time; *Omiſſâ confarreandi adſuetudine, aut inter paucos retentâ—accedere ipſius caeremoniae difficultates, quae conſulto vitarentur.*

[y] Ann. B. iv. c. 16.

the

the most valuable, and most ancient of grains, in all burnt-offerings, begin the sacrifice with That; and this custom remains to this day, without deviating into first-offerings of greater expence. The participation in the most holy and first food of the women with their husbands, and their union with them, founded on their sharing in all their fortunes, took its name from this participation of spelt, and, necessarily, produced an indissoluble connexion, nothing being capable of dissolving these marriages. This law obliged both the married women, as having no other refuge, to conform themselves, intirely, to the temper of their husbands, and the husbands to retain their wives, as necessary, and inseparable companions: For, if she was virtuous, and, in all things, obedient to her husband, she was mistress of the house, as much as he was master of it; and, after the death of her husband, she was heir to his fortunes, in the same manner as a daughter was to Those of her father; if he died without children, and intestate, she was his sole heir; and, if he left children, she had an equal share of his fortunes with them. But, if she committed any fault, [52] the injured person was her judge, and determined the

52. Δικαςην τον αδικȣμενον ελαμβανε, και τȣ μεγεθȣς της τιμωριας κυριον. Lipsius, who was a man of great learning, has given us the laws made by several of the Roman kings, collected, as he says, chiefly, from our author; in which, he has been followed by many writers, who suppose the words, given by Lipsius, to have been the very words, in which these old laws were enacted: For example, he has translated this law, mentioned by our author, into the language, used in the age of Augustus; *Si stuprum commisit, aliudve quid peccasset, maritus judex et vindex esto.* But the inscription in honor of Duillius for the first naval victory the Romans, ever, obtained, and his other successes against the Carthaginians, which is still extant,

degree

degree of her puniſhment. In the caſe of adultery, or, where it was found that ſhe had drank wine (which the Greeks would look upon as the leaſt of all crimes) her relations, together with her huſband, were appointed her judges; who were allowed by Romulus to puniſh both theſe crimes with death, as the greateſt offences women could be guilty of: For he looked upon adultery as the ſource of impudence; and drunkenneſs, of adultery: Both theſe crimes continued, for a long time, to be puniſhed by the Romans without mercy. And the length of time has ſhewn the goodneſs of this law concerning women: For it is allowed that, during the ſpace of five hundred and twenty years, no marriage was, ever, diſſolved at Rome. But, in the hundred and thirty ſeventh olympiad, and [53] in the conſulſhip

will convince any one that the Latin language, which changed ſo much from the year 493, or 494, in which Duillius was conſul, as appears by this inſcription, though his name is not in the *Faſti conſulares*, and obtained this victory, to the time of Auguſtus, or about half a century before, muſt, in all probability, have changed much more from the time of Romulus, to That of Duillius, that is, in the ſpace of 494 years. I ſhall tranſcribe a few lines of this inſcription, for two reaſons; the firſt, to ſhew what the Latin language was in thoſe days; and the other, to do juſtice to the fidelity of Polybius, by laying before the reader ſome particulars, in which the account, given by that author of this naval battle, agrees, ſurprizingly, with That, preſerved in this authentic inſcription. PRESENTED. MAXVMOD. DICTATORED. OLORVM. IN. ALTOD. MARID. PVGNANDOD. VICET. XXXQVE. NAVEIS. CEPET. CVM. SOCIEIS. SEPTEMRESMOMQVE. DVCIS. QVINRESMOSQVE. TRIRESMOSQVE. NAVEIS. XX. DEPRESET. [z] Ηγειτο δ' Αννιβας αυτων —τριακοντα μεν τας πρωτας συμβαλεσας ναυς ανταναδρους απεβαλον, συν αις εγενετο αιχμαλωτον και το τε τριηρους πλοιον— εφυγον οι Καρχηδονιοι — πεντηκοντα ναυς αποβαλοντες.

53. Υπατευοντων Μαρκυ Πομπονιυ, και Γαϊυ Παπιριυ. Valerius Maximus, and Gellius are quoted, upon this occaſion; but both of them, or their tranſcribers, have miſtaken the year. Our author ſays the firſt divorce happened in the 137th olympiad, that is, the firſt year

[z] B. i. p. 23, et 24.

of

of Marcus Pomponius, and Caius Papirius, Spurius Carvilius, no obſcure perſon, is ſaid to have been the firſt man, who divorced his wife, the cenſors obliging him to ſwear that he took another with a view of having children, his own being barren: However, he was, by reaſon of this action, though founded in neceſſity, ever after hated by the people.

XXVI. Theſe, therefore, are the good laws, which Romulus enacted concerning women; by which he rendered them more obſervant to their huſbands. But Thoſe he eſtabliſhed to inſpire children with reverence, and [54] piety to their fathers, and to oblige them to honor, and obey them in all things, both in their words, and actions, are ſtill more auguſt, and of greater dignity, and, vaſtly, ſuperior to our laws: For the Greek legiſlators limited a very ſhort time for the ſon to be under the government of his father; ſome, till the expiration of the third year after he was arrived to manhood: Others, as long as he continued unmarried: And ſome, till their names were regiſtered in the colleges

of this olympiad: For That muſt be, always, underſtood, when the year is not mentioned: Now, the firſt year of the 137th olympiad was the 521ſt year of Rome; and, though, I find, ſome accounts of the ſucceſſion of the conſuls place the conſulſhip of Pomponius, and Papirius the year after, yet they were, according to our author, and, in my opinion, according to truth, conſuls this year.

54. Δικαιοσυνην. Our author uſes this word, here, in a philoſophical ſenſe; in which, δικαιοσυνη ſignifies *Virtue*, generally; as αδικια ſignifies *Vice*. The former, therefore, muſt not be confined, in this place, to *juſtice*, which is only one ſpecies of Virtue, as the piety of children to their parents is another. This is the doctrine of that great moraliſt, Ariſtotle, whoſe ethics I have, already, obſerved, and ſhall, often, have occaſion to obſerve our author, frequently, alludes to with approbation, [a] εοικε δε πολεοναχως λεγεσθαι ἡ δικαιοσυνη, και ἡ αδικια, are the words of that philoſopher.

[a] Ethei. B. v. c. 1.

of

of the magiſtrates; as they had learned from the laws of [55] Solon, [56] Pittacus, and [57] Charondas, in which there is acknowledged to be great wiſdom. The puniſhments, alſo, they ordered for diſobedience in children were not grievous; allowing their fathers to turn them out of doors, and to diſinherit them, and nothing further. Whereas, gentle puniſhments are not ſufficient to reſtrain the folly, and inſolence of youth, or to reſtore thoſe, who deſpiſe their duty, to a ſenſe of it: For which reaſon, among the Greeks, great indecencies are committed by children againſt their parents. But the lawgiver of the Romans gave full power (as one

55· Σολων. The learned world is ſo much acquainted with Solon, that I ſhall ſay no more of him than that he was not an Athenian, though he was their legiſlator, but of Salamis, and flouriſhed about the 46th olympiad. [b] He died at Cyprus, aged eighty years, and ordered his aſhes to be carried to Salamis, and ſcattered about that iſland. This, Plutarch, in his life of Solon, treats as fabulous, though, he ſays, many writers of great credit, and Ariſtotle, amongſt the reſt, have affirmed it. However, the authority of Ariſtotle is, certainly, much more to be depended upon than That of Plutarch, which is, abſolutely, confuted by theſe verſes, quoted from Cratinus by Laertius;

Οικεω δε νησον, ως μεν ανθρωπων λογος,
Εσπαρμενος καλα πασαν Αιανλος πολιν.

56· Πιτλακος. There were two men of note of this name, both Mitylenaeans, of whom one, ſurnamed Μικρος, was a lawgiver, and flouriſhed at the ſame time with Croeſus; becauſe [c] Laertius tranſcribes a letter from him to that prince.

57· Χαρωνδας. [d] Ariſtotle calls him a Catanaean; and ſays that he gave laws both to his fellow citizens, and to other Chalcidic cities. We find, by our author, that all theſe three lawgivers gave power to the father over his ſon no longer than till he was choſen a magiſtrate: For we muſt read αρχειαν with the Vatican manuſcript, inſtead of αρχαια in all the editions; ſince we find το των εφορων αρχειον in [e] Ariſtotle; and το των δημαρχων αρχειον more than once in our author; who juſtifies this reading by what he ſays, preſently afterwards, that Romulus gave abſolute power to the father over his ſon, though inveſted with the firſt dignity of the commonwealth; και εν αρχαις ταις μεγιςαις εξεταζομενος.

[b] Laert. life of Solon. [c] Life of Pittacus. [d] Πολιτικ. B. ii. c. 10. [e] Id. ib. c. 6.

may

may ſay) to the father over his ſon, even, during his whole life; whether he thought proper to expel him his houſe, to whip him, to load him with chains; and, in that condition, to employ him in agriculture, or to put him to death; though his ſon were, actually, in the adminiſtration of the public affairs, though inveſted with the greateſt offices of the ſtate, and diſtinguiſhed by his zeal for the commonwealth. In virtue of this law, men of diſtinction, while they were haranguing from the roſtra in oppoſition to the ſenate, and in favor of the people; and, on that account, gaining great popularity, have been pulled down from thence, and carried away, by their fathers, to undergo ſuch puniſhment, as they thought fit; and, while they were leading away through the forum, none preſent, neither conſul, tribune, nor the people themſelves, who were flattered by them, and thought all power inferior to their own, could reſcue them. I forbear to mention how many brave men, urged by their valor, and ardor to perform ſome great action contrary to their fathers command, have, by them, been put to death; as Manlius Torquatus, and many others are ſaid to have put their ſons to death. Concerning whom, I ſhall ſpeak in a proper place.

XXVII. However, the power, given to fathers by the Roman lawgiver, did not, even, ſtop here; but he allowed the father, alſo to ſell his ſon, without regarding the imputation of cruelty, and of a ſeverity, inconſiſtent with natural affection, which this allowance might be liable to; and (what any one, who has been educated in the looſe manners of

the Greeks may wonder at above all things, and look upon as harſh and tyrannical) he, even, gave leave to the father to make an advantage of ſelling his ſon, as far as three times; giving, by this means, a greater power to the father over his ſon, than to the maſter over his ſlave: For a ſlave, who has once been ſold, and, afterwards, obtains his liberty, is his own maſter ever after: But a ſon, when ſold by his father, if he ſhould become free, returned to his father's power; and, if he was, a ſecond time, ſold, and, a ſecond time, freed, he was, ſtill, as at firſt, his father's ſlave; but, after the third ſale, he was diſcharged from his father. This law, whether written, or unwritten (for that I cannot, certainly, affirm) the kings obſerved in the beginning, looking upon it as the beſt of all laws. And, after the diſſolution of the monarchy, when the Romans, firſt, thought proper to propoſe in the forum to the conſideration of the whole body of the people all the cuſtoms, and laws of their own country, together with Thoſe of foreign inſtitution, to the end that the rights of the public might not be changed as often as the power of the magiſtrates, the decemvirs, who were authoriſed by the people to collect, and tranſcribe theſe laws, inſerted This among the reſt; and [58] it now ſtands in the fourth of the twelve tables, which they expoſed in the forum.

58. Και εστιν εν τη τελευτη των λεγομενων δωδεκα δελτων. This law of Romulus, which our author ſays was confirmed by the decemvirs, is explained among the other laws of the twelve tables in a note on the eleventh book: But, to ſave the reader the trouble of turning to that place, I ſhall give the words of it here; PATREI. ENDO. FIDIO. VITAE. NECISQVE. POTESTAS. ESTOD. TERQVE. IM. VENOM. DARIER. IOVS. ESTOD. SEI. PATER. FIDIOM. TER. VENOM. DVIT. FIDIOS. A. PATRE. LEBER. ESTOD.

How-

However, that the decemvirs, who were appointed, three hundred years afterwards, to tranſcribe theſe laws, did not, firſt, introduce This among the Romans; but that, finding it, long before, in uſe, they durſt not repeal it, we are aſſured by many reaſons; but, particularly, by the laws of Numa Pompilius, the ſucceſſor of Romulus, among which there is this; "If a father gives his ſon leave to "marry a woman, who, by law, is to partake of his ſacrifices, "and fortunes, he ſhall, no longer, have the power of ſelling "his ſon." Which he would never have enacted, unleſs the father had, by all former laws, been allowed to ſell his ſon. But enough has been ſaid concerning theſe things. I ſhall, in a few words, give an account, alſo, of another inſtitution, by which Romulus regulated the lives of private perſons.

XXVIII. For, being ſenſible that the means, by which a whole people (the greateſt part of whom are hard to govern) can be induced to embrace a life of ſobriety, to prefer juſtice to gain, to cultivate a perſeverance in labor, and to look upon nothing more valuable than virtue, is not inſtruction, but the habitual practice of ſuch employments, as lead to each virtue; and that thoſe, who practiſe them through neceſſity, rather than choice, as ſoon as they are free from that reſtraint, return to their natural diſpoſition: For theſe reaſons, he appointed ſlaves, and foreigners to exerciſe thoſe trades, that are ſedentary, and mechanic, and promote ſhameful appetites, looking upon them as the deſtroyers, and corrupters both of the bodies, and minds

of all, who practiſe them; and theſe trades were, for a long time, held ignominious by the Romans, and exerciſed by none of them. The only employments he left to freemen were theſe two, agriculture and warfare: For he obſerved that men, ſo employed, are temperate, leſs intangled in the purſuits of forbidden love, and ſubject to that kind of avarice only, which leads them not to injure one another, but to inrich themſelves at the expence of the enemy: But, finding that each of theſe occupations, ſeparate from the other, is imperfect, and produces murmurs, inſtead of appointing one part of the men to till the earth, and the other to lay waſte the enemy's country, according to the inſtitution of the Lacedaemonians, he ordered the ſame perſons to exerciſe the employments both of huſbandmen, and ſoldiers; and accuſtomed them, in time of peace, to live in the country, and cultivate the land, [59] except when it was neceſſary for them to come to market; upon which occaſions, they were to meet in the city, in order to traffic; and, to that end, he appointed a market to be held every ninth day: And, in time of war, he taught them the duty of ſoldiers, and not to yield to any, either in the fatigues, or advantages, that attend it. For, by dividing, equally, among them the

59. Πλην εἰποῖε δεηθειεν ἀγορας. The reader, I dare ſay, will wonder to find this tranſlated by le Jay *excepté les négotiants*. Theſe *merchants*, as he calls them, were the huſbandmen, who went to Rome every ninth day; as our farmers go to the next market town to ſell the product of their lands, and buy what they want. Indeed, the Roman huſbandmen, often, went to Rome to tranſact affairs of much greater importance: For, upon their reſolutions, the fate of their own country, at firſt, and, afterwards, of all mankind depended.

lands,

lands, ſlaves, and money they had taken from the enemy, he inſpired them with a chearfulneſs to ingage in his military expeditions.

XXIX. If any of the citizens had injured one another, inſtead of delay, he uſed diſpatch in determining their differences; ſometimes, taking cognizance of them himſelf, and, ſometimes, referring them to others; and, always, proportioned the puniſhment to the greatneſs of the crime: Finding, alſo, that nothing reſtrains men from all evil actions, ſo effectually as fear, he contrived many things to create it; as the erecting a tribunal, where he ſate in judgement, in the moſt conſpicuous part of the Forum; the moſt formidable appearance of the ſoldiers, who attended him, being three hundred in number, and the rods, and axes, borne by twelve lictors, who whipped thoſe in the forum, whoſe offences deſerved it, and beheaded others in public, whoſe crimes were of the greateſt magnitude. This was the conſtitution of the government eſtabliſhed by Romulus: For the things, I have mentioned, ſufficiently, enable us to form a judgement of the reſt.

XXX. His other actions, both in war, and peace, which, alſo, deſerve the notice of hiſtory, are as follows. The neighbouring nations being very conſiderable both for their numbers, and their ſtrength, and none of them friends to the Romans; he propoſed to gain their affection by marriages (which, according to the opinion of the ancients, was the firmeſt bond of friendſhip) but, conſidering that, as the Romans were, newly, ſettled, and neither powerful in riches, nor

nor ſupported by the reputation of any great achievement, thoſe cities would not, of their own accord, unite with them; but that, if violence, without abuſe, were employed, they would ſubmit to it, he determined, with the approbation of Numitor, his grandfather, to effect theſe marriages [60] by ſeizing, at once, a number of virgins. After he had taken this reſolution, he firſt made a vow to the god, who preſides over ſecret counſels, to celebrate annual ſacrifices, and feſtivals, if his enterpriſe ſucceeded: Then, having laid his reaſons before the ſenate, and they approving the deſign, he proclaimed a feſtival, and public games in honor of Neptune; and gave notice to the neighbouring cities, inviting all, who were willing, to be preſent at the aſſembly, and partake of the games: For he gave out that there would be prizes of all ſorts to be contended for both by horſes, and men. The concourſe of ſtrangers, who came with their wives, and children to aſſiſt at the feſtival, being very great, after he had performed the ſacrifices, and games in honor of Neptune,

60. Δι' ἁρπαγης γαμετῶν. Livy ſays that Romulus, by the advice of the ſenate, ſent embaſſadors to the neighbouring nations to propoſe an alliance, and to deſire wives for his new people: This embaſſy, he ſays, was not well received by any of his neighbours, who deſpiſed the Romans; and, at the ſame time, apprehended leſt this power, riſing up in the middle of them, might prove fatal to themſelves, and their poſterity; and ſome of them aſked the embaſſadors, why they had not opened an aſylum for women alſo? That being the only means to provide themſelves with ſuitable matches; [f] *Ecquid non foeminis quoque aſylum aperuiſſent? Id enim demum compar connubium fore.* Whether this ſneer, which ſeems not ill applied, was handed down to Livy by the old hiſtorians, or was the creature of his own invention, cannot now be known: But it muſt be allowed to come with a better grace from a Roman, than a Greek, hiſtorian.

[f] B. i. c. 9.

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the laſt day, on which he was to diſmiſs the aſſembly, he ordered the young men, when he ſhould give the ſignal, to ſeize all the virgins, who were preſent at the ſhew, each taking the firſt he met with; to keep them that night without violating their chaſtity, and bring them to him the next day. The young men divided themſelves into ſeveral bodies, and, as ſoon as they ſaw the ſignal, ſeized the virgins: Upon this, the ſtrangers were in an uproar, and, immediately, fled, ſuſpecting ſome greater miſchief. The next day, when the virgins were brought before Romulus, he comforted them in their diſtreſs with this aſſurance, that his people, in ſeizing them, had no deſign to inſult, but to marry them; and told them that this was an ancient Greek cuſtom, and this method of contracting marriages, of all others, the moſt illuſtrious; exhorting them to cheriſh thoſe, whom fortune had given them for their huſbands: Then, taking an account of their number, which was found to amount to ſix hundred and eighty three, he choſe an equal number of unmarried men, to whom he married them, each according to the cuſtoms of their reſpective countries; which he confirmed by granting to them [61] a communion of fire, and water, in

61. Επι κοινωνιᾳ πυρος και ὑδατος. § Plutarch endeavours, by various reaſons, to account for the cuſtom, that preſcribed to the bride to touch fire, and water: But they are all ſo trifling, that I ſhall not mention them. However, I muſt not omit the reaſon, given by M. *** in his note upon this paſſage; the deſign of making uſe of fire, and water in marriages, was, he ſays, *pour marquer une parfaite union*; I ſuppoſe, becauſe fire, and water agree ſo well together; as well, indeed, as many men, and their wives. Without entering into the reaſons, therefore, of this cuſtom, I ſhall only ſay that, as marriages were contracted by the uſe of fire, and water, ſo, when a man was

§ Roman. Quaeſt. i.

the

the ſame manner as marriages are performed, even, to this day.

XXXI. Some write that theſe things happened in the firſt year of Romulus' reign; but [62] Cneius Gellius ſays it was in the fourth, which is more probable; for it is not likely that the chief of a new-built city would undertake ſuch an enterpriſe, before he had eſtabliſhed the government of it. Some aſcribe the cauſe of this raviſhment to a ſcarcity of women: Others, to his ſeeking a color for a war: But thoſe, who give the moſt rational account of it, and to whom, alſo, I aſſent, attribute it to a deſign of contracting a friendſhip founded on affinity with the neighbouring cities. The Romans, even, to this day, continue to celebrate the feaſt, then inſtituted by Romulus, calling it, *Conſualia*, in which a ſubterraneous altar, placed near the greateſt circus, the ground being ſunk for that purpoſe, is honoured with ſacrifices, and burnt-offerings of firſt-fruits, and a courſe is run both by horſes in chariots, and by ſingle horſes: The god, to whom theſe honors are paid, is called Conſus by the Romans; which name, according to ſome, ſignifies, in our language, Ποσειδων σεισιχθων, *Neptune, who ſhakes the earth*; and they ſay that he was honoured with a ſubterraneous altar, becauſe this god has the command of the earth. I am

baniſhed, he was ſaid to be interdicted fire, and water. The moſt remarkable inſtance I ever met with of this interdiction, is the *Rogation*, as the Romans called it, drawn up by Sextus Clodius againſt [h] Cicero; *Velitis, jubeatis, ut M. Tullio aquâ et igni interdicatur?* Or, as Cicero ſays it was drawn, *ut interdictum ſit*, which he, juſtly, cenſured as an abſurd expreſſion.

[62] Γναιος Γελλιος. See the 25th annotation on the firſt book.

[h] Pro Dom. c. 18.

ſenſible

ſenſible there is another report; that the feſtival is, indeed, celebrated, and the courſe of the horſes performed in honor of Neptune; but that the ſubterraneous altar was, afterwards, erected to ſome [63] ineffable genius, who preſides over, and is the guardian of, hidden counſels; and that a ſecret altar was never erected to Neptune, in any part of the world, either by the Greeks, or Barbarians: But it is hard to aſſert which of theſe opinions is the trueſt.

XXXII. As ſoon as the report of the raviſhment of the virgins, and of their marriage, was ſpread about the neighbouring cities, ſome reſented the proceeding; others, conſidering the motive, from whence it flowed, and the event it was attended with, bore it with moderation. But, in time, it occaſioned ſeveral wars, of which, ſome were of ſmall conſequence, but That againſt the Sabines was very conſiderable, and full of difficulty: All which ended happily, as the oracles had foretold to Romulus, before he made the attempt, ſignifying that he ſhould undergo great difficulties, and dangers, but that the event of them would be proſperous. The firſt cities, that made war upon him,

63. Δαιμονι ἀῤῥήτῳ. The tranſlators are divided, as uſual, in rendering this. Portus, and le Jay have given to ἀῤῥήτος the ſenſe of *unknown*, which is ἀγνωστος, as [i] Paul calls the *unknown* god, to whom the altar was erected at Athens. Sylburgius, and M.*** have tranſlated it properly. The ancients, it ſeems, worſhipped ſome divinities, whoſe names they held it impious to pronounce; and, for that reaſon, called them ἀῤῥήτους θεους; one of theſe was Proſerpine, who is called ἀῤῥήτος κορη by [k] Euripides in that truly poetical deſcription of the wandering of Ceres in ſearch of her;

Ποθῳ τας αποιχομενας
Ἀῤῥήτῳ κεῤῥας.

[i] Acts, c. xvii. ℣. 23.

[k] In Helena, ℣. 1322.

were [64] Caenina, [65] Antemna, and [66] Cruſtumerium: Their pretence was the raviſhment of the virgins, and the deſire to revenge it: But their real motive was a jealouſy of the riſe, and ſwift increaſe of Rome, and a reſolution not to ſuffer a common evil to grow up, and become formidable to all its neighbours. Theſe cities, therefore, ſending embaſſadors to the Sabines, deſired that, as they were poſſeſſed both of the greateſt ſtrength, and greateſt riches, and thought themſelves worthy of the empire over their neighbours, and had not the leaſt ſhare in the late abuſe, they would take upon them the command of the war: For the greater part of the virgins belonged to them.

XXXIII. When they could not prevail, the embaſſadors ſent from Romulus oppoſing them, and courting that people both by their words, and actions, they grew uneaſy at the loſs of time (the Sabines, for ever, affecting delays, and putting off to a long day the deliberation concerning the war) and reſolved to make war upon the Romans by themſelves, not doubting but their own ſtrength, if the three nations united their arms, would be ſufficient to conquer one inconſiderable city. This was their reſolution: But they did not uſe the neceſſary expedition to aſſemble all

64. Καινηνη· πολις Σαβινων. [l] Feſtus writes it Cenena. This town ſtood near to Rome, but its ſituation is not, certainly, known.

65. Ἀντεμνα, or Antemnae, lay between Rome, and the confluence of the Anio, and the Tiber.

66. Κρυστομεριον. This town is called Cruſtumerium, and Cruſtumeria, both by Livy, and Pliny. It ſtood between the Tiber, and the Anio, about a mile north of Fidenae. [m] Cluver thinks that Cruſtumerium ſtood upon, or near the hill, on which there is, now, a tower, called, *Maringliano Vecchio*.

[l] Steph. Epitom. [m] Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 8.

together

together in one camp, which was owing to the eagerneſs of the Caeninenſes, who led out their forces before the reſt, and ſeemed the greateſt promoters of the war. This people, therefore, having taken the field, and waſting the country, that lay neareſt to their own, Romulus led out his army; and, unexpectedly, falling upon the enemy, while they were, as yet, unprepared to receive him, he made himſelf maſter of their camp, which was, but newly, formed; then, following cloſe thoſe, who fled into the city, where they had, as yet, received no account of the defeat of their people; and, finding the walls, unguarded, and the gates open, he took the town by ſtorm, and the king of the Caeninenſes meeting him with a ſtrong body of men, he charged him, and, killing him with his own hands, took off his ſpoils.

XXXIV. The town being taken in this manner, he ordered the inhabitants to deliver up their arms; and, taking as many of their ſons for hoſtages, as he thought fit, he marched againſt the Antemnates. Their forces, alſo, he defeated, in the like manner, by falling upon them unawares, while they were, yet, diſperſed in foraging; and, having treated the priſoners like the others, he returned home with his army, carrying with him the ſpoils he had taken in battle, and the choiceſt part of the booty, as an offering to the gods; to whom, together with theſe, he offered many ſacrifices. Romulus himſelf came laſt in the proceſſion, clad in a purple robe, his hair bound with a crown of laurel, and, that he might maintain the royal dignity,

[67] in a chariot drawn by four horſes. The reſt of the army both foot and horſe followed, ranged in their ſeveral diviſions, hymning the gods in ſongs of their country, and celebrating their general with extemporary verſes. They were met by the citizens with their wives, and children; who, ranging themſelves on each ſide of the way, congratulated them upon their victory, and expreſſed, in every other inſtance, the greateſt affection for them. When the

67. Τεθριππῳ παρεμβεβηκως. [n] Plutarch has thought fit to cenſure Dionyſius for ſaying that Romulus triumphed in a chariot; which cuſtom, he ſays, was, afterwards, introduced, as ſome authors write, by Tarquinius, the ſon of Damaratus; and, as others, by Poplicola. However, he has not thought fit to name theſe authors. If he had, we ſhould have been able to judge whether their authority deſerved better to be oppoſed to That of our author, than his own. I believe, the reaſon he gives, a few lines before, for contradicting Varro, the greateſt antiquary the Romans ever had, will not, greatly, recommend his authority to the reader. Varro had derived *Opima ſpolia*, *Spoils taken from a general by a general*, ſuch as Thoſe Romulus took, from *Opis*, which ſignifies *Riches:* This derivation Plutarch finds fault with, and ſays, very abſurdly, that *Opima ſpolia* may, with greater propriety, be derived from *opus*. Caſaubon obſerves, upon this occaſion, That Dionyſius, being a Greek, and unacquainted with the Latin language, as he ſuppoſes, in reading the account, given of this triumph of Romulus by [o] Livy, who ſays, *fabricato ad id apte ferculo*, miſtook *ferculum*, for a chariot. This note both le Jay, and M. * * * have tranſlated; the former owning from whom he had it, and the other not. Caſaubon's fancy ſuppoſes two things; the firſt, that Dionyſius had read Livy, which I do not believe; becauſe he never mentions him among the other Latin hiſtorians, whom he, often, quotes; and I have, upon another occaſion, ſhewn [p], I think, that it is probable Livy's hiſtory did not appear before That of our author: The other ſuppoſition is, that Dionyſius, being a Greek, did not underſtand Latin enough to know that *ferculum* did not ſignify a chariot. In oppoſition to this, we muſt remember what our author has told us in his preface, that he had lived twenty two years at Rome, and made himſelf maſter of the Latin language: After which, it is ridiculous to imagine that a man of his parts, and application, ſhould not, in ſo long a time, have underſtood Latin as well as an Eton, or Weſtminſter ſcholar; moſt of whom, I dare ſay, know the ſignification of *ferculum*.

[n] Life of Romulus. [o] B. i. c. 10. [p] See the eighth annotation on the firſt book.

army

army entered the city, they found [68] bowls full of wine, and tables ſpread with all ſorts of victuals, which were placed before the houſes of the moſt conſiderable perſons, to the end that all, who pleaſed, might ſatisfy themſelves. Such was the victorious proceſſion, in which trophies were carried, and ſacrifices offered up, called, by the Romans, *a Triumph*, which was firſt inſtituted by Romulus. But, in our time, theſe triumphs are become very expenſive and oſtentatious, and attended with a theatrical pomp, that ſeems calculated to ſhew their riches, rather than their virtue; and, in which, they have departed, in all reſpects, from their ancient frugality. After the proceſſion, and the ſacrifice, Romulus built a ſmall temple, on the top of the Capitoline hill, to Jupiter, whom the Romans call [69] *Feretrius:* For the ancient traces of it ſtill remain, of which the longeſt ſides are leſs than fifteen feet: In this temple, he conſecrated the ſpoils of the king of the Caeninenſes, whom he had killed with his own hand. Jupiter Feretrius, to whom Romulus de-

68. Κρατηρσι οινῳ ηεκραμεναις. Κεραν is uſed here by our author in the ſame ſenſe the poets uſe the word, that is, *to fill*, without any regard to mixture; thus, [q] Homer ſays,

κερασσε δε νεκταρ ερυθρον.

Upon which, the Greek ſcholiaſt, very well, obſerves, νυν ενεχεεν απο της αρχαιας συνηθειας· εις κερας γαρ εγχεοντες επινον.

69. [r] Νεων—Διος Φερετριου. This temple Auguſtus repaired; and, what is very extraordinary, he repaired it by the advice of Atticus, who was an Epicurean; and, by his principles, ought not to have been ſolicitous about the reparation of temples. The philoſophy of Epicurus gained ground among the Romans in proportion as they were loſing their liberty, and, the parent of that liberty, their virtue: It being very natural for men, who were plunging their country into ſlavery, and vice, firſt to wiſh, and then to believe, that their actions were ſecure from the obſervation, and chaſtiſement of PROVIDENCE!

q Οδυσσ. ε. ℣. 93. r Corn. Nep. Life of Atticus.

dicated

dicated theſe arms, may, without deviating from the truth, be called either Τροπαιεχος, *The Trophy-bearer*; Σκυλοφορος, *The Spoil-bearer*, as ſome are of opinion; or Υπερφερ[ης, *Excellent*; becauſe he excels all things, and comprehends univerſal nature, and motion.

XXXV. After the king had performed the ſacrifices to the gods in thankſgiving for his victory, and offered up the choiceſt of the booty, before he entered upon any other buſineſs, he aſſembled the ſenate to deliberate with them in what manner the conquered cities were to be treated; he himſelf firſt delivering the opinion he thought the beſt. After all the ſenators, who were preſent, had approved of the counſels of their chief, as ſafe and generous, and given great applauſe to all the other advantages, that were likely to flow from them to the commonwealth, not only for the preſent, but for ever after, he called together all the women, who belonged to the Antemnates, and Caeninenſes, and had been ſeized with the reſt: And, when they appeared before him lamenting, throwing themſelves at his feet, and bewailing the calamities of their country, he commanded them to ceaſe their lamentations, and be ſilent; then, ſpoke to them as follows: "Your fathers, and brothers, together "with all the cities, to which you belong, deſerve to meet "with every kind of ſeverity, for having preferred an un-"neceſſary and diſhonourable war to our friendſhip: How-"ever, we have reſolved, for many reaſons, to treat them "with moderation; to which we are induced both by our "fear of the indignation of the gods, ever ready to puniſh "the

" the arrogant, and by our apprehenſion of the envy of " men; and are, alſo, perſuaded that mercy does not, a " little, contribute to alleviate the common evils, to which " mankind are ſubject, as we ourſelves have, formerly, " ſtood in need of That of others: And your behaviour to " your huſbands having been, hitherto, blameleſs, we are " of opinion that this will be no ſmall honor, and return " for it: We ſuffer their offence, therefore, to go unpuniſh- " ed, and take from your fellow-citizens neither their liberty, " their poſſeſſions, nor any other advantages they enjoy: " And to thoſe, who chuſe to ſtay there, as well as to ſuch, " as are deſirous to remove hither, we grant full liberty to " make their option; not only without danger, but with- " out fear of repenting. But, to the end they may never " repeat their fault; and, that no occaſion may be found " to induce the cities to break with us, the beſt remedy, " and That, which will, at the ſame time, conduce to the " reputation, and ſecurity of both, will be, to make thoſe " cities colonies of Rome, and to ſend a proper number of " our own people from hence to inhabit them, jointly, with " your fellow-citizens. Go away, therefore, ſatisfied; and " redouble your love, and regard for your huſbands, to " whom your parents, and brothers owe their preſervation, " and your countries their liberty." The women, hearing this, were greatly, pleaſed, and, ſhedding tears of joy, left the forum. Romulus ſent a colony of three hundred men into each city, to whom theſe gave a third part of their lands to be divided among them by lot; and thoſe Caeninenſes, and

Antemnates,

Antemnates, who desired to remove to Rome, he conveyed thither together with their wives, and children, they retaining the possession of their lands, and bringing with them all their effects. These, who were not less than three thousand, the king, immediately, incorporated with the tribes, and the curiae: So that, the Romans had then, for the first time, six thousand foot, in all, upon the register. Thus, Caenina, and Antemna, no inconsiderable cities, whose inhabitants were of Greek extraction (for they were, then, inhabited by the Aborigines, who had taken them from the Siceli, and who, as I said before, were part of those Oenotri, who came out of Arcadia) after this war, became Roman colonies.

XXXVI. Romulus, having finished these things, led out his army against the Crustumeri, who were better prepared than the former to receive him: And, after he had reduced them both in a pitched battle, and in an assault upon their city, they having behaved themselves with great bravery, he did not think fit to punish them any farther, but made this city, also, a Roman colony, like the two former. Crustumerium was a colony of the Albans, planted many years before the building of Rome. The fame of the general's valor in war, and of his clemency to the conquered being spread through many cities, several brave men joined him, bringing with them considerable powers, together with their whole families: From one of these leaders, who came from Tyrrhenia, and whose name was Caelius, one of the hills, on which he settled, is, to this day, called Caelius:

Whole

Whole cities, alſo, ſubmitted to him, after the example of [70] Medullia, and became Roman colonies. The Sabines, ſeeing theſe things, grew uneaſy, and accuſed one another for not having cruſhed the power of the Romans, while it was in its infancy; inſtead of which, they were, now, to contend with it, when it was, greatly, increaſed: They determined, therefore, to correct their former error, by ſending a conſiderable army into the field. And, ſoon after, aſſembling a general council in the greateſt and moſt dignified city of the nation, called [71] Cures, they all gave their votes for the war, and appointed Titus, ſurnamed Tatius, king of the Curetes, to be their general. After the Sabines had come to this reſolution, the aſſembly broke up, and every one, returning home, made preparations for the war, deſigning to advance to Rome, with a great army, the following year.

XXXVII. In the mean time, Romulus, alſo, made the beſt preparations he was able to receive them; being ſenſible that he was to defend himſelf againſt a warlike people.

70. Μεδυλλια. This town ſtood in the neighbourhood of Rome, and near the confines of the Sabines; and was a colony of the Albans. It belonged to the Latines, as our author informs us in the third [s] book; Μιαν δε πολιν εκ της Λατινων εθνους Μεδυλλιαν.

71. Κυρις. This city, the capital of the Sabines, has, long ſince, lain in ruins: But it is ſuppoſed to have ſtood on the ſpot, where there is, now, a ſmall monaſtery, called, [t] *il Veſcovio di Sabina*, not far from the river Himella, now called *L'Aia*, and ſomething more than twenty five Roman miles north from Rome. This city gave two kings to the Romans, Tatius, and Numa, and, alſo, gave name to the Romans themſelves, who, from thence, were called Quirites. [u] Κυρις, εξ ης ωρμηνται οι της Ρωμης βασιλευσαντες Τατιος Τατιος, και Νομας Πομπιλιος. Ενθενδε και Κυριτας ονομαζεσιν οι δημηγορησαντες της Ρωμαιης.

[s] C. 34. [t] Cluver, Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 9. [u] Strabo, B. v. p. 349.

With this view, he raiſed the wall of the Palatine hill, by building higher works upon it, as a farther ſecurity to the inhabitants, and ſurrounded the adjacent hills, the [72] Aventine, and That, now, called the Capitoline hill, with ditches, and ſtrong paliſades: Upon theſe hills, he ordered the huſbandmen, with their flocks, to paſs the nights, ſecuring each of them by a ſufficient guard; and, if any other place could contribute to their ſecurity, he fortified That, alſo, with ditches, and paliſades, and placed a guard there. In the mean time, there came to him a man of activity, and reputation for military achievements, whoſe name was Lucumo, lately, become his friend; who brought with him, out of the city of [73] Solonium,

72. Τον Αυεντινον. M. ***, in his note upon this paſſage, ſays that Dionyſius contradicts himſelf by ſaying, in the third book, that Ancus Martius *fortified* this hill. However, the contradiction is not owing to our author, but to his miſrepreſentation of our author's ſenſe; which will, plainly, appear by comparing the terms made uſe of by Dionyſius in theſe two places. In this before us, he ſays that Romulus ſurrounded the Aventine hill with a ditch, and ſtrong paliſades; Τον Αυεντινον αποταφρευων, και χαρακωμασι καρτεροις περιλαμβανων. In the other paſſage, he ſays that Ancus Martius made no ſmall addition to the city by incloſing the Aventine hill within its walls; τῃ πολει μοιραν ȣ μικραν προσεθηκε, εντειχισας τον λεγομενον Αυεντινον. The firſt, therefore, viſibly, relates to the extemporary fortification made by Romulus to repulſe the Sabines; and the other, to the making this hill a part of the city.

73. Εκ Σολωνιȣ πολεως. There is a note in Hudſon upon this occaſion, which M. *** has tranſlated, whereby it appears that there muſt be ſome miſtake in the name of this city, there not having been any city ſo called in Tyrrhenia. [w] Cluver is there cited for reading Vetulonium inſtead of Solonium, which is a very reaſonable conjecture; ſince Vetulonium was one of the twelve principal cities of Etruria, and ſo conſiderable, that the enſigns of magiſtracy, afterwards, in uſe at Rome, were thought to have been invented there; which gave occaſion to Silius Italicus, quoted, alſo, by [x] Cluver, to ſay,

*Maeoniaeque decus quondam* Vetulonia *gentis:*
*Bis ſenos haec prima dedit praecedere faſces,*
*Et junxit totidem tacito terrore ſecures:*
*Haec altas eboris decoravit honore curules,*
*Et princeps Tyrio veſtem praetexuit oſtro.*

[w] B. ii. c. 2.

[x] B. viii.

a con-

a conſiderable number of auxiliary forces conſiſting of Tyrrhenians. There came to him alſo, from the Albans, ſent by his grandfather, a good number of ſoldiers with their attendants, and, with them, artificers for making warlike engines: Theſe men were ſupplied with proviſions, arms, and all other neceſſaries. When every thing was ready for the war on both ſides, the Sabines, deſigning to take the field in the beginning of the ſpring, reſolved, firſt, to ſend embaſſadors to the enemy, with orders both to require the women to be ſent home, and to demand ſatisfaction for ſeizing them; to the end that, being denied it, they might ſeem under a neceſſity to enter upon the war: With this view, therefore, they ſent embaſſadors. But Romulus thought it reaſonable that the women, ſince they themſelves were not unwilling to live with their huſbands, ſhould be ſuffered to remain with them; but conſented to grant them any thing elſe they deſired, provided they applied to him in a friendly manner, and did not begin the war: However, they, agreeing to nothing he propoſed, marched out with their army, which conſiſted of twenty five thouſand foot, and near a thouſand horſe. The Roman army was not much inferior in number, [74] the

74· Δυω μεν αι των περιοικων μυριαδες, οκτακοσιοι δ' ιππεις. M. *** thinks it is not credible that the army of Romulus ſhould be ſo numerous; ſince, after he had incorporated the Caeninenſes, and Antemnates with his own people, the whole number did not exceed ſix thouſand, as we have ſeen; and it is not to be believed, he ſays, that Caelius, the Medullini, and the other cities could have ſupplied him with fourteen thouſand more. But he ſeems to have forgotten that our author has, already, told us that many brave men had, before, joined him with conſiderable forces, beſides Caelius; that many cities had ſubmitted to him, beſides Medullia; that Lucumo had

foot amounting to twenty thouſand, and the horſe to eight hundred. This army, being divided into two bodies, incamped before the city: One of which bodies, commanded by Romulus himſelf, was poſted on the Eſquiline hill; the other, on the Quirinal hill, which was not, then, known by that name: This diviſion was under the command of Lucumo, the Tyrrhenian.

XXXVIII. Tatius, king of the Sabines, being informed of their preparations, decamped in the night, and marched through the country without doing any damage to the inhabitants, and, before ſun riſe, incamped on the plain, that lies between the Quirinal, and Capitoline hills: But, obſerving all the poſts to be, ſtrongly, guarded by the enemy, and no place of ſtrength left for his army, he found himſelf under great perplexity, not knowing how to employ his troops while he remained there. But he was relieved from this anxiety by an unexpected piece of good fortune; the ſtrongeſt of the fortreſſes being delivered up

joined him, alſo, with a good number of forces, beſides the Alban ſoldiers, and the artificers ſent by his grandfather: And I cannot think it incredible that all theſe together might amount to fourteen thouſand men. There is an expreſſion, made uſe of by our author a few lines before, which well deſerved the attention of the commentators; it is this, κηρυκας επεμπον επι ταυλα; here we find the prepoſition επι uſed for a cauſe with an accuſative caſe; whereas, moſt authors, and Dionyſius, among the reſt, generally give it a dative caſe upon thoſe occaſions. However, Herodotus, who was much admired by our author, as we find in his critical works, uſes this prepoſition in the ſame manner; where, ſpeaking of the erroneous opinion the Aegyptians entertained that Cambyſes was the ſon of the daughter of Apries, he ſays, [y] Κυρον γαρ ειναι τον πεμψαντα παρα Αμασιν ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ, αλλ' ου Καμβυσεα.

[y] In Thalia, c. 2.

to

to him by the following adventure. For, while the Sabines were paſſing by the foot of the Capitoline hill, to view the place, and ſee whether any part of the hill could be taken either by ſurprize, or force, they were obſerved from the eminence by a virgin, whoſe name was Tarpeia, the daughter of a man of diſtinction, who commanded in the place: This virgin, as both Fabius, and Cincius write, [75] had a mind to the bracelets, which they wore on their left arms, and to their rings: For, at that time, the Sabines wore ornaments of gold, and were, in no degree, inferior to the Tyrrhenians in elegance. But, according to the account given by Lucius Piſo, the cenſorian, in his hiſtory, the deſire of doing a great action led her to deprive the enemy of their defenſive arms, and, in that condition, to deliver them up to her fellow-citizens. But which of theſe accounts is the trueſt, may be conjectured by what happened afterwards. This virgin, therefore, ſending out one of her maids by a little gate, which was not known to be open, deſired the king of the Sabines to come, and confer with her in private, as having an affair of neceſſity, and importance to communicate to him: Tatius, in hope of having the place betrayed to him, accepted the propoſal, and came to the place appointed; when the virgin, approaching [76] as near as the

75· Ερως εισερχεσθαι των ψελλιων. [2] Livy treats this account as a fable, and rather thinks ſhe was bribed by Tatius to admit the Sabines: However that may be, our author has taken care to ſecure himſelf under the authority of Fabius, and Cincius.

76· Εις εφικτον. Sylburgius has tranſlated this, *quam potuit latentiſſime.* This is not the ſenſe of the word, which has

[2] B. i. c. 11.

nature

nature of the place would allow, informed him that her father was, upon ſome occaſion, gone out of the fortreſs that night, but that ſhe kept the keys of the gates; and, if they came in the night, ſhe would deliver up the place to them upon condition that they gave her, as a reward for the treachery, thoſe things, which all the Sabines wore on their left arms. This being conſented to by Tatius, ſhe received his aſſurance on oath for the performance of this agreement, and gave the ſame to him; then, having appointed the ſtrongeſt part of the fortreſs, to which the Sabines were to repair, and the moſt unguarded hour of the night for the enterprize, ſhe returned without being diſcovered by thoſe within.

XXXIX. So far all the Roman hiſtorians agree, but not in what follows. For Piſo, the cenſorian, whom I mentioned before, ſays, that a meſſenger was ſent out of the place by Tarpeia in the night to give intelligence to Romulus of the agreement made by her with the Sabines (in conſequence of which ſhe propoſed, by taking advantage of the ambiguity of the expreſſion in that agreement, to demand their defenſive arms) deſiring him, at the ſame time, to ſend a reinforcement to the fortreſs that night, by the aſſiſtance of which, the enemy, [77] together with their com-

nothing to do with *ſecrecy*. Εφικλον, δυναλον. Heſychius. The fidelity of M. ***, in tranſlating Sylburgius. though it is, often, of advantage to him, ſometimes leads him into a ſnare; as it has done upon this occaſion: For he has rendered his miſtake literally; *Tarpeia s'y rendit auſſi le plus ſecrettement qu'elle put*. Portus, and, conſequently, le Jay, have tranſlated it very properly.

77· Αυλῳ τῳ ϛρατηλατῃ. Caſaubon, very juſtly, obſerves that Portus, by deſiring to add the praepoſition συν, did not conſider that this Atticiſm is, often, to be met with in the Greek

mander,

mander, being deprived of their arms, might be taken priſoners: But, that the meſſenger, deſerting to the king of the Sabines, acquainted him with the deſign of Tarpeia. However, Fabius, and Cincius, ſay there was no ſuch thing; on the contrary, they affirm that the virgin obſerved her treacherous compact: But they all agree, again, in what follows. For they ſay that, upon the approach of the king of the Sabines with a detachment of his beſt troops, Tarpeia, in execution of her promiſe, opened the gate agreed upon, to the enemy; and, calling up the garriſon, deſired they would ſave themſelves, immediately, by other outlets unknown to the enemy, as if the Sabines had, already, been maſters of the place: That, after the retreat of the garriſon, the Sabines, finding the gates open, and the place deſerted, poſſeſſed themſelves of it: And that Tarpeia, alledging that ſhe had performed her part of the agreement, inſiſted upon receiving the reward of her treachery, according to their oaths.

XL. Here, again, Piſo ſays that the Sabines being ready to give the virgin the gold they wore on their left arms, Tarpeia demanded their ſhields, not their ornaments: That Tatius reſented the impoſition, and, at the ſame time, thought of an expedient not to violate the agreement; which was to give her the ſhields, as the maid deſired, but to find

authors. This is ſo true, that I ſcarce know a good writer, who does not, often, uſe it. I ſhall, therefore, content myſelf with quoting one inſtance of this Atticiſm from [a] Homer,

ιοντ' αυτῃσι βοεσσιν
Ανδρας ες αλλοδαπους.

Upon which, the Greek ſcholiaſt ſays, συν αυταις ταις βουσι.

[a] Οδυσσ. υ. ψ. 219.

means

means that ſhe ſhould make no uſe of them; and, immediately, threw his ſhield at her with all his force, and ordered the reſt to do the ſame: And that Tarpeia, thus pelted on all ſides, fell under the number, and force of the blows, and died overwhelmed with their ſhields. But Fabius attributes this colluſion in the performance of the agreement to the Sabines: For they, being obliged, by their contract, to give her the ornaments of gold, as ſhe deſired, repined at the greatneſs of the reward, and threw their ſhields at her, as if they had ingaged themſelves by their oaths to give her theſe. But what followed gives the greater appearance of truth to the opinion of Piſo: For ſhe was honoured with a monument in the place where ſhe fell, and lies buried on the moſt ſacred hill of the city: And the Romans every year, perform libations to her (I relate what Piſo writes) whereas, if ſhe had loſt her life in betraying her country to the enemy, it is not probable ſhe would have received any of theſe honors either from thoſe ſhe had betrayed, or from thoſe, by whom ſhe was killed; but, if there had been any remains of her body, they would, in proceſs of time, have been dug up, and caſt out of the city, in order to[78] deter, and warn others from committing the like crimes. But let every one judge of theſe things as he pleaſes.

XLI. However Tatius, and the Sabines, being maſters of a ſtrong fortreſs, and having, without any trouble, taken the greateſt part of the Romans baggage,[79] carried on the

78. Φοβε. The reader will obſerve that φοβος is uſed actively in this place, and ſignifies *terror*, not *fear*.

79. Τον πολεμον διεφερον. I am very glad I can do M. * * * the juſtice to ſay that he is the only one, of the four

war

war, now, with ſecurity: And, as the armies lay incamped at a ſmall diſtance from each other, ſeveral attempts were made, and ſkirmiſhes happened on many occaſions, which were not attended with any great advantages, or loſſes to either party. Afterwards, two pitched battles were fought, in which, all the forces on both ſides ingaged with the greateſt animoſity; and each of them loſt a conſiderable number of men. While the time was thus prolonged, they both came to the ſame reſolution, which was, to decide, by a general ingagement, the fortune of the war: Whereupon, the leaders of both armies, conſummate in the art of war, and the ſoldiers uſed to action, advancing to the plain, that lay between the two camps, performed many memorable actions, as well in attacking, as in receiving the enemy; in rallying, and renewing the fight with equal advantage. Thoſe, who, from the ramparts, were ſpectators of this doubtful battle, which, often varying, alternately inclined to each ſide, when their own people had the advantage, inſpired them with freſh courage by their exhortations, and ſhouts; and, when they were preſſed, and purſued, prevented a total miſbehaviour, by their prayers, and lamentations: By which, both armies were compelled to ſupport the dreadful incidents of the battle, even beyond their ſtrength. The ingagement having, in this manner, laſted all that day,

tranſlators, who has rendered this paſſage with propriety: All the reſt have given it this ſenſe; *that they protracted the war*; whereas, he has tranſlated it ſimply, *faire la guerre*. And this is the ſenſe [b] Herodotus has given to διαφερειν τον αιωνα, *to live*, in the letter, he ſays, Amaſis writ to Polycrates.

[b] In Thalia. c. 40.

without any advantage on either ſide, and night coming on, they both, willingly, retired to their own camps.

XLII. The following days, they buried their dead, took care of the wounded, reinforced their armies, and, reſolving upon another battle, met, again, in the ſame plain; and fought til night, when the Romans had the advantage in both wings; the right being commanded by Romulus himſelf; and the left by Lucumo, the Tyrrhenian: But, in the center, the battle remained as yet undecided; one man preventing the intire defeat of the Sabines; and, by rallying the troops, that gave way, he brought them, again, to diſpute the victory with the conquerors: His name was Metius Curtius, a perſon remarkable for his ſtrength, and perſonal courage; but, chiefly, celebrated for his contempt of every danger, and every fear. This man commanded in the center, and had overcome thoſe, who oppoſed him: But, being deſirous to reſtore the battle in the wings alſo, where the Sabine troops were, already, preſſed, and their lines forced, he encouraged thoſe about him; and, purſuing that part of the enemy's forces, that fled, and was diſperſed, drove them to the gates of Rome: This obliged Romulus to leave the victory imperfect, and, returning from the purſuit, to haſten to that part of the enemy, that was victorious. This departure of Romulus with his forces gave an opportunity to the Sabines, who had been diſordered, to renew the fight upon equal terms; and the whole danger, now, fell upon Curtius, and his victorious troops. For ſome time, the Sabines received the onſet of the Romans, and fought with great

great gallantry: But, being attacked by greater numbers, they gave way, and ſaved themſelves by retiring to their camp; Curtius ſecuring their retreat, and preventing their being purſued, while they were in diſorder; which gave them an opportunity of retiring without precipitation: For he ſtood his ground, and fought, and received Romulus, when he attacked him in perſon. Here, inſued a great and glorious ingagement between the leaders themſelves: But Curtius, having received many wounds, and loſt much blood, retired by degrees, till he came to a deep lake, round which it was difficult for him to advance, the enemy being poſted on all ſides of it; and impoſſible to paſs through it from the quantity of mud, that ſurrounded it, and the depth of waters, that were gathered together in the middle: When he came to the lake, armed as he was, he threw himſelf into the water: And Romulus, ſuppoſing he would, immediately, periſh in the lake, and not being able to purſue him through ſo much mud, and water, turned upon the reſt of the Sabines: But Curtius, with great difficulty, got ſafe, at laſt, out of the lake, without quitting his arms, and was led away to the camp. This place is now filled up; but is called, from this adventure, the *Lake Curtius*, being about the middle of the Roman forum.

XLIII. Romulus, while he purſued the reſt, advanced near the capitol, and had great hopes of making himſelf maſter of the place; but, being weakened by many wounds, and hurt by a ſevere ſtroke with a ſtone, which, having been thrown at him from a high place, had hit him on the temple,

he was taken up half dead by thoſe about him, and carried into the city. When the Romans, no longer, ſaw their leader, they were ſeized with fear, and the right wing fled: But the troops, that were poſted on the left commanded by Lucumo, encouraged by their leader, a man much celebrated for military achievements, and who had performed many great actions during the courſe of this war, ſtood their ground for ſome time: But he himſelf being pierced through the ſides with a javelin, and falling through weakneſs, they gave way alſo: Upon which, the whole Roman army fled; and the Sabines, imboldened by their flight, purſued them to the city: But, when they approached the gates, they were repulſed; the youth, whom the king had appointed to guard the walls, ſallying out upon them with freſh forces; and Romulus, who, by this time, was, in ſome degree, recovered of his wound, coming out to their aſſiſtance with all poſſible expedition, the fate of the battle turned, and, greatly, changed in favor of the Romans: For thoſe, who fled, recovered themſelves from their late fear at the unlooked-for appearance of their leader; and forming, that inſtant attacked the enemy; while the Sabines, who were, then, [80] driving the others into the city, and [81] made no doubt

80. Καθειργονθες αυθες. Καθειργμενος, κατακεκλεισμενος. Heſychius. And this is the ſenſe the tranſlators ought to have given to this word; which Sylburgius, and le Jay have done. Portus has ſaid, *qui vero tunc intra moenia ſe continebant*; which would be very well, if our author had ſaid καθειργονθες ἑαυθες.

81. Και μηδεμιαν οιομενοι μηχανην ειναι το μη etc. This expreſſion has great elegance, and is taken from Herodotus, whoſe ſtyle our author ſo often imitates, that I may venture to affirm no man can be qualified to tranſlate the latter, who has not, in a good meaſure, acquainted, himſelf with the manner of the former. Cyrus (I mean the founder of the Perſian empire) had a

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of taking it by ſtorm, when they ſaw this ſudden and unexpected change, thought of providing for their own ſafety: But they found it no eaſy matter to retreat to their camp, being purſued from an eminence, and through a hollow way; and, in this rout, happened [82] the great loſs they ſuſtained. After they had thus fought a doubtful battle that day, and both met with unexpected turns of fortune, the ſun, now, being near his ſetting, they parted.

XLIV. The following days, the Sabines held a council, in which they deliberated whether they ſhould return with their forces, after they had done all poſſible damage to the enemy's country, or ſend for another army from home, and proſecute the war with conſtancy, till, by a victory, they

jealouſy of Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, and then adds, [c] ȣκων εςι μηχανη απο της οψιος ταυτης ȣδεμιη το μη κεινον επιϐȣλευειν εμοι. I need not point out to the learned reader the analogy between this expreſſion, and That our author has made uſe of upon this occaſion. The Latin tranſlator of Herodotus has rendered this very properly, though not very elegantly, by *nulla dubitatio*. Our Engliſh tranſlator of that author, Littlebury, I find, has left out the whole ſentence. Had Sylburgius conſidered this paſſage of Herodotus, he could not have rendered That, before us, *nec ullum obſtare machinamentum putabant quo minus*, etc. However, he has been followed, in his error, by M. ***, who has ſaid *que rien ne pouvoit les empêcher de prendre leur ville*. This paſſage of Herodotus, alſo, ſhews that Sylburgius had no reaſon to change το μη into τȣ μη, notwithſtanding the authority of the Vatican manuſcript, which, though it has reſtored numberleſs paſſages, is, certainly, defective in this.

82. Ο πολυς φονος. This particle ὁ, which is very expreſſive in Greek, makes a great alteration in the ſenſe: For, πολυς φονος γινεται, which all the tranſlators have expreſſed in their ſeveral verſions, differs, widely, from ὁ πολυς φονος γινεται; the firſt ſignifying *a great ſlaughter*, and the other, that *the great ſlaughter* happened upon that occaſion. I know there is a great difficulty in rendering theſe powers of the Greek language, in any other: But, every reader expects that a tranſlator ſhould, at leaſt, attempt it.

[c] In Clio, c. 209.

ſhould

ſhould put an end to it in the moſt honourable manner. They conſidered that it would be of bad conſequence to them, both to return home with the ſhame of having effected nothing, and to ſtay there, when none of their attempts ſucceeded to their expectation. As to a treaty with the enemy concerning an accommodation, which they looked upon as the only honourable means of putting an end to the war, they thought it not more convenient to them, than to the Romans. On the other ſide, the Romans were, not leſs, but, even more, perplexed than the Sabines, what courſe to take in the preſent juncture: For they could reſolve neither to reſtore the women, nor to retain them; looking upon the firſt to be attended with an acknowledgement of their defeat, and with a neceſſity of ſubmitting to every thing elſe, that ſhould be impoſed upon them; and the other with many diſmal ſcenes in the deſolation of their country, and the deſtruction of the flower of their youth: And, if they ſhould offer to treat of peace with the Sabines, they deſpaired of obtaining any favourable conditions, for many reaſons; but, chiefly, becauſe haughty men treat an enemy, who courts them, with ſeverity, rather than moderation.

XLV. While both were conſuming the time in theſe conſiderations, daring neither to renew the fight, nor treat of peace, the wives of the Romans, who were Sabines, and the cauſe of the war, aſſembling together, without their huſbands, after conſultation among themſelves, determined to make the firſt mention of an accommodation to both armies. The perſon, who propoſed this meaſure to the reſt of the women,

women, was called Herſilia, a woman of no obſcure birth among the Sabines. Some have ſaid that, being already married, ſhe was ſeized with the virgins as a maid: But thoſe, who give the moſt probable account, ſay, that ſhe ſtaid with her daughter by her own conſent: For, according to them, her only daughter was, alſo, raviſhed among the reſt. After the women had taken this reſolution, they came to the ſenate; and, having obtained audience, they made a long harangue, in which they, earneſtly, deſired leave to go their relations; expreſſing great hopes of uniting the two nations, and of eſtabliſhing friendſhip between them. When the ſenators, who were preſent with the king in council, heard this, they were, exceedingly, pleaſed, and looked upon it as the only expedient in their preſent difficulties. Upon which, a decree of the ſenate was made to this effect; That thoſe Sabine women, who had children, ſhould, upon leaving them with their huſbands, have permiſſion to go, in the quality of embaſſadors, to their countrymen; and that thoſe, who had many children, ſhould take ſome of them, and uſe their endeavours to reconcile the two nations. After this, they went out, dreſſed in mourning; ſome of them, alſo, carrying their ſmall children. When they arrived in the camp of the Sabines, lamenting, and falling at the feet of every one, they raiſed great compaſſion in all, who ſaw them, none being able to refrain from tears. The council being aſſembled on this occaſion, and the king commanding them to give an account of the reaſons, that brought them thither, Herſilia, who had adviſed

this

this reſolution, and was at the head of the embaſſy, beſought them, in a long and pathetic diſcourſe, to give peace to thoſe, who were interceding for their huſbands, and for whoſe ſake, they profeſſed to have undertaken the war. As to the conditions of that peace, ſhe ſaid, the chiefs, aſſembling together by themſelves, might ſettle them with a view to the advantage of both parties.

XLVI. After ſhe had ſaid this, all the women, with their children, threw themſelves at the feet of the king, and remained proſtrate, till thoſe, who were preſent, raiſed them from the ground, promiſing to do every thing, that was reaſonable, and in their power: Then, having ordered them to withdraw, and conſulted together, they determined to make peace. And firſt, a truce was agreed upon between the two nations: After that, the kings had an interview, and a peace was concluded. The terms agreed upon, which they confirmed by their oaths, were as follows: That Romulus, and Tatius ſhould be kings of the Romans, with [83] equal right of ſuffrage, and equal honors: That the city, preſerving its name, ſhould, from its founder, be called Rome: And that each particular citizen ſhould, as before,

[83] Ισοψηφους. I am ſurpriſed at the inaccuracy of the tranſlators in rendering this word. Portus, and Sylburgius, by ſaying *pari poteſtate*, have miſled the two French tranſlators, who, certainly, never thought of the Greek text, when they rendered it *un pouvoir égal, une puiſſance égale*. Ισοψηφος, undoubtedly, ſignifies a perſon, who has an equal right of ſuffrage; and, in this ſenſe, Thucydides uſes the word in that noble ſpeech, in which Pericles encourages the Athenians not to ſubmit to the Peloponneſians, who, he ſays, labor under many diſadvantages; and, among the reſt, mentions this, that [d] πανλες τε ΙΤΟΨΗΦΟΙ ονλες, και ουχ ὁμοφυλοι, το εφ' ἑαυλου ἑκαστος σπευδει.

[d] B. i. c. 141.

be

be called a Roman: But that the people, collectively, ſhould be comprehended under one general appellation, and, from the country of Tatius, be called [84] Quirites: And that all the Sabines, who were willing, might ſettle at Rome, and bring with them the images of their gods; and that they ſhould be incorporated with the tribes, and the curiae. After they had ſworn to the obſervance of this treaty, and erected altars [85] in memory of their oaths, about the middle of the holy way, as it is called, they mingled together, and all the generals returned home with their forces, except Tatius, the king, and three perſons of the moſt conſiderable families, who ſtaid at Rome, and received thoſe honors, which their poſterity after them enjoyed: Theſe were Voluſus Valerius, and Tullus, ſurnamed Tyrannus, with Metius Curtius, who ſwam croſs the lake with his arms: Others ſtaid, alſo, with their relations, and clients, not leſs in number than the former inhabitants.

XLVII. Every thing being ſettled, the kings thought proper, ſince the city had received a great encreaſe of people, to double the number of the patricians, by adding to the former illuſtrious families, as many of the new inhabitants;

84. Κυρίτας. [c] Livy aſſigns the ſame reaſon for this appellation: *Ita geminatâ urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliud dăretur*, Quirites *a curibus appellati.*

85. Επι τοις ὁρκοις. The tranſlators are unanimous in ſuppoſing, in their ſeveral verſions, that they erected theſe altars in order to ſwear to the obſervance of the treaty upon them; without conſidering that our author ſays they ſwore to perform the treaty before he mentions the altars: So that, I think, we muſt conclude that the altars were erected to perpetuate the memory of this treaty, which was confirmed in ſo ſolemn a manner; and, by which the two nations were united.

[c] B. i. c. 13.

which addition they alſo called patricians: Of theſe, a hundred perſons, previouſly choſen [86] by the curiae, were incorporated with the ancient ſenators. Concerning theſe things, almoſt all the authors of the Roman hiſtory agree: But ſome few differ in the number of the additional ſenators: For they ſay that not a hundred, but fifty only were admitted into the ſenate upon this occaſion. Concerning the honors alſo, which the kings conferred on the women, in return for their mediation, all the Roman hiſtorians do not agree: For ſome of them write that, beſides many other conſiderable grants, they gave their names to the curiae, which were thirty, as I have ſaid, That being the number of the women, who went upon the embaſſy. But Terentius Varro does not agree with them in this particular: For he ſays that Romulus gave the names to the curiae earlier than this, when he, firſt, divided the people; ſome of theſe names being taken from their chiefs; and others from the [87] places

86. Φρατριαι. The French tranſlators are unfortunate in rendering this period. M. *** has thought fit to call theſe, *les tribus*, inſtead of *les curies*, which he ſhould have ſaid. And le Jay has confounded the patricians with the ſenators, and made the hundred men, choſen by the curiae, to have been elected into the number of the patricians, inſtead of the ſenators, *pour prendre, comme les autres, le nom, et la qualité de patrices.* Patricians they were, to be ſure, but they were ſenators alſo; which laſt quality he has omitted. By the original conſtitution of the Romans, the dignity of ſenator, as well as all the magiſtracies, could only be enjoyed by patricians: Thus, we ſhall find, that [f] Tarquinius Priſcus, when he added another hundred perſons to the ſenate, firſt made them patricians, and then ſenators.

87. Απο πατρων. Here is, certainly, a fault in the text, which runs through all the editions. This the tranſlators have been ſo ſenſible of, that they have followed Gelenius, who, upon what authority I know not, has read απο των πατραι πατριδων. But the misfortune is, that the names of the curiae

[f] B. ii. c. 67.

inhabited

inhabited by the curiae: He ſays, alſo, that the number of the women, who went upon the embaſſy, was not thirty, but three hundred and twenty ſeven; and does not think it probable that the kings would have deprived ſo many women of this honor, to beſtow it only upon a few of them. I thought it became me neither to omit theſe things, nor to ſay more of them, than was proper.

XLVIII. Concerning the city of the Quirites, from whence Tatius, and his followers came (for the courſe of this narration requires that I ſhould ſpeak of them alſo, and ſay who they were, and from whence) we have received the following account. In the territory of Reate, when the Aborigines were in poſſeſſion of it, a certain virgin of that country, who was of the firſt quality, dancing with others of her ſex, went into a temple of Enyalius: The Sabines, and, from them, the Romans give to Enyalius the name of Curinus; without being able to affirm for certain, whether he is the god Mars, or ſome other, enjoying the ſame honors: For ſome are of opinion that each of theſe names is attributed to the ſame god, who preſides over combats: Others, that theſe names belong to two ſeveral gods of war. However, this maid, while ſhe was dancing in the temple,

were not taken from the countries, from whence the people, who compoſed them, originally, came; but from the places they inhabited: Which is confirmed by Plutarch, who, in his life of Romulus, has, plainly, taken many things from our author; and, like him, mentions this opinion, that the names of the curiae were taken from the women; which he treats as an error: And the reaſon he aſſigns for it, may, very probably, help us to the right reading of this paſſage; πολλαι γαρ εχουσιν απο ΧΩΡΙΩΝ τας προσηγοριας. I would, therefore, read, with a ſmall alteration, inſtead of απο πανδων, απο τοπων.

was, on a ſudden, ſeized with divine inſpiration; and, ceaſing to dance with her company, ran into the ſanctuary of the god: After which, being with child by this genius, as every body believed, ſhe brought forth a ſon, whoſe name was Medius, and his ſurname Fidius, who being arrived to manhood, had not a human, but a divine form; and was, of all men the moſt renowned for military achievements; and, being deſirous to build a city, [88] at his own expence, he gathered together a great number of people of the neighbourhood, and, in a very ſhort time, built the city, called Cures: Which he called by that name, as ſome ſay, from the genius, who was reputed to have been his father; or, as others write, from a ſpear; for the Sabines call ſpears, *Cures*. This is the account given by Terentius Varro.

XLIX. But [89] Zenodotus of Troezene, who has written the hiſtory of the Umbri, ſays that the Sabines, firſt, dwelt, in the Reatine territory, as it is called, of which they were the original inhabitants; and that, being driven from thence by the Pelaſgi, they came into the country they now inhabit; and, changing their name with their habitation, from Umbri, were called, Sabines. But Portius Cato ſays that the Sabines

88. Ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς. Portus has led the two French tranſlators into an error by rendering this *de ſuo nomine*; which they have tranſlated without conſidering that the name of this man was Medius Fidius, and That of the city Cures, which name cannot, poſſibly, be derived from the other. We may, certainly, conclude that Sylburgius ſaw this difficulty, by his leaving it out. Ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς, plainly, ſignifies, *at his own expence*, and the Latin tranſlators ought to have rendered it, *ſuis ſumptibus*.

89. Ζηνοδότος. I can find nothing worth relating concerning this hiſtorian.

received

received their name from [90] Sabinus, the ſon of [91] Sancus, a genius of that country; and that this Sancus was, by ſome,

90. Σαβινος. I ſee no reaſon to ſubſtitute Sabus, with Sylburgius, in the room of Sabinus, contrary to the authority of all the manuſcripts, and editions, ſince [g] Virgil, alſo, calls him Sabinus,

*Italuſque, paterque* Sabinus
*Vitiſator.*

91. Σαγκον. This is the true reading; and thus it muſt be reſtored in [h] Livy, where he ſays, in ſpeaking of Vitruvius, *bona ejus* Semoni Sanco *cenſuerunt conſecranda.* For this divinity of the Sabines was called [i] Semo, Sancus, Sangus, and Fidius; the laſt of which I look upon to be a Roman name, and the other three to have been the name of that god, as they called him, in the Sabine language, which was not, like the Latin, originally, Greek, notwithſtanding the ſmall colony of Lacedaemonians, who came to ſettle among the Sabines: And, that their language was not, originally, Greek, appears from the following paſſage of Livy, where he refutes the opinion of thoſe, who held that Numa had been inſtructed by Pythagoras, which, he obſerves, could not be, ſince the latter lived in the time of Servius Tullius, above a hundred years after Numa, and reſided at Croton, in a diſtant part of Italy: After which, he aſks this queſtion, [k] *Ex quibus locis, etſi ejuſdem aetatis fuiſſet* (Pythagoras) *quâ famâ Sabinos, aut* quo linguae commercio *quenquam ad cupiditatem diſcendi exciviſſet?* If Juſtin had read either Dionyſius, or Livy, or, even, converſed with any, who had read them, he would never have fallen into the ridicule of charging the Romans with having erected a ſtatue to [l] Simon Magus, upon no other foundation than this inſcription on the ſtatue of this Sabine god, SEMONI. SANGO. DEO. FIDIO, which he ſuppoſes to have been *Simoni deo ſancto.* My learned friend, [m] Dr. Gregory Sharpe, ſays, in his juſtification, that, *in this, he did not intend to deceive any one.* This I am very willing to allow; but hope he will, alſo, allow that, if his ſincerity acquits him of any deſign to deceive, his ignorance, and credulity render him a poor guide to follow. I wonder what the Roman Senate, to whom he addreſſes his apology, thought of this extraordinary diſcovery: But I ſuppoſe they had never heard either of him, or his writings. I obſerve, in reading this apology of [n] Juſtin, that he addreſſes it, not only, to the Roman ſenate, whom he flatters with the title of ἱερα συγκλητος, *holy ſenate* (a ſtrange title to be given by a father of the Chriſtian church to an aſſembly of heathens) but, alſo, to the emperor Antoninus Pius, and to the people of Rome. The ſtatue, here taken notice of by Juſtin, was, I find, not a great many years ago, dug up in an iſland of the Tiber, with the very inſcription before mentioned, which had, ſo unfortunately, miſled Juſtin.

[g] Aen. B. 7. ℣. 178. [h] B. viii. c. 20. [i] Ovid. Faſtorum. B. vi. ℣. 213. [k] B. i. c. 18.
[l] 1ſt Apology, p. 51. Edit. Oxon. [m] Apol. for the Chriſt. fathers, p. 134. [n] P. 1ſt and 2d.

called

called Jupiter Fidius: He ſays, alſo, that their firſt habitation was in a certain village, called [92] Teſtrina, ſituated near the city Amiternum: That, from thence, the Sabines made an incurſion into the Reatine territory, which was, at that time, inhabited by the Aborigines; and, having, by force of arms, taken their moſt conſiderable city called [93] Cotyna, they continued in poſſeſſion of it: That, ſending colonies out of the Reatine territory, they built many cities, in which they lived without fortifying them; and, among the reſt, the city called Cures: And that the country they were in poſſeſſion of, is diſtant from the Adriatic about two hundred and eighty ſtadia, and, from the Tyrrhene ſea, two hundred and forty; and he ſays that the length of it was little leſs than a thouſand ſtadia. There is, alſo, another account given of the Sabines in the hiſtories of that country, which ſays that a colony of Lacedaemonians ſettled among them, when Lycurgus, being guardian to his nephew [94] Eunomus,

92. Τεϛρινων. [o] Cluver places this village near the city of Amiternum, and the river Aternus, now called, *Peſcára*. Amiternum ſtood between the head of this river, and Aquila, near to a ſmall town, known, at this time, by the name of *S. Vittorino*.

93. Κοτυναϛ. As there is a great variety of opinions concerning the true reading of this word, I ſhall not trouble the reader with any conjectures relating to the ſituation of this controverted town.

94. Ευνομον. The hiſtorians vary concerning the name of this man: [p] Herodotus calls the nephew of Lycurgus Leobotes, Λυκουργον επιτροπευσαντος Λεωβωτεω αδελφιδεος μεν εωυτου. Lycurgus gave laws to Sparta about the ſame time that Carthage was built by Dido, and about 116 years before Romulus built Rome. No man was ever a greater benefactor to his country than Lycurgus; ſince, having found it almoſt the worſt governed nation of all the Greeks, he reformed it by ſuch a ſyſtem of laws, as the beſt judges have, always, admired, and the wiſeſt nations imitated. The Lacedaemonians, before Lycurgus, were ſo little diſpoſed to receive good laws, that he deſpaired of their prevailing among

[o] Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 8. [p] In Clio, c. 65.

gave

gave laws to Sparta: That ſome of them, diſliking the ſeverity of his laws, and ſeparating from the reſt, quitted the city intirely; and, after [95] a long navigation in the main ſea, made a vow to the gods (for they were deſirous to land any where) to ſettle in the firſt place they ſhould arrive at: That, at laſt, they made that part of Italy, which lies near the [96] Pomentine plains, and called the place, where they firſt landed, [97] Feronia, in memory of their being *carried* through the main; and built a temple to the goddeſs Feronia, to whom they had addreſſed their vows; which goddeſs, by the alteration of one letter, they, now, call Fηronia: That ſome of them, going from thence, cohabited with the Sabines: And, for this reaſon, many of their inſtitutions are Laconic; particularly, their inclination to war, their frugality, and a

them by their own merit; which obliged him to have recourſe to the Delphic oracle, and to prevail on the prieſteſs to recommend them to his country by her authority, which was then, univerſally, obeyed. This ſhe did effectually, by recommending the [q] author of them,

Ηκεις, ω Λυκοοργε εμον ωολι ωιονα νηον,
Ζηνι Φιλος, και ωασιν Ολυμπια δωμαθ' εχεσι.
Διζω η σε θεον μαντευσομαι, η ανθρωπον.
Αλλ' ει και μαλλον θεον ελπομαι, ω Λυκοοργε.

The Delphic prieſteſs muſt have had a great dependance upon the credulity of mankind to make Apollo firſt, gravely, doubt whether Lycurgus was a god, or a man; and then, wiſely, determine that he rather believed him to be a god.

95. Δια ωελαγης ωολλης. See the 163d annotation on the firſt book. The ancients, at leaſt, the Greeks, and Romans, were ſo little acquainted with navigation, that they called croſſing the Mediterranean, for example, from Laconia to Italy, δια ωελαγης φερεσθαι, *to ſail through the main ſea*, which appellation modern ſeamen ſcarce allow to any other navigation, than to the eaſt, or weſt Indies.

96. Ωμεντινα ωεδια. [r] Theſe plains received their name from Pometia, the capital of the Volſci. [s] They lay between the rivers Aſtura, and Ufens; and, in theſe plains, ſtood the temple of *Feronia*, at the diſtance of three Roman miles from *Tarracina*.

97. Φερονια. Απο της φερεσθαι.

[q] In Clio, c. 65. [r] Strabo, B. v. p. 355. [s] Cluver, Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 8.

ſeverity

ſeverity in all their actions. But this is ſufficient concerning the Sabines.

L. Romulus, and Tatius, immediately, enlarged the city, by adding to it two other hills, the Quirinal and Caelian; and ſeparating their habitations, each of them had their particular place of reſidence. Romulus choſe the Pallantine and Caelian hills, the latter being contiguous to the Pallantine; and Tatius the Capitoline, which he had, at firſt, poſſeſſed himſelf of, and the Quirinal, hills. And, cutting down the wood, that grew on the plain at the foot of the Capitoline hill, and filling up the greateſt part of the lake, which, by lying in a hollow place, always abounded with the water, that came down from the hills, they converted this plain into a market place, which the Romans continue to make uſe of, even, to this day: There they held their aſſemblies, tranſacting their affairs in the temple of Vulcan, which ſtands a little above the forum. They built temples, alſo, and conſecrated altars to thoſe gods, to whom they had addreſſed their vows during their battles; Romulus, to [98] Jupiter Stator, near the gate called [99] Mugionia, which leads to the Palatine hill from the holy way, becauſe this god had, in conſequence of his vow, ſtopped his army in their flight, and brought them to renew the battle; and Tatius to the ſun, and moon, to Saturn, and to Rhea; and, beſides theſe, to Veſta, Vulcan,

98· Ὀρθοσιῳ Διι. This is a tranſlation of *Jupiter Stator*. He is repreſented in the coins of Antoninus Pius, and Gordian, in a ſtanding poſture, his right hand leaning on a ſpear; and, in his left, he holds a *fulmen*.

99· Μυκωνισι πυλαις. This was the *Porta Mugionia*, ſo called from *Mugius*, who had the guard of it: *Porta Mugionia Romae dicta eſt* a Mugio quodam, *qui eidem tuendae praefuit*. Feſtus.

Diana,

Diana, and Enyalius, and to other gods, whoſe names are difficult to be expreſſed in the Greek language. And, in every curia, they dedicated tables to Juno, called [100] Quiritia, which are extant, even, to this day. They reigned five years together in perfect harmony; during which time, they undertook a joint expedition againſt the [101] Camerini: For theſe people, having ſent out bands of robbers, and done great miſchief to the country of the Romans, neglected, though often called upon, to give them ſatisfaction: Having, therefore, overcome the Camerini in a pitched battle (for theſe did not decline the ingagement) and, afterwards, taken their town by ſtorm, they diſarmed the inhabitants, and took from them a third part of their country; which when the Camerini were laying waſte, they marched out againſt them the third day, and, having put them to flight, they divided all their poſſeſſions among their own people; but ſuffered as many of the inhabitants as were willing to live at Rome: Theſe amounted to about four thouſand, whom they diſtributed among the curiae, and made their city a Roman colony. Cameria was a colony of the Albans, planted long before the building of Rome; and, anciently, one of the moſt celebrated habitations of the Aborigines.

100. Ἥρᾳ Κυρίτιδι. I look upon this to be a tranſlation of *Juno Populonia*; becauſe [t] Macrobius mentions a table dedicated in the temple of this Juno; *in Papiriano jure etiam relatum eſt, arae vicem praeſtare poſſe menſam dicatam; ut in templo* Junonis Populoniae *auguſtâ menſa eſt.*

101. Καμερίνους. [u] Cameria ſtood in the confines of the Latines, and Sabines, and in the neighbourhood of Rome.

[t] Sat. B. iii. c. 11. [u] Cluver, Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 8.

LI. The ſixth year, the ſole government of the city returned to Romulus, Tatius having loſt his life by a conſpiracy, which the principal men of [102] Laurentum had formed againſt him upon this occaſion: Some friends of Tatius, at the head of a band of robbers, had made an incurſion into the territory of the Laurentes, where they took a great many of their effects, and drove away their herds of cattle, killing, and wounding thoſe who oppoſed them. Upon the arrival of embaſſadors from the injured to demand juſtice, Romulus was of opinion that the authors of the injury ought to be delivered up to the ſufferers: However, Tatius, eſpouſing the cauſe of his friends, would not conſent that any perſons ſhould be delivered up to their enemies before judgement; particularly, that Roman citizens ſhould be delivered up to ſtrangers; but ordered thoſe, who complained they had been injured, to come to Rome, and proceed againſt [103] them according to law. The embaſſadors, having obtained no ſort of juſtice, went away full of reſentment: And ſome of the Sabines, incenſed at their proceeding, followed them, and ſet upon them while they were

[102] Λαβινιαλων. There is a note of Caſaubon upon this occaſion, in which he contends, with great reaſon, that we muſt read Λαυρεντιων, inſtead of Λαβινιαλων; becauſe, though Tatius was ſlain at Lavinium, the fact was committed by the Laurentes; which is confirmed both by [w] Livy, and [x] Plutarch.

[103] Αὐλοις. I cannot agree with Portus in reading αὐλως, inſtead of αὐλοις, which muſt not be referred to τοις ἀδικηθεισι, but to πολλαις, that, immediately, precedes it. And, that δικαζεσθαι τινι is elegant Greek, ſignifying *to ſue any one*, may be proved from the beſt writers; particularly, from [y] Ariſtophanes, who makes Strepſiades thus complain of his creditors,

ἀλλα λοιδορησι με,
Ὡς ἀδικῶ ἐμι, και ΔΙΚΑΣΕΣΘΑΙ φασι ΜΟΙ.

[w] B. i. c. 14. [x] Life of Romulus. [y] Νεφ. ν. 1138.

aſleep

aſleep in their tents, which they had pitched near the road (for they were overtaken by the night) and, not only, robbed them, but killed all they found in their beds: Thoſe, who had early notice of the attempt, and an opportunity of making their eſcape, retired to their city. After this, embaſſadors, ſent both from Laurentum, and many other cities, complained of this breach of the law of nations, threatening war, if they could not obtain juſtice.

LII. This outrage, committed on the perſons of the embaſſadors, appeared to Romulus, as it really was, a moſt heinous offence, and ſuch a violation of a ſacred law, as called for a ſpeedy expiation; and, finding Tatius neglected it, he himſelf, without further delay, ordered thoſe, who had been guilty of this outrage, to be ſeized, and delivered up in chains to the embaſſadors to be puniſhed. Tatius was not only offended at the indignity, which he complained he had received from his collegue in delivering up the men, but alſo, moved with compaſſion for their ſituation (for one of the guilty perſons was even his relation) and, immediately, taking a body of ſoldiers with him, he went in all haſte to their aſſiſtance; and, overtaking the embaſſadors on the road, reſcued the priſoners. Not long after, as ſome ſay, going with Romulus to Lavinium, in order to perform a ſacrifice, which was to be offered up by the kings to the gods of their anceſtors for the proſperity of the city, the friends, and relations of the embaſſadors, who had been murdered, having conſpired againſt him, ſlew him at the altar with the knives, and ſpits, uſed in cutting up, and

roaſting the oxen, which had been killed for the ſacrifice. But Licinius writes, that he did not go with Romulus, nor with a deſign to offer ſacrifice; but alone, and with an intention to perſuade thoſe, who had received the injuries, to forgive the authors of them; and, that the people, being in a rage that the men had not been delivered up to them in purſuance of the determination both of Romulus, and of the Roman ſenate, and the relations of the dead aſſaulting him in great numbers, he, being, no longer, able to eſcape their violence, was ſtoned to death. This was the end of Tatius, after he had been at war with Romulus three years, and his collegue five. His body was brought to Rome, where it was buried with great pomp, and the city performs every year public libations to him.

LIII. Romulus, being a ſecond time, inveſted with the ſole government of the city, expiated the crime committed on the perſons of the embaſſadors, by forbidding thoſe, who had committed that outrage, the uſe of fire and water: For, upon the death of Tatius, they had all fled out of the city. After that, he acquitted the Laurentes, who had conſpired againſt Tatius, and who, being delivered up by their citizens, and brought by him to a trial, were thought, with great juſtice, to alledge in their defence that they had puniſhed violence by violence. After Romulus had finiſhed theſe affairs, he led out his army againſt the city of the Fidenates, which is diſtant from Rome forty ſtadia, and was, at that time, both a large and populous city: For the Cruſtumerini, having ſent proviſions to Rome in boats, while the

the Romans were afflicted with a famine, the Fidenates attacked the boats in great numbers, ſeized the proviſions, and killed ſome of the men, who defended them: And, being called upon to make ſatisfaction, they refuſed it. Romulus, incenſed at this, made an incurſion into their country with a conſiderable force; and, having made himſelf maſter of a great booty, prepared to return with his army: But the Fidenates marching out againſt him, he gave them battle; and, the action being very warm, and many falling on both ſides, the Fidenates were overcome, and put to flight. Romulus, purſuing them cloſe, entered the gate together with thoſe, who fled. The city being taken by ſtorm, he puniſhed a few of them; and, leaving a guard of three hundred men there, and, taking from the inhabitants a part of their territory, which he divided among his own people, he made this city, alſo, a Roman colony. This city was founded by the Albans at the ſame time with [104] Nomentum, and [105] Cruſtumerium, three brothers being the leaders of that colony, of whom the eldeſt built Fidenae.

LIV. After this war, Romulus undertook another againſt the [106] Camerini, who had fallen upon the Roman colony, that was ſettled among them, whilſt the city of Rome laboured under a peſtilential diſtemper; by which, the Came-

104. Νομεντῳ. So it muſt be read, not Νομεντια with the Vatican manuſcript; ſince Nomentum was the name of this town, which belonged, anciently, to the Latines. [z] Nomentum lay beyond Fidenae, about twelve miles to the north of Rome, and is, now, called *Lamentano*.

105. Κρυστομεριαν. See above; note the 66th.

106. Καμαρινους. See above; note the 101ſt.

[z] Cluver, Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 8.

rini

rini were, chiefly, incouraged; and, imagining the Roman nation would be, totally, deſtroyed by this calamity, killed ſome of the colony, and expelled the reſt. In revenge for this outrage, Romulus, after he had, a ſecond time, made himſelf maſter of the place, put to death the authors of the revolt; and, not only, gave his ſoldiers the plunder of the city, but, alſo, took from the citizens half their lands, beſides that part, which, had been, before, divided among the Romans ſettled there; and, having left a garriſon in the city, ſufficient to quell any future motion of the inhabitants, he returned with his forces. Upon the ſucceſs of this expedition, he triumphed a ſecond time, and out of the ſpoils he conſecrated a chariot with four horſes in braſs to Vulcan; and, near it, he placed his own ſtatue, with an inſcription in Greek characters, ſetting forth his actions. The third war Romulus ingaged in, was againſt a city, at that time, [107] the moſt powerful of Tyrrhenia, called Veii,

107. Ἔθνος Τυῤῥηνικὸν τὴν μεγίστου ἰσχύσασαν τοῖς πολιν. M. * * * has ſaid, *la plus forte place de tout le païs des Tyrrheniens*; and le Jay, *une ville tres-floriſſante*; neither of which is a tranſlation of the Greek text, in which ἰσχύσασα ſignifies, *powerful*. I find [a] Cluver is of opinion that we ought to read Φιδήναι inſtead of Ἀθήναι; his reaſon is, that our author, afterwards, compares Rome, under Servius Tullius, with Athens; and he thinks it not probable that Veii ſhould have been ſo large as Rome. But I cannot be of his opinion, becauſe it appears, by this paſſage of Dionyſius, that Veii was the moſt powerful city of Etruria; and we find that, after Rome had been laid in ruins by the Gauls, the Romans were with great difficulty prevented from removing to Veii: Upon which occaſion, [b] Livy, very reaſonably, accounts for their earneſtneſs; *Quum pulcherrima urbs Veii, agerque Veientanus in conſpectu ſit, uberior, ampliorque Romano agro. Urbem quoque urbi Romae, vel ſitu, vel magnificentiâ publicorum, privatorumque tectorum, ac locorum praeponebant.* This ſhews, ſufficiently, that Veii might, very well, be compared

a Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 3. b B. v. c. 24.

diſtant

diſtant from Rome about a hundred ſtadia: This city is ſituated on a high and craggy rock, and is as large as Athens. The Veientes made the taking of Fidenae the pretence of this war; and, ſending embaſſadors, they ſummoned the Romans to withdraw their garriſon from that city, and reſtore the territories they had taken from the Fidenates, and ſtill retained, to the former poſſeſſors. But, not prevailing, they took the field with a great army, and incamped on an [108] eminence near Fidenae: However, Romulus, having, beforehand, received information of their motions, had marched out with the flower of his army, and lay ready at Fidenae to receive them. When every thing was diſpoſed for the battle, both armies advanced into the plain, and came to an ingagement; and continued fighting for a long time with great animoſity, till night, coming on, parted them, after they

to Athens, and, conſequently, to Rome according to the reaſoning of our author. [c] Cluver thinks that a town now called *Scrofano* ſtands on, or near the ruins of Veii. This city was in Etruria, and, conſequently, lay on the weſt of the Tiber, and about twelve miles from Rome. [d] Florus, whoſe authority I ſhould not quote, if it were not confirmed by other authors, deſcribes the condition of Veii, in his time, that is, in the latter end of Trajan's reign, *laborat annalium fides, ut Veios fuiſſe credamus.*

[108] Εν *απορῳ*. The tranſlators are divided, as uſual, in rendering this: Sylburgius has ſaid, *in edito loco*, and M. * * *, *ſur une éminence*; Portus, *in loco occulto*, and le Jay, *dans un lieu fort couvert*. If the reader has ſo much indulgence for theſe gentlemen, as to think they tranſlated from the Greek text, and that each of them followed the ſenſe of that Latin tranſlator he ſeems moſt to admire by mere accident, I ſhall ſay nothing to defeat the operation of ſo much good nature. The following explanation of the word *απορος* is ſupported by the example of the beſt writers, who uſe it in both theſe ſignifications; *απορον, πορρωθεν ὁρωμενον, η ἀθεωρητον*. Suidas. But, if our author had deſigned to ſpeak of an ambuſcade, he would, ſurely, have given an account either of the ſucceſs, or diſappointment of it.

[c] B. ii. c. 3. [d] B. i. c. 12.

had

had fought with equal bravery, and ſucceſs. This was the event of the firſt battle.

LV. But a ſecond being fought not long after, the Romans obtained the victory by the conduct of their general; who, in the night, had poſſeſſed himſelf of an eminence, not far diſtant from the enemy's camp, and placed there in ambuſh the choiceſt both of the horſe and foot, who, ſince the laſt action, came to him from Rome: And both armies meeting in the plain, and ingaging in the ſame manner as before, when Romulus gave the ſignal to the troops, that lay in ambuſh on the eminence, theſe, ſhouting, attacked the Veientes in the rear; and, being freſh, and the enemy fatigued with the labor of the day, they ſoon put them to flight: Some few of them were ſlain in the battle; but the greateſt part, throwing themſelves into the Tiber, which runs near Fidenae, with intent to ſwim over the river, were drowned: For, being wounded, and ſpent with labor, they were unable to ſwim over: While others, not knowing how to ſwim, and, from a view of the danger, loſing all preſence of mind, were ſwallowed up in the eddies of the river. If, therefore, the Veientes had been ſenſible of their firſt error, and kept themſelves quiet after this, no greater miſchief had befallen them: But, hoping to repair their former loſſes, and imagining that, if they [109] applied themſelves to reinforce their army,

109. Ει μειζονι παρασκευη επιϑαλοιεν. All the tranſlators have agreed in giving this ſenſe to theſe words, *if they attacked the Romans with a greater force*; without conſidering that the verb επιϑαλοιεν, in that caſe, will ſtand ſingle, and govern nothing; which I do not think very grammatical: This they all ſeem to be ſo ſenſible of, that they are obliged to ſupply the ſenſe by the word *enemy*, or *Romans*: I have rather choſen to give to επιϑαλοιεν the ſenſe of επιχειροιεν, according to which, μειζονι παρασκευη is, very properly, governed by it.

army, they ſhould, with eaſe, have the advantage in the war, they levied numerous forces, conſiſting both of their own troops, and of Thoſe of their countrymen, who, in virtue of their league, came to their aſſiſtance, and, a ſecond time, marched againſt the Romans. Upon this, another ſharp battle was fought near Fidenae, in which the Romans were victorious, killing many of the Veientes, and taking more of them priſoners. Even their camp was taken, which was full of money, arms, and ſlaves; as, alſo, their boats, which were laden with great ſtore of proviſions, and, in which, the priſoners, being very numerous, were carried down the river to Rome. This victory gave occaſion to the third triumph of Romulus, which was much more magnificent than either of the former: And, not long after, embaſſadors being ſent by the Veientes to put an end to the war, and to aſk pardon for their offences, Romulus impoſed this penalty upon them: To deliver up to the Romans the country, that lies contiguous to the Tiber, called [110] *the ſeven villages*; and to quit [111] the ſalt-pits, that lie near the mouth of the river; and, alſo, to bring fifty hoſtages, as an aſſurance of their attempting no innovations for the future. The Veientes

110. Επτα κωμας. [a] Cluver thinks this place lay between Veii, and the ſea, and between the Tiber, and the river Aro, which riſes from the Sabatine lake, now called, *Lago di Bracciano*. But I do not know how this ſituation of the place can be reconciled to what our author ſays preſently, that Romulus divided among theſe new citizens the lands lying on the Roman ſide of the Tiber; which lands ſeem to be Thoſe ceded by the Veientes, in purſuance of the treaty.

111. Των αλων. [c] This place was, anciently, called, *Salinae*; and the adjacent territory is, ſtill, called, from thence, *Campo di Saline*.

[a] Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 2. [c] Cluver, ib.

ſubmitting to all theſe things, he made a league with them for one hundred years; and ingraved the terms of it on pillars. He, then, diſmiſſed, without ranſom, all the priſoners, who were deſirous to return home: But thoſe, who choſe to remain there, and who were by much the greateſt part, he made citizens of Rome, and diſtributed them among the curiae, and divided among them, by lot, the lands lying on this ſide of the Tiber.

LVI. Theſe are the memorable wars, in which Romulus was ingaged. The reaſon why he conquered no more of the neighbouring nations ſeems to be owing to his ſudden death, which took him away while he was yet [112] in the vigor of his age for warlike achievements; concerning which, there are many different relations: Thoſe, therefore, whoſe accounts of his actions are rather fabulous, ſay, that, while he was haranguing his men in the camp, the ſky, which was, before, clear, changing to a ſudden darkneſs, and a violent tempeſt burſting from the clouds, he diſappeared; and theſe believe that the man was taken up into heaven by his father Mars. But thoſe, who write the moſt probably, ſay, that he was put to death by his own people;

112. Εἰς ακμαζοντι αυτῳ τε πολεμια πραττειν. This does not ſignify *in the height of his glory for military exploits*, which is the ſenſe all the tranſlators give to this paſſage. I ſhould not find fault with this verſion if it were not for that unlucky verb πραττειν, at the end of this ſentence, which gives a very different ſenſe to the whole: For this verb, in the infinitive mood, denotes the direction of the adjective, or participle, that precedes it. The Romans, alſo, inriched their language with this piece of Greek elegance, of which many examples might be brought from their beſt writers. To this Greciſm, [f] Horace is obliged for his, *Audax omnia perpeti.*

[f] L. i. Ode 3. ℣. 25.

and

and the reaſon they alledge for his murder is, that he releaſed the hoſtages of the Veientes, without the common conſent, contrary to cuſtom; and that he did not behave himſelf in the ſame manner to the ancient citizens, and to Thoſe, who were, newly, admitted, doing greater honor to the former, and deſpiſing the latter; and, alſo, that he ſhewed great cruelty, and haughtineſs in the puniſhment of delinquents: For he ordered ſome conſiderable men, and thoſe not a few in number, [113] accuſed of having robbed their neighbours, to be thrown down the precipice appointed for that purpoſe, aſſuming to himſelf alone the cognizance of their crimes: But, chiefly, becauſe he was, now, become haughty and grievous to his people, and extended his power, governing more like a tyrant, than a king. For theſe reaſons, they ſay, the patricians formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and reſolved to put him to death; and, having executed their reſolution in the ſenate, they divided his body into ſeveral pieces, that it might not be ſeen; then, came out of the ſenate, every one hiding his part of him under his robes, which they, afterwards, buried privately. Others ſay, that he was killed, while he was haranguing the people, by the new citizens; and that they took the time of the darkneſs abovementioned, to commit the murder, the aſſembly of the people being, then, diſperſed, and their chief

113. Επι λησειᾳ κατηγορηθεντας. I cannot underſtand how Sylburgius came to render this, *Latrocinii convictos*; but I, eaſily, underſtand why le Jay tranſlated it ſo. Upon this occaſion, I have great pleaſure in doing juſtice to M. * * *, who has ſaid, very properly, *ayant été accuſés d'avoir fait des brigandages.*

left without a guard: And, for this reaſon, they ſay, the day, on which this act was committed, took its name from the flight of the people, and that, at this time, it is called [114] *Populifugia:* And, indeed, the incidents, prepared by the gods, with which [115] the conception, and diſſolution of this man were attended, ſeem to give no ſmall authority to the ſyſtem of thoſe, who make the apotheoſes of mortal men, and place the ſouls of illuſtrious perſons in heaven. For they ſay that, at the time when his mother was violated, whether by ſome man, or by a god, there was a total eclipſe of the ſun; that a general darkneſs, as in the night, covered the earth: And that, at his death, the ſame thing happened. This is reported to have been the death of Romulus, who built Rome, and, by her citizens, was choſen their firſt king. He left no iſſue; and, having reigned thirty ſeven years, died in the fifty fifth year of his age: For he was very young when he obtained the government; being no more than eighteen years old, as it is agreed by all, who have written his hiſtory.

LVII. The following year, there was no king of the Romans elected; but a certain magiſtracy, called by them,

[114] Οχλυ φυγη. Varro gives a much better reaſon for this name, than That, founded on the opinion of thoſe writers our author refers to. [g] He ſays it was called ſo, becauſe the Romans were, then, put to flight by the Tuſcans.

[115] Περι την συγκρισιν τυ ανδρος. All the four tranſlators have, with great unanimity, miſtaken the ſenſe of συγκρισις, and called it, *his birth:* But it is plain that it ſignifies *his conception*, by what our author adds preſently, *viz.* that, at the time his mother was violated, there happened a total eclipſe of the ſun: Now, though Romulus might be conceived, he, certainly, could not come into the world at the time his mother was raviſhed.

[g] De ling. Lat. B. v. c. 3.

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an *Interregnum*, had the care of the commonwealth; which magiſtracy was created in this manner: The patricians, who had been elected into the ſenate under Romulus, being, as I ſaid, two hundred in number, were divided into decuriae; then, drawing lots, the firſt ten perſons, upon whom the lot fell, were inveſted by the reſt with the abſolute command of the city. However, [116] they did not all reign together; but, ſucceſſively, each reigning five days; during which time, he had both the rods, and the other enſigns of the royal power. The firſt, after his power was expired, delivered over the government to the ſecond; and he, to

116. Εκεινοι δ' εχ ἁμα πανλες εβασιλευον. Livy, who took no notice of the addition made to the ſenate by the admiſſion of a hundred Sabines, when the two nations became united, ſtill calls the ſenators, *centum Patres*. However, it is, I believe, univerſally, allowed that the ſenate, after the peace with the Sabines, conſiſted of two hundred: For, though [h] Plutarch, in ſpeaking of this *interregnum*, ſays it conſiſted of one hundred and fifty ſenators; yet, he himſelf had, before, told us, in his life of Romulus, that a hundred Sabines were added to the ſenate; ἑκαλον μεν εκ Σαβινων πανλικιοι προσκαλειλεχθησαν; and, before that, in the ſame life, ἑκαλον δε τους αριστους απεδειξε βασιλεας (Ρωμυλος). But to return to [i] Livy; his account of this interregnum is this: *Decem imperitabant, unus cum inſignibus imperii, et lictoribus erat: quinque dierum ſpatio finiebatur imperium, ac per omnes in orbem ibat.* It is plain that [k] Plutarch had this paſſage of Livy before him, when he mentioned this tranſaction, becauſe he has tranſlated it; and as plain, that he has miſtaken the ſenſe of it: He has applied theſe words, *quinque dierum ſpatio finiebatur imperium*, not to the perſon who preſided, as he ought to have done; but to the whole decury: So that, according to him, each decury governed but five days: The conſequence of which muſt be, as he ſays, that every member of the decury governed twelve hours, which he has divided into ſix hours of the night, and ſix of the day; ἐξ μεν ὡρας της νυκτος, ἐξ δε της ἡμερας. This is, I believe, the moſt extraordinary ſyſtem of government that ever was invented, and worthy the fertil brain of a Delphic prieſt. But the words of Livy, plainly, import, that the preſident of every decury governed five days; and, conſequently, the whole decury, fifty; as our author will, preſently, tell us.

[h] Life of Numa. [i] B. i. c. 17. [k] Life of Numa.

the

the third; and, ſo on, to the laſt. After the ten firſt kings had reigned their appointed time of fifty days, ten others received the government from them; and, from thoſe, in like manner, others. Afterwards, the people thought fit to aboliſh theſe decemviral governments, being uneaſy at the changes of power, becauſe all of them had neither the ſame views, nor the ſame diſpoſitions: Upon which, the ſenators, calling the people together in their tribes and curiae, propoſed to them to conſider of the form of government, and to determine whether they thought fit to commit the care of the commonwealth to a king, or to annual magiſtrates. However, the people did not take that determination upon themſelves; but referred it to the ſenators, with intention to reſt ſatisfied with whichſoever form of government they ſhould approve of. The ſenators were unanimous for monarchy; but did not agree from which of [117] the two nations the future king ſhould be choſen: For ſome thought that the perſon, to whom the adminiſtration was to be committed, ought to be taken out of the ancient ſenators: And others, that he ought to be choſen out of thoſe, who were, afterwards, admitted, and whom they called the new ſenators.

LVIII. The conteſt being drawn out to a great length, they, at laſt, agreed to this alternative, either that the old

117. Ἐξ ὁποτέρας τάξεως. *Ex utrâ claſſe*, in Sylburgius, is very near the ſenſe; and, in my opinion, better than *ex utro ordine* in Portus, whom M. *** has followed; becauſe this ſeems to inſinuate, that the conteſt lay out of which order, that is, whether out of the patricians, or plebeians, the king ſhould be choſen: Whereas, the diſpute lay between the ſenators of the two nations, the Romans, and Sabines.

ſenators

ſenators ſhould chuſe none of their own body to reign over them, but, of the others, whomſoever they ſhould think the fitteſt perſon; or that the new ſenators ſhould do the ſame. The ancient ſenators accepted the choice; and, after a long conſultation among themſelves, came to this reſolution: That, ſince, by their agreement, they themſelves were excluded from the ſovereignty, they would not, at leaſt, confer it on any of the competitors; but find out ſome foreigner, who ſhould eſpouſe neither party, and declare him king; this being the moſt effectual means to put an end to faction. After they had come to this reſolution, they choſe a man, by birth, a Sabine, the ſon of Pompilius Pompon, a perſon of diſtinction, whoſe name was Numa: [118] He was in that ſtage of life, being near forty, in which prudence is the moſt conſpicuous, and of an aſpect full of royal dignity. The reputation of his great wiſdom was not confined to the Quirites only, but extended itſelf, alſo, to all the neighbouring nations. After this election, they aſſembled the people, and one of the ſenators, who was, at that time, the interrex, advancing, told them, that the ſenators had, unanimouſly, reſolved to adhere to a monarchical form of government, and that he, having power to nominate the future king, created Numa Pompilius king of the Romans. After this, he appointed embaſſadors of the patrician order, and ſent them to conduct him to Rome, that he might be inveſted with the royal dignity. This happened in the third year

118. I intirely agree with Portus, that the following parentheſis, by ſome means or other, crept into the text from the margin; χρη δε την δευτεραν συλλαβην εκλεινουσας βασιλευειν.

of

of the ſixteenth Olympiad, in which Pythagoras, a Lacedaemonian won the prize of the ſtadium.

LIX. Hitherto, I have nothing to alledge in contradiction to thoſe, who have publiſhed the hiſtory of this perſon; but, in regard to what follows, I am at a loſs what to ſay. For many have written, that Numa was a diſciple of Pythagoras; and that, when he was choſen king of the Romans, he was ſtudying philoſophy at Croton. But the time, in which Pythagoras lived, contradicts this account: For he was not a few years, but [119] four whole generations later than Numa, as we are informed by general hiſtory: Since the latter began his reign in the middle of the ſixteenth Olympiad; whereas, Pythagoras reſided in Italy [120] after the

[119] Τεσσαρσι γενεαις ὁλαις ὑστερος εγενετο Πυθαγορας Νυμα. I have, already, ſhewn [l], upon another occaſion, that Livy makes Pythagoras to have lived above a hundred years after Numa. Our author has treated the character of Numa ſo fully, that I ſhall only add an obſervation of Livy, who, after he has proved the impoſſibility of his having been a diſciple of Pythagoras, ſays, that Numa had a mind fraught with native virtue, and rather formed by the ſevere diſcipline of the Sabines, which he calls [m] *tetricam*, and *triſtem*, than inſtructed in foreign ſciences.

[120] Πυθαγορας δε μετα την βασιλειαν ολυμπιαδα διετριψεν εν Ιταλιᾳ. There is a note in Hudſon upon this occaſion, in which it is contended that we ſhould read ἑξηκοστην, inſtead of πεντηκοστην: This reading is, I find, ſupported by great authorities; by That of our Dodwell in particular. I cannot, however, acquieſce in the opinion of Gellius, on which, it is, in part, founded. [n] He ſays that Pythagoras came into Italy in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus: But, we have ſeen [o], from Livy, whoſe authority no man will let down ſo far as, even, to compare it with That of Gellius, that Pythagoras taught in Italy in the reign of Servius Tullius. Now, Servius Tullius, as we find by our [p] author, ſucceeded Tarquinius Priſcus, in the fourth year of the fiftieth Olympiad, and was ſlain by Tarquinius Superbus in the fourth year of the [q] ſixty firſt Olympiad. Between theſe two periods, therefore, Pythagoras muſt have come into Italy. I know that Diogenes Laertius, in his life of Pythagoras, ſays he flouriſhed

[l] See the 88th annot. [m] B. i. c. 18. [n] B. xvii. c. 21. [o] See the 88th annot.
[p] B. iv. c. 1. [q] Ib. c. 41.

fiftieth

fiftieth Olympiad. But I have yet a ſtronger argument to prove that the periods of time, in which they lived, are incompatible with the relations given of this perſon; which is, that, at the time Numa was called to the ſovereignty by the Romans, the city of Croton was not yet in being: For Myſcelus built it in the third year of the ſeventeenth Olympiad, which was four whole years after Numa had been choſen king of the Romans: So that, it was neither poſſible that Numa ſhould ſtudy philoſophy under Pythagoras the Samian, who flouriſhed four generations after him; nor that he ſhould reſide in [121] Croton, a city not then in being,

about the ſixtieth Olympiad. But this rather confirms, than contradicts, the authority of Livy: For Pythagoras was, certainly, in higher eſteem after he had opened a ſchool of philoſophy in Italy, than ever he had been before; and the ſixtieth Olympiad falls in with the latter part of the reign of Servius Tullius. But it is time to conſider the words of this paſſage. All the tranſlators, except Portus, have rendered διέλεξεν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, *he taught in Italy*; and, when they come to ἐν Κρότωνι διατρίβειν preſently after, and to Πυθαγόρᾳ διαλέγεσθαι, they have all given to both the ſenſe of *reſiding*, which is the only ſenſe, in my opinion, the word will bear in all the three paſſages: For though Hudſon, in a note of one line upon this occaſion, has ſent us to Suidas for the ſenſe of the word διαλέγεσθαι, which, no doubt, ſignifies, as he ſays, *a philoſophic exerciſe*, and even *a ſchool*; yet, neither Suidas, nor any other author, I believe, ever uſed διαλέγεσθαι, in the ſenſe they have firſt given to it, that is, *to teach*.

[121] Κρότων. This city, now called *Crotone*, ſtands near the ſea; and was, anciently, much celebrated for its magnificence. [r] It lay in the territory of the Brutii, now *Calabria*, in the ſouth-eaſt part of Italy, the river Aeſarus, now *Eſaro*, running through it. The famous temple of *Juno Lacinia*, built on the northern part of the promontory *Lacinium*, now *Capo della Colonne*, ſtood about ſix Roman miles from it. It is poſſible this cape might have received its modern name from the gold column, that was in the temple of Juno Lacinia, which [s] Cicero ſays, Annibal, whilſt he was maſter of that country, had a great mind to take away: But firſt he ordered it to be bored through, that he might ſee whether it was gold, or only gilt; and finding it was ſolid gold, he deſigned to take it, when Juno threatened him in his ſleep, that, if he did, ſhe would

[r] Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iv. c. 25. [s] Divinat. B. i. c. 24.

when the Romans called him to the ſovereignty. But, if I may give my own opinion, thoſe, who have written his hiſtory, ſeem to have laid hold of theſe two things, which are confeſſed on all hands, I mean the reſidence of Pythagoras in Italy, and the wiſdom of Numa (for he is allowed by every body to have been a wiſe man) and to have blended them together; and, without examining, as I have now done, the periods of time, in which they both flouriſhed, to have made Numa a diſciple of Pythagoras. Unleſs any one will ſuppoſe there was another Pythagoras, who taught philoſophy before the Samian, with whom Numa converſed. But I do not know how this can be proved; ſince it is not ſupported (as far as I know) by the teſtimony of any author of note, either Greek, or Roman. But I have ſaid enough of theſe things.

LX. When the perſons I have mentioned, came to Numa to invite him to the ſovereignty, he, for ſome time, refuſed, it, and perſiſted long in his reſolution not to accept the invitation: But, at the preſſing inſtance of his brothers, and, at laſt, of his father, who would not ſuffer him to reject the offer of ſo great an honor, he conſented to be a king. As ſoon as the Romans were informed of all this by the embaſſadors, they conceived a great affection for him, before they ſaw

take care he ſhould loſe his other eye: For he had, already, loſt one at his firſt entrance into Italy. The name of the founder of Croton is written different ways, by different authors. However, [t]Ovid, in ſpeaking of the building of this city, calls him Myſcelus with our author;

*Nam fuit Argolico generatus Alemone quidam*
Myſcelus, *illius Diis acceptiſſimus aevi.*

[t] Metamor. B. xv. ℣. 19.

him,

him, eſteeming it as a ſufficient argument of his wiſdom, that, while others valued royalty beyond meaſure, looking upon it as the ſource of happineſs, he alone deſpiſed it, as a thing of ſmall value, and unworthy his attention: And, when he approached the city, they met him upon the road; and, with great applauſe, ſalutations, and other honors, conducted him into the city. After that, there was [122] an aſſembly of the people, in which the tribes, divided into

[122] Εκκλησιας δε μετα τουτο συναχθεισης, etc. In this election of Numa, we have all the formalities of enacting laws, anciently, practiſed at Rome. At the election of Romulus, theſe could not be obſerved, becauſe the people were not divided by him into tribes, and curiae, till he was, actually, choſen king. The reader, therefore, will give me leave to examine theſe requiſites in paſſing laws; which I ſhall do the rather, becauſe, in this examination, I ſhall have the aſſiſtance of Livy, who, contrary to his cuſtom, is very particular in every thing relating to the election of Numa. The firſt, and, indeed, the principal, object, to which I ſhall apply this inquiry, will be to conſider what the Roman hiſtorians underſtand (I ſpeak of the original conſtitution of the Romans) when they ſay, *Patres auctores fiunt.* All the modern writers, at leaſt, all I have ſeen, who have treated this ſubject, unanimouſly, agree, that theſe words ſignify a decree, paſſed by the ſenate, which was, upon that, ſent to the people to be confirmed, or rejected, as they ſhould think fit; in the ſame manner, as with us, a bill, paſſed by the Lords, is ſent down to the Commons. This opinion, I find, is, alſo, eſpouſed by [u] Dr. Chapman, in his eſſay on the Roman ſenate, in which, he treats this ſubject in a greater detail, than any other author, who has written upon it. I am ſenſible that the words, *patres auctores*, are very impoſing, and ſeem to imply, that the ſenate firſt paſſed the bill (if I may uſe that expreſſion) which, it is ſuppoſed, was, after that, ſent down to the people: But I am miſtaken, if I do not convince the reader, that all laws, I ſtill mean originally, were firſt paſſed by the people, and then ſent up to the ſenate. The firſt authority I ſhall quote, which I, really, think deciſive, ſhall be That of our author, where, as we have ſeen, he ſays, in ſpeaking of the rights of the people, as eſtabliſhed by Romulus, that, whatever was paſſed by a majority of the curiae, was ſent up to the ſenate: Which cuſtom, [w] he ſays, was inverted in his time: For then, the ſenate did not take cognizance of the votes of the people; but the people had an abſolute power

[u] P. 298. [w] B. ii. c. 14.

their curiae, paſſed a vote in his favor; and the reſolution of the people being confirmed by the patricians; and, laſt

over Thoſe of the ſenate. What, then, is the ſignification of theſe words, *patres auctores fiunt?* To this I ſhall anſwer, firſt, that, whatever the grammarians may think, *auctor* ſignifies, very properly, *a ſupporter* of any thing, without being the propoſer of it. This I could prove by many authorities from the beſt writers; but, I, dare ſay, That of Livy will be thought ſufficient: The paſſage I ſhall quote relates to a tranſaction, which I ſhall, preſently, be obliged to take notice of upon another occaſion. The words of [x] Livy, that concern the preſent queſtion, are theſe; *ſed, ut inventor legis Volero, ſic Laetorius, collega ejus,* auctor *quum recentior, tum acrior erat.* Volero had propoſed this law the year before, and Laetorius ſupported it, in conjunction with him, the year after. This verbal difficulty being removed, I ſhall proceed to confirm what I have ſaid, by the form uſed at the election of Numa, which I ſhall lay before the reader in Livy's own words, in order to ſhew, that the original method of paſſing laws was, firſt, for the ſenate to make an order that ſuch a thing ſhould be laid before the people; then, if the people *willed, and ordered it, ſi vellent, juberentque,* it was carried up to the ſenate for their confirmation; which confirmation the Latin authors expreſs by *patres auctores fiunt,* and the Greek writers, by επικυρωσι. This form of proceeding is deſcribed, in all its branches, by [y] Livy upon this occaſion; *Tum interrex, concione advocatâ; Quod bonum, fauſtum, felixque ſit, in-* quit, *Quirites, Regem creare, ita patribus viſum eſt. Patres deinde, ſi dignum, qui ſecundus ab Romulo numeretur, crearitis,* auctores *fient.* Agreeably to this method of enacting laws, muſt be underſtood all the paſſages in our author, where he mentions a προβουλευμα of the ſenate, which means no more than the original order, made by the ſenate, *to refer the matter to the people, ferre ad plebem*; and not the actual paſſing a decree to be confirmed by the people, as Dr. Chapman, all along, ſuppoſes. This method of paſſing all acts continued till the inſtitution of the *Tributa comitia,* that were held without any previous order of the ſenate, or the ceremonies of the augurs; which laſt had no other end but to impoſe upon the people, and keep them in a dependance upon the ſenate. The firſt time theſe *comitia* were, ever, held was in the affair of [z] Coriolanus, in the year of Rome 263, and not in the 281ſt, which Dr. Chapman ſays *gave the firſt riſe to them.* The law, that gentleman, I believe, refers to, was, indeed, propoſed by Volero in the year 282, when Lucius Pinarius, and Publius Furius were conſuls: This year, Publius Volero was choſen one of the tribunes, and [a] *rogationem tulit ad populum ut plebeii magiſtratus* tributis comitiis *fierent*; or as [b] Dionyſius expreſſes it, νομον εισφερει περι των δημαρχικων αρχαιρεσιων, μελαγων αυλα

[x] B. ii. c. 56. [y] B. i. c. 17. [z] Dionyſ. B. vii. c. 59. p. 298. [a] Livy, B. ii. c. 56. [b] B. ix. c. 41.

of

of all, the augurs having reported that the heavenly ſigns were auſpicious, he entered upon the government. The

εκ της Φραξιακης ψηφηφοριας, ην οι Ρωμαιοι κομιτιαλιν καλουσιν, επι THN ΦΥΛΕΤΙΚΗΝ. There is nothing here, that tends to introduce the *tributa comitia*; the view of this *rogation* being no more than that the plebeian magiſtrates ſhould be choſen at thoſe comitia; which, of itſelf, ſeems to ſuppoſe them to have been, before, uſed, as I have ſhewn they, actually, were at the trial of Coriolanus. However, the ſenate, and patricians gave ſo great an oppoſition to this rogation of Volero, that it dropped for that year. The next year, Volero was re-elected, and one of his collegues was Laetorius, before-mentioned, Appius Claudius, and Titus Quintius being conſuls: And, notwithſtanding the violence of Appius, the law was enacted; and, [c] as Livy ſays, *tum primum tributis comitiis creati tribuni ſunt*; and [d] Dionyſius, more fully, απ' εκεινου του χρονου τα των δημαρχων, και αγορανομων αρχαιρεσια μεχρι του καθ' ημας χρονου, διχα οιωνων τε και της αλλης οτλειας απασης αι φυλετικαι ψηφηφοριαι εκκλησιαι. Nothing could be more reaſonable than this law: For, as the tribunes were the repreſentatives of the people in all tranſactions between them and the ſenate, all poſſible care was to be taken to render the election of them independent on the ſenate. This could only be effected by their being choſen in the *tributa comitia*, in which, neither the previous vote of the ſenate, nor the farce of the augurs, who were all patricians, were neceſſary, and the vote of the meaneſt citizen was of equal weight with That of the greateſt patrician; which was a right derived down to the people from the firſt eſtabliſhment of their government, when every private citizen enjoyed the ſame privilege in the *curiata comitia*, as they, now, did by this law, which enabled them to chuſe their plebeian magiſtrates in the *tributa comitia*. This original right the people had been deprived of by the eſtabliſhment of the *centuriata comitia*, by Servius Tullius, as our author will, at large, inform us. So that, this law rather confirmed the people in the right their anceſtors had, before, enjoyed, than granted them any new privilege. And, as to the reaſonableneſs, and, even, neceſſity of this law, [e] Livy will explain it better than I can; *Haud parva res, ſub titulo primâ ſpecie minime atroci ferebatur; ſed quae patriciis omnem poteſtatem, per clientium ſuffragia, creandi quos vellent tribunos, auferret.* Dr. Chapman ſeems ſenſible, that, by this law, the people were reſtored to that equality, they were, conſtitutionally, intitled to; and yet contends that, [f] *though this practice of paſſing laws in the* tributa comitia *was as unreaſonable, as it was unprecedented, upon the footing it firſt ſtood, that is, as long as theſe were aſſemblies of the commons of Rome only, from which the patricians, or nobles, were quite excluded, it was far from being ſo, when they were admitted afterwards.* I wiſh the Doctor had told us when, and, upon what occaſion, the patricians, or nobles, as he calls them,

[c] B. ii. c. 58. [d] B. ix. c. 49. [e] B. ii. c. 56. [f] P. 312.

Romans

Romans ſay this perſon undertook no military expedition; but that, being a pious and juſt man, he paſſed his whole reign in peace; and eſtabliſhed the beſt inſtitutions for the government of the city. They relate, alſo, many ſurpriſing things of him; attributing the effects of human wiſdom to the ſuggeſtions of the gods: For they, fabulouſly, affirm that a certain nymph, called [123] Egeria, frequently viſited

were admitted into theſe aſſemblies of the commmons, called *comitia tributa*, from which, he ſays, *they were firſt quite excluded:* But this, I conceive, he will find it impoſſible to ſhew, for this reaſon, becauſe in fact, they never had been excluded from theſe aſſemblies of the commons, which were not, in their own nature, aſſemblies of the commons only, but aſſemblies of all the Roman citizens, patricians as well as plebeians; as were alſo the *comitia curiata*, and *centuriata:* In the firſt of theſe, the Roman citizens voted in their *curiae*; in the latter, in their *centuries*; and, in the *tributa comitia*, they voted in their *tribes*; and the majority of the tribes carried it in theſe *comitia*, as the majority of the curiae, and of the centuries carried it in the other two *comitia*. Now, it is certain, that every Roman citizen, patrician, and plebeian, belonged to ſome tribe, or other; and, conſequently, every Roman citizen, whether he was a patrician, or a plebeian, had a right to vote in his own tribe, when the *tributa comitia*, were held. Theſe facts are inconteſtable. The reaſon, therefore, that induced the people to paſs this law was, not to prevent the patricians from being preſent at, and voting in, the *tributa comitia*; which, by their conſtitution, was impracticable; but, to ſecure the election of their plebeian magiſtrates from the influence, not the preſence, of the patricians; as they had, before, tranſferred the trial of Coriolanus from the *centuriata comitia*, to the *tributa*; ſince, as the patricians, and the equites, together with the richeſt plebeians, compoſed the 98 centuries of the firſt claſs, that is, a majority of the whole number of 193 [g] centuries, they might, if they had agreed, have acquitted Coriolanus, had his crimes appeared ever ſo flagrant.

[123] Ηγερια. No ſyſtematical religion, ever, pretended to make its fortune without the aſſiſtance of miracles: This has been, very well, underſtood from the Aegyptians, and all, who borrowed their religion from them, either in whole, or in part, down to the French prophets, in the beginning of this century. No miracles are requiſite to prove the exiſtence, the infinite power, the infinite wiſdom, and the infinite goodneſs of the GREAT CREATOR, and PRESERVER of all things; Infinite perfections! which our faculties are

[g] Dionyſ. B. vii. c. 59.

him,

him, and inſtructed him in the [124] art of reigning. Others aſſert, that it was not a nymph, but one of the Muſes; and that this was manifeſt to every one: For they ſay, that mankind being, as may well be ſuppoſed, incredulous at firſt, and looking on the account relating to the goddeſs, as fictitious, he, with intent to give the unbelievers an evident proof of his commerce with this divinity, purſuant to her direction, made uſe of the following device: He invited to his houſe a great many of the Romans, all men of worth; and, having ſhewn them his apartments very ill provided with furniture, but, particularly, with every thing, that is neceſſary to entertain a numerous company, he ordered them to depart at that time, but invited them to ſupper in the evening; and, when they came at the appointed hour, he ſhewed them rich [125] beds, and ſide boards covered with cups of exquiſite workmanſhip; and, when

too limited to comprehend, but not to acknowledge: The wonderful order of nature alone leads us, irreſiſtibly, to this acknowledgment; and miracles, which are underſtood to be ſo many interruptions of this order, can prove nothing they are deſigned to prove, ſo effectually, as the continuance of this admirable frame proves its GREAT AUTHOR. And Chriſtians ought not to lay too great a ſtreſs on miracles, ſince they are taught, by the [h] Old teſtament, that they have been wrought, and, by the [i] New, that they will be wrought, by impoſtors.

[124] Βασιλικη σοφια. This wiſdom of kings, or the art of reigning, is a ſcience, above all others, of the greateſt conſequence to mankind; ſince their happineſs will be, always, proportionate to the degree, in which this ſcience is poſſeſſed by their chief magiſtrates. This ſpirit [k] David prays for, according to the Septuagint, and the Vulgate; πνευματι ΗΓΕΜΟΝΙΚΩ στηριξον με; *Spiritu* principali *confirma me*: In Hebrew, רוח נבואה which ſignifies *a prophetic*, or, rather, *a prophet*, ſpirit. I am ſorry to ſee this noble prayer from a prince debaſed in our tranſlation of the Bible; *Stabliſh me with* thy free *ſpirit*.

[125] Στρωμνη· κοιλη. Heſychius.

[h] Exod. c. vii. ℣. 11. and 22. c. viii. ℣. 7. [i] Mat. c. xxiv. ℣. 24. [k] Pſalm li. ℣. 12.

they

they were at table, he gave them an entertainment conſiſting of all ſorts of meats, ſuch a one as it was not eaſy for any man in thoſe days to have prepared in a long time. The Romans were aſtoniſhed at every thing they ſaw; and from that time, they entertained a firm belief that ſome goddeſs converſed with him.

LXI. But thoſe, who baniſh every thing that is fabulous from hiſtory, ſay that the report concerning Egeria was deviſed by Numa, to the end that, when once the people were poſſeſſed with a fear of the gods, they might pay a greater regard to him; and, willingly, receive the laws he was enacting, as derived from them: They add, that, in this, he followed the example of the Greeks; and imitated the wiſdom both of Minos, the Cretan, and of Lycurgus, the Lacedaemonian. Of whom the firſt ſaid he converſed with Jupiter; and, going, frequently, to the Dictaean mountain, in which the Cretan fables ſay, that Jupiter, newly born, was brought up by the Curetes, he uſed to deſcend into a holy cave; and, having compoſed his laws there, he produced them, affirming that he had received them from Jupiter: And Lycurgus, going to Delphi, ſaid he formed his ſyſtem of laws by the direction of Apollo. But, being ſenſible that an accurate account of the fabulous hiſtories, and, particularly, of ſuch as are attributed to the gods, would require a long diſcuſſion, I ſhall omit it, and lay before the reader the benefits, which the Romans ſeem to have received from the government of this perſon, according to the information I have procured from

the

the hiſtories of their country. But I ſhall, firſt, give an account of the great diſturbances, with which the city of Rome was agitated before his acceſſion to the throne.

LXII. After the death of Romulus, the ſenate being in poſſeſſion of the whole power of the commonwealth, and, having retained it during one year, as I have ſaid, began to diſagree among themſelves, and fall into factions; while one part of them contended for pre-eminence, and the other for equality: For the Alban ſenators, who, together with Romulus, had planted the colony, pretended, not only, upon delivering their opinions firſt, and enjoying the greateſt honors; but, alſo, on being courted by the new comers: On the other ſide, ſuch of theſe, as had been afterwards admitted among the patricians, inſiſted that they ought not to be ſhut out from any honors, or be in a worſe condition than the others: This was, particularly, urged by the [126] Sabines, who, in virtue of the treaty, entered into between Romulus, and Tatius, were, equally, intitled to all the privileges of the city with the ancient inhabitants, for which they had made an ample return. The ſenate being, thus, divided, their clients, alſo, formed themſelves into two parties, and each joined their reſpective factions. There were among the common people not a few, lately, admitted into the number of the citizens; who, having never aſſiſted Romulus in any of his wars, had been neglected by him, and

126. Μαλιστα δ' ὁσοι τῶ Σαβίνων, etc. This period is ſo much corrupted, that all the endeavours of the commentators to reſtore it, have proved uſeleſs.

not ſuffered to partake either in the diſtribution of lands, or in the booty he had taken. Theſe, having no ſettlement, but, being poor, and vagabonds, were, by neceſſity, enemies to their ſuperiors, and ripe for innovation. Numa, having found the city in this ferment, firſt relieved the poor, by diſtributing among them ſome ſmall part both of thoſe lands, which had been in the poſſeſſion of Romulus, and of thoſe, that belonged to the public: After that, he reconciled the patricians; not by depriving the founders of the city of any thing they were in poſſeſſion of; but, by beſtowing ſome other honors on the new-comers: And, having adapted the whole body of the people, like an inſtrument, to the ſole conſideration of the public good; and enlarged the circuit of the city, by the addition of the Quirinal hill (for, till that time, it was not incloſed with a wall) he turned his thoughts to other inſtitutions, labouring to inculcate theſe two things, by the advantage of which he conceived the city would become flouriſhing and great: The firſt, Piety; by informing his ſubjects that the gods are the givers, and preſervers of all good things to mortal men: And the other, Juſtice; from which he ſhewed them, that the poſſeſſors even of thoſe advantages the gods beſtow, derive an honeſt enjoyment of them.

LXIII. But I ſhall not enter into the detail of every law, and every inſtitution, by which he carried each of theſe to a great perfection; as fearing the length of ſuch a diſcuſſion; and, at the ſame time, not finding it neceſſary to a Greek hiſtory. However, I ſhall give a ſummary account of the prin-

principal things; and of ſuch, as are proper to unfold the whole deſign of this perſon, beginning with the regulations, that concern divine worſhip. Thoſe rites, therefore, which he found eſtabliſhed by Romulus, whether ſupported by cuſtoms, or laws, he left untouched, looking upon them all as the beſt inſtitutions: But, whatever he thought omitted by him, he added; conſecrating many places to thoſe gods, who had, hitherto, received no honors; erecting many altars, and temples, and inſtituting feſtivals in honor of each; appointing prieſts to take care of thoſe feſtivals; and enacting laws concerning purifications, ceremonies, and expiations; and many other rites, and honors, in greater number than are to be found in any other city, either Greek, or Barbarian, even in Thoſe, that value themſelves the moſt upon their piety. He, alſo, ordered that Romulus himſelf, as one, who had been above the condition of mortal men, ſhould be honoured, under the name of Quirinus, with a temple, and annual ſacrifices: For, while the Romans were yet in doubt, whether the will of heaven, or human treachery had been the cauſe of his diſappearing, a certain perſon, whoſe name was Julius, deſcended from Aſcanius, who employed himſelf in agriculture, and a man of an irreprehenſible life, and above the ſuſpicion of telling an untruth for the ſake of his private advantage, going into the forum, ſaid, that, as he was coming to town, he ſaw Romulus departing from the city all armed; and that, drawing near to him, he heard him ſay theſe words, "Julius, acquaint the "Romans with this from me; that, having finiſhed my

" mortal life; the genius, to whom I was allotted at my " birth, is conducting me to the gods, and that I am " Quirinus." Numa, having reduced his whole ſyſtem of religious laws into writing, divided them into eight parts; that being the number of the different claſſes of religious rites.

LXIV. The firſt diviſion of theſe holy rites he aſſigned to the thirty Curiones, who, as I ſaid, performed the public ſacrifices for the members of the curiae. The ſecond, to thoſe the Greeks call, Στεφανηφοροι, *Crown-bearers*, and the Romans, *Flamines*; to whom, from their wearing caps, and veils, which they wear to this day, and call them, [127] *Flammea*, they give the name beforementioned. The third, to the commanders of the Celeres, who, ſerving in the quality both of horſe, and foot, compoſed, as I ſaid, the king's guard: For theſe, alſo, performed certain appointed rites. The fourth, to the interpreters of heavenly ſigns, whoſe province it is to determine what they portend, both to

[127] Φλαμμεα. This, I dare ſay, is the true reading; becauſe *flammeum* was the name of the *flame-coloured* veil worne both by the *Flamines*, and brides. [l] Varro, like our author, derives the name of *flamen*, from this veil; *quod in Latio capite velato erant ſemper*. The πιλος, here ſaid to have been worne by the *flamines*, was called, in Latin, *apex*. [m] Lucan, in ſpeaking of the proceſſion, performed by the ſeveral prieſts at Rome by the direction of Aruns, to expiate the horrid omens, that portended the civil war between Pompey, and Caeſar, when he comes to the *flamines*, ſays,

*Et tollens* apicem *generoſo vertice* flamen.

Theſe *apices* were in ſhape very like a mitre. If St. Peter was ever at Rome, he muſt have ſeen theſe mitres upon the heads of the *flamines*; which was, no doubt, a good reaſon for him, and might have been a good reaſon for his ſucceſſors, never to wear one.

[l] L. iv. De Ling. Lat. [m] B. i. ℣. 604.

private

private perſons, and to the public; whom, from one branch of the ſpeculations belonging to their art, the Romans call *Augures*; and we ſhould call them, Οιωνοπολες, *Soothſayers by the means of birds:* Theſe are ſkilled in all ſorts of divination in uſe among them; whether founded on ſigns appearing in the heavens, the air, or on the earth. The fifth, he aſſigned to the virgins, who are the guardians of the holy fire, and who are called by them, from the goddeſs they ſerve, *Veſtals*; Numa being the firſt perſon, who built a temple at Rome to Veſta, and appointed virgins to be her prieſteſſes: Concerning whom my ſubject requires that I ſhould give an account, which ſhall be ſhort, and contain, only, ſuch things, as are moſt neceſſary to be known: For this matter deſerves an inquiry, and many Roman hiſtorians have thought it worthy to be inquired into in this place; but thoſe authors, who have not, diligently, examined the cauſes of this inſtitution, have publiſhed trifling accounts concerning it.

LXV. Some aſcribe the building of this temple to Romulus, looking upon it as a thing not to be imagined that a public temple of Veſta ſhould not, at firſt, be built in a city, founded by a man ſkilled in divination, particularly, ſince the founder had been brought up at Alba, where there was an ancient temple of this goddeſs, and that his mother had been her prieſteſs: They add, that religious worſhip being of two ſorts, the firſt public, and common to all the citizens; and the other, private, and appropriated to particular families, Romulus was, on both theſe accounts, under a neceſ-

neceſſity of worſhiping this goddeſs: For they ſay, that nothing is more neceſſary to men than a public temple of Veſta; nor any thing more nearly concerning Romulus, as the heir of his family, he being deſcended from thoſe, who brought the worſhip of this goddeſs from Ilium, and his mother having been her prieſteſs. Thoſe, therefore, who, for theſe reaſons, aſcribe the building of this temple to Romulus, rather than to Numa, ſeem, in general, to have reaſon to ſay that, when the city was building, a temple of Veſta ought, firſt of all, to have been erected; particularly, by a man, not unſkilled in religious knowledge. But, as to theſe particulars, which relate to the building of the preſent temple, and to the virgins, who are the prieſteſſes of this goddeſs, they ſeem to have been ignorant. For neither did Romulus conſecrate to the goddeſs this place, where the holy fire is preſerved; of which this is a ſtrong proof, that it is without the city of Rome, called four ſquare, which he ſurrounded with a wall; whereas, all men place the common temple of Veſta in the beſt part of the city, but none without the walls: Neither did he appoint the ſervice of the goddeſs to be performed by virgins; remembering, in my opinion, the adventure, that befel his mother, who, while ſhe was ſerving the goddeſs, loſt her virginity; as if he was ſenſible that the remembrance of this domeſtic misfortune would render him an improper perſon to puniſh, according to the laws of his country, any of the prieſteſſes he ſhould find to have been deflowered. For this reaſon, therefore, he did neither build a common temple to Veſta,

nor

nor appoint virgins to be her prieſteſſes: But, having erected a temple for each of the thirty curiae, in which the members of it ſacrificed, he appointed the chiefs of the curiae to be the prieſts of thoſe temples; in which, he imitated the cuſtoms of the Greeks, that are ſtill obſerved in the moſt ancient cities: For their Πρυτανεια are temples, which are ſerved by the chief magiſtrates of the cities.

LXVI. Numa, after his acceſſion to the government, did not remove the particular temples belonging to the curiae, but erected one temple common to them all, between the Capitoline, and Pallantine hills: For both theſe hills had, already, been incompaſſed with one wall; the forum, in which this temple was built, lying between them: He, alſo, enacted, that the keeping of the holy things, according to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed among the Latines, ſhould be committed to virgins. There is ſome doubt what it is, that is kept in this temple; and, for what reaſon, the care of it is given to virgins: Some affirming that nothing is preſerved there but the fire, which is viſible to all the world; and they, very reaſonably, make the cuſtody of it to be committed to virgins, rather than to men; becauſe fire being incorrupt, and a virgin undefiled, the chaſteſt of all mortal things muſt be agreeable to the pureſt of thoſe, that are divine: And they look upon the fire to be conſecrated to Veſta; becauſe that goddeſs being the earth, and [128] placed in the

128. Οτι γη τε ὑσα ἡ θεος, και τον μεσον καθεχουσα τε κοσμυ τοπον. I cannot conceive how le Jay could find any reaſon to conclude from this paſſage that Copernicus was not the author of his ſyſtem, which, he ſays, was known long before him in Italy. It is plain that the ſyſtem, here ſpoken of, which

center

center of the univerſe, ſhe lights up thoſe fiery meteors, that are ſeen in the air. However, ſome ſay that, beſides the fire, there are ſome holy things in the temple of this goddeſs, which are kept ſecret from the vulgar, and, with which, both the prieſts, and the virgins are acquainted: This they ſupport with no ſmall probability, by what happened at the burning of the temple, during the firſt Punic war between the Romans, and the Carthaginians concerning Sicily: For the temple being on fire, and the virgins flying from it, one of the pontifs, Lucius Caecilius, called Metellus, a conſular perſon, the ſame, who adorned, with a hundred and thirty eight captive elephants, that memorable triumph, with which he had been honoured for having defeated the Carthaginians in Sicily, neglecting his own ſafety for the ſake of the public good, ventured to force his way through the flames; and, ſnatching up the holy things, which the virgins had abandoned, ſaved them from the fire: For which, he received great honors from his fellow-citizens; as the inſcription upon his ſtatue in the capitol teſtifies. Upon the founda-

places the earth in the center of our planets, was, afterwards, embraced by Ptolemy, not by Copernicus, who places the ſun there. There is no doubt but the opinion, preſently, mentioned, that fiery meteors are produced by the exhalations of the earth is very philoſophical; much more ſo than That of Ariſtotle, who attributes the birth of comets to thoſe exhalations, *την εκ της ξηρας αναθυμιασεως διαπυρου συϛασιν.* And here I cannot help taking notice of an opinion concerning comets, aſcribed by [n] Plutarch to the Pythagoreans, which the great Sir Iſaac Newton has adopted. Theſe philoſophers, he ſays, held that comets were ſtars, or planets, that did not appear always, but periodically, and at ſtated times. *Των απο Πυθαγορε τινες μεν αϛερα ϕασιν ειναι τον κομηϛην των εκ αει ϕαινομενων, δια τινος δε ωϱισμενυ χϱονυ πεϱιοδικως αναϕελλονϛων.*

[n] *Περι των τοις ϕιλοσ. αρεσκ.* B. iii. c. 2.

tion

tion of this fact, which is allowed, they build ſome conjectures of their own: Some affirming that theſe holy things are part of Thoſe, which were preſerved in Samothrace; Dardanus having removed them, out of that iſland, into the city he himſelf built; and that Aeneas, when he fled from Troas, brought them, together with the other holy things, into Italy. But others ſay it is the Palladium, that fell from heaven, the ſame that was in the poſſeſſion of the Ilienſes, which Aeneas, being acquainted with it, brought into Italy, the Achaians having ſtolen away the counterfeit: Concerning which, a great deal has been ſaid both by poets, and hiſtorians. However, I find, by very many circumſtances, that, not only the fire, but ſome other holy things, unknown to the vulgar, are kept by the virgins: But, what they are, I ſhall neither give myſelf leave, curiouſly, to inquire, nor adviſe any other perſon to do ſo, who is deſirous to preſerve the religious reverence he owes to the gods.

LXVII. The virgins, who ſerve the goddeſs, were, originally, four; and elected by the kings, according to the laws eſtabliſhed by Numa: But, afterwards, from the multiplicity of their functions, their number was encreaſed to [129] ſix, and has ſo remained to this day: They live in the temple of the goddeſs, into which none are hindered from entering in the day time; but it is not lawful for any man

129. Ex. Theſe nuns, who have multiplied ſo much ſince, never exceeded the number of ſix to the time of their abolition by Theodoſius, who, it is well known, drove theſe prieſteſſes, and all the heathen prieſts out of their temples. The reaſon I have to think their number was never encreaſed beyond ſix is drawn from a medal of Fauſtina the younger, and Julia, the wife of Severus, in which, no more than ſix veſtals are repreſented.

to remain there in the night: They are under a neceſſity of continuing unmarried during the ſpace of thirty years; which time they employ in offering ſacrifices, and performing other rites, ordained by the law: During the firſt ten years, their duty was to learn their functions; in the ſecond ten, to perform them; and, during the remainder of their time, to teach others. After the expiration of the term of thirty years, nothing hindered ſuch as deſired it from marrying, upon quitting their [130] veils, and the other enſigns of their prieſthood: And ſome, though very few, have done this, the end of whoſe lives has not been ſo very happy, as to tempt others to imitate them: So that, the reſt, looking upon their calamities as ominous, remain virgins in the temple of the goddeſs till their death; and, then, the pontifs, again, [131] chuſe another to ſupply the vacancy.

130. Στεμματα. I have tranſlated theſe, *Veils*; becauſe the veſtals, really, wore veils, called in Latin, *ſuffibula*, which are thus deſcribed by Feſtus: *Suffibulum eſt veſtimentum album, praetextum, quadrangulum, oblongum, quod* in capite *virgines veſtales, cum ſacrificant, ſemper habere ſolent; idque fibulâ comprehenditur.* Almoſt all nuns wear theſe, or ſomething, very nearly, anſwering this deſcription. [o] Gellius quotes Antiſtius Labeo, a man of great learning, in the time of Auguſtus, for many particulars relating to the veſtals; among the reſt, that they could not be admitted under ſix, nor above ten years of age. I imagine, becauſe it was neceſſary they ſhould be virgins.

131. Αποδεικνυται. *Capitur* was the term appropriated to this election, which was performed in the following manner: [p] The pontifex maximus choſe twenty virgins, who, in an aſſembly of the people, drew lots which of them ſhould ſucceed the deceaſed veſtal; and the virgin, upon whom the lot fell, was *taken* by the pontifex maximus, *capiebatur*. Among the other honors enjoyed by the veſtals, each had a lictor to attend her, when ſhe went out; one of them having been inſulted, as ſhe was going home. This honor, and ſecurity they received in the triumvirate of Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus. [q] Ταις τε αειπαρθενοις (εδωκαν) ῥαβδουχῳ ἑνι ἑκαστῃ χρῃσθαι· ὁτι τις αυτων απο δειπνου προς ἑσπεραν οικαδε επανιουσα ηγνοηθη τε και ὑβρισθη.

[o] B. i. c. 12. [p] Id. ib. [q] Dion. B. xlvii. p. 385.

They

They receive many diſtinguiſhing honors from their country, by which the deſire of children, and of marriage is taken away: They are, alſo, ſubject to great puniſhments in caſe of delinquency; which, by the law, the pontifs are appointed both to inquire into, and puniſh: Thoſe veſtals, who commit leſſer crimes, they whip with rods: But, if they ſuffer themſelves to be debauched, they are delivered up, by the pontifs, to the moſt ſhameful, and the moſt miſerable death. For, while they are yet alive, they are carried upon a bier, with all the formality of a funeral, their friends, and relations attending them with lamentations: Being arrived at the gate, Collina, they are placed in a [132] ſubterraneous cell, prepared within the walls, in their

[132] Εις σπκον ὑπο γην καλεσκευασμενον. Plutarch, in his life of Numa, ſays that, in this cave, there was a bed, a burning lamp, a little bread, water, milk, and honey: For which he gives this reaſon; that they left theſe ſmall ſupports of life there, to avoid the abomination of ſtarving a perſon, who had been conſecrated with the greateſt formalities. But the Greeks, from whom this notion is ſuppoſed to have been derived, looked upon the ſtarving any perſon, whether conſecrated, or not, to bring a curſe upon the public: And this is the reaſon, given by Creon, for a ſmall ſupport of life, to the chorus in Sophocles, when he declares his deſign of putting to death his niece Antigone in the ſame manner, for having performed funeral rites to her brother Polynices, contrary to his edict [r].

Αγων ερημος ενθ' αν η βροτων σεβος,
Κρυψω πελασθεις ζωσαν εν καλωρυχι,
Φορβης τοσουτον ὡς αγος μονον προθεις,
Οπως μιασμα πασ' ὑπεκφυγοι πολις.

The crime, for which theſe poor creatures were, ſo dreadfully, puniſhed, was called *Inceſt*. Notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the puniſhment, many of the veſtals were tried, and found guilty of a crime, which the ſuperſtition of their country, not nature, had made ſo heinous. One inſtance of this kind I ſhall mention from [s] Livy, becauſe it gives great light to the paſſage now before us: *Eo anno, Minucia, veſtalis— facto judicio, viva ſub terram, ad portam Collinam, dextra via ſtrata, defoſſa* Scelerato campo. *Credo* ab inceſto *id ei loco nomen factum.* The reader will obſerve that this place, though called *campus*, was within the walls of the city, ενδος τειχους, as our author ſays; which is confirmed by the teſtimony of many other writers.

[r] In Antigone, ℣. 784.

[s] B. viii. c. 15.

funeral attire, without any ſepulchral column, funeral rites, or other cuſtomary ſolemnities. There ſeem to be many indications of the prieſteſs, who does not perform the holy functions with purity; but the principal is the extinction of the fire, which the Romans dread above all misfortunes, looking upon it, from whatever cauſe it proceeds, as an omen, that portends the deſtruction of their city; and [133] they bring fire again into the temple with many expiatory rites; but concerning theſe, I ſhall ſpeak in a proper place.

LXVII. However, it is, alſo, well worth relating, in what manner this goddeſs has manifeſted herſelf in favor of

[133] Καλαγυσι παλιν εις το ιερον. [t] Plutarch ſays that, when this fire happened to be extinguiſhed, they held it unlawful to ſupply it with common fire, but made uſe of veſſels, which had the ſame effect with burning glaſſes; and, thus, they procured this new fire from the ſun. This is what the emperor [v] Julian calls εξ ηλιυ φλογα in his oration in praiſe of the ſun, which he erects into a divinity; which oration is written, like all his works, with great elegance, great learning, and great ſuperſtition. And it may well be wondered that a Roman emperor, ſo bigotted to the moſt ridiculous tenets of the Pagan ſyſtem, and, perſonally, abuſed by the Chriſtian writers, contented himſelf with forbidding them to keep open ſchools: But it ſeems, he ſuffered his philoſophy, in which he ſhews himſelf a great proficient, to influence his conduct, though it could not influence his religion; and was ſo far from reviving the dreadful perſecutions of his predeceſſors, that, in a letter to Arſacius, the high prieſt of Galatia, among other orders relating to his conduct, and to That of the prieſts under his juriſdiction, he commands him to erect public houſes in every city for the reception of ſtrangers of all religions, as well as his own: [w] Ξενοδοχεια καθ' εκασην πολιν καλασησον πυκνα, ιν' απολαυσωσιν οι ξενοι της παρ' ημων φιλανθρωπιας, ου των ημετερων μονον, αλλα και αλλων οσις αν δεηθη χρηματων. It muſt be obſerved that the *others*, he ſpeaks of here, who were to have an equal benefit of this charity with the Pagans, muſt relate to the Chriſtians, and Jews, both which he mentions a few lines after; becauſe there were only three religions profeſſed by the ſubjects of the Roman empire; that is, Chriſtianity, Paganiſm, and Judaiſm.

[t] Life of Numa. [v] Oration 4. [w] Epiſt. 49.

thoſe

thoſe virgins, who have been, falſely, accuſed: For theſe things, however incredible they may be, meet with credit among the Romans; and their hiſtories are full of them. I am ſenſible that the profeſſors of the atheiſtical philoſophy, if that deſerves the name of philoſophy, who turn all the manifeſtations of the gods, which have happened either among the Greeks, or Barbarians, into ridicule, will, alſo, laugh at theſe relations, and attribute them to the [134] fictions of men; as if none of the gods concern themſelves in any thing relating to mankind: However, thoſe, who do not diſcharge the gods from the care of human affairs; but, after many inquiries, hold that they are favourable to the good, and averſe to the wicked, will not look, even, upon theſe manifeſtations, as incredible. It is ſaid that, once, the fire being extinguiſhed through ſome careleſſneſs of Aemilia, who had, then, the care of it, and had intruſted it to another virgin, who was, newly, choſen into their number, and, then, learning her duty; the whole city was in great diſorder, and an inquiry made by the pontifs, whether ſome defilement of the prieſteſs might not have occaſioned the extinction of the fire. Upon this, they ſay that Aemilia, who was innocent, but diſtracted at what had happened, ſtretched out her hands to the altar, and, in the preſence of the prieſts, and the reſt of the virgins, ſaid, "O Veſta, "tutelary goddeſs of this city, if, during the ſpace of near "thirty years, I have performed the holy functions to thee, "with holineſs and juſtice, and have preſerved a pure mind,

[134] Αλαζονειαις. Αλαζων, ψευστης. Heſychius.

"and

" and a chaſte body, appear in my defence, and aſſiſt me; " and do not ſuffer your prieſteſs to die the moſt miſerable " of all deaths: But, if I have been guilty of any impiety, " let my puniſhment expiate the guilt of the city." Having ſaid this, ſhe tore off a piece of the linen garment ſhe had on, and threw it upon the altar: After this prayer, they ſay, that, from the aſhes, which had been long cold, and retained no ſpark of fire, a great flame ſhone forth through the linen; ſo that, the city did not ſtand in need either of expiations, or of a new fire.

LXIX. But, what I am going to relate, is ſtill more wonderful, and more like a fable. They ſay that ſomebody, having, falſely, accuſed one of the virgins, whoſe name was Tucia; and being unable to object to her the extinction of the fire, he ſupported his accuſation by falſe inductions drawn from probable conjectures, and teſtimonies: And that the virgin, being ordered to make her defence, ſaid, only, this, that ſhe would clear herſelf from the accuſation by her actions; and, having ſaid this, and called upon the goddeſs to be her guide, ſhe proceeded to the Tiber, the pontifs conſenting, and all the citizens attending her: When ſhe came to the river, ſhe was ſo hardy as to undertake a thing, which, of all others, is looked upon as impoſſible, even, to a [135] proverb; and, having taken water out of the river in an empty ſieve, and carried it as far as

[135] Το παροιμιαζομενον. The Greek proverb, here alluded to, is mentioned by [x] Plato; κοσκινῳ ὑδωρ φερειν, *To carry water in a ſieve.*

[x] Περι πολιτ. B. ii.

the

the forum, ſhe poured it out at the feet of the pontifs. After which, they ſay, her accuſer, though great inquiry was made after him, could never be found, either alive, or dead. But, though I have, yet, many things to ſay concerning the manifeſtations of this goddeſs, I look upon what has been, already, ſaid, as ſufficient.

LXX. The ſixth branch of his religious inſtitutions was attributed to Thoſe the Romans call Salii, whom Numa himſelf appointed out of the patricians, chuſing twelve young men of the moſt graceful appearance. The holy things, belonging to their order, are depoſited on the Palatine hill, and they themſelves are called *Palatini:* For the Agonenſes, by ſome, called the *Collini Salii*, the repoſitory of whoſe holy things is on the Colline hill, were inſtituted after Numa, by Hoſtilius, king of the Romans, in purſuance of a vow he had made in the war againſt the Sabines. All theſe Salii are a kind of dancers, and ſingers of hymns, in praiſe of the gods of war. Their feſtival falls out about the time of the Panathenaea, in what they call the month of March, being performed at [136] the expence of the city, and

[136] Εορὴ δημοίελης. Here again, the Latin tranſlators have miſſed their followers: Portus has ſaid *à toto populo publice celebrantur*; and le Jay, *que tout le peuple celebre:* Sylburgius, *agiturque publice*, and M. ***, *elle ſe fait publiquement.* But the misfortune is, that none of theſe verſions, or rather, neither of them, gives the ſenſe of δημοίελης ἑορὴ; which ſignifies *a feſtival performed at the expence of the public*; and, according to this ſignification, the word δημοίελης is explained by Heſychius: Δημοίελη ἱερα, εις ἃ θυμάλα διδωσιν ἡ πολις. This feſtival of the *Ancilia* ſtands in the old Roman calendar on the kalends of March. There were two feſtivals at Athens called [y] Παναθηναια, one celebrated every year, and the other, every fifth year; theſe were called μεγαλα Παναθηναια.

[y] Harpocration in Παναθηναια.

con-

continues ſeveral days; during which, they proceed dancing through the city to the forum, and the capitol, and to many other private, and public places. They wear embroidered veſts, on which, are girded [137] brazen breaſt-plates, and, over theſe veſts, are buttoned robes, [138] ſtriped with ſcarlet, and bordered with purple, which they call *Trabeae:* This garment is peculiar to the Romans, and a mark of great honor. On their heads, they wear what they call, *Apices*, which are high caps, contracted into the ſhape of a cone; which the Greeks call [139] Κυρβασιαι, *High-crowned-caps.* They have each of them a ſword hanging at their girdle; and, in their right hands, they hold a ſpear, or a wand, or ſome ſuch thing; and, in their left, a Thracian buckler,

[137] Χαλκηιαις μίτραις. So it muſt be read with the Vatican manuſcript, and not μιτραις, as it ſtands in all the editions. The ſenſe of μίτρα will be explained by Livy, whoſe deſcription of the dreſs of theſe Salii is, word for word, the ſame with That given by our [z] author: *Tunicaque pictae inſigne dedit, et ſuper tunicam* aeneum *pectori* tegumen. The Latin tranſlators have rendered μίτραι, in this place, *baltei*, whom le Jay has followed, and called them, *des baudriers*. But it appears from [a] Homer that theſe belts were different from breaſt-plates; the lower part of which laſt was faſtened by ſtrings, that went round the middle. Thus Menelaus, after he was wounded by Pandarus, ſays to his brother Agamemnon,

αλλα παροιθεν
Εἰρυσαλο ζωστηρ τε παναιολος, ηδ' ὑπενερθεν
Ζωμα τε, ἡ MITPH, την χαλκηες καμον ανδρες.

Upon which occaſion, μίτρη is thus deſcribed by the Greek ſcholiaſt; χάλκη λεπις, ἡν ζωννυνται περι του κενεωνα χαριν πλειονος ασφαλειας. M. *** has tranſlated the word with great propriety; *une plaque de cuivre ſur la poitrine.*

[138] Φοινικοπαρυφες. Portus, and Sylburgius are of opinion that this word is ſuperfluous; in which, I differ from them; and think that, if it was thrown out, we ſhall have the deſcription of the *toga praetexta*, not of the *trabea:* The difference between which I imagine to have been the ſcarlet ſtripes, ſignified by Φοινικοπαρυφες.

[139] Κυρβασια, ορθη τιαρα· Ταυτη δε οι Περσων βασιλεις μονον εχρωντο. Heſychius.

[z] B. i. c. 20.

[a] Iliad. Δ. ν. 185.

buckler, which reſembles a target, ſhaped like[140] a lozenge, and ſcalloped between the points; ſuch as thoſe are ſaid to carry who, among the Greeks, perform the holy functions belonging to the Curetes: And, in my opinion, the Salii, if the word is tranſlated into Greek, are Curetes; whom, becauſe they are Κουροι, *Young-men*, we call, by that name, from their age: And the Romans call them Salii, from their violent motion: For, what we call Εξαλλεσθαι, and Πηδᾶν, *to leap, and dance*, is, by them, called, *Salire*: And, for the ſame reaſon, they call all other dancers, *Saltatores*, becauſe their dancing, alſo, is attended with frequent ſpringing, and, derive their name from the Salii: But, whether I have given them this appellation with propriety, or not, any one, who pleaſes, may gather from their actions: For, in the motions they perform in arms, keeping time to a flute, ſometimes, they move all together, ſometimes by turns; and, in dancing, ſing certain hymns, after the manner of their country. Now, this dance, and motion, performed by armed men, with the noiſe they make by ſtriking their bucklers with daggers, if we may draw any conjectures from ancient accounts, were inſtituted by the Curetes. I need not mention the fable, which is related concerning them, ſince almoſt every one is acquainted with it.

[140] Ρομβοειδα. This is from the Vatican manuſcript; and is, no doubt, the true reading. [b]Virgil, in ſpeaking of Penthiſelea, ſays,

*Ducit Amazonidum* lunatis *agmina peltis.*

From this epithet *lunatis*, and the deſcription of theſe bucklers by our author, I am apt to believe they reſembled two creſcents placed back to back.

[b] Aen. B. i. ℣. 490.

LXXI. Among the bucklers, which both the Salii, and ſome of their ſervants carry hanging by their [141] handles, being very many in number, they ſay, there is one, that fell from heaven; and that it was found in the palace of Numa, no one having brought it thither; nor any buckler of that make having, ever before, been known among the Italians: That, from both theſe reaſons, the Romans concluded this buckler was ſent by the gods; and that Numa, being deſirous to have it carried through the city, with reſpect, by the moſt diſtinguiſhed young men on holy days, and honoured with annual ſacrifices; but, at the ſame time, apprehenſive both of the contrivances of his enemies, and of its being ſtolen away, he cauſed many other bucklers to be made reſembling That, which fell from heaven, one Mamorius, an artificer, having undertaken the work; ſo that, the ſhape of the buckler, which was ſent by the gods, was, by the exact ſimilitude of human workmanſhip, rendered indiſcernible, and difficult to be diſtinguiſhed by thoſe, who might have a deſign, fraudently, to poſſeſs themſelves of it. That this dance, after the manner of the Curetes,

141. Ηξήμευάς απο κανονων. All the four tranſlators agree in rendering κανονες, *bacilli, conti, baguettes, perche*; whereas, the word ſignifies the *handles* of a ſhield. And, here again, I ſhall ſupport my tranſlation by the authority of [c] Homer, who makes Hector give this account of Neſtor's ſhield,

Ασπιδα Νεςορεην, της νυ κλεος ερανον ικει,
Πασαι χρυσειην εμεναι, ΚΑΝΟΝΑΣ τε και αυλην.

And thus the word κανονες is explained by the Greek ſcholiaſt; ῥαβδους οἱς εκρεμων τας ασπιδας. To theſe handles was faſtened a thong, by which they hung up their ſhields in their tents, or ſlung them croſs their ſhoulders in a march; which is confirmed by Heſychius, who explains κανονες in this manner, αἱ της ασπιδος ῥαβδοι, αφ' ων ὁ τελαμων εξηπτο.

[c] Iliad. θ. ν. 193.

was

was cuſtomary among the Romans, and held in great honor by them, I gather from many things; but, chiefly, from what is practiſed by them in their proceſſions both in the circus, and in the theatres: For, in all of them, young men, clad in handſom veſts, with helmets, ſwords, and [142] bucklers, march in time: Theſe are the leaders of the proceſſion, and are called, by them, from a game, of which the Lydians ſeem to be the inventors, *Ludiones*, repreſenting, in my opinion, the Salii: Since they do not imitate the Curetes, in any thing, as the Salii do, either in their hymns, or dances: And it was neceſſary that the Salii ſhould be free men, and natives of the country, and that both their fathers, and mothers ſhould be living; whereas the others are of any condition. But to what purpoſe ſhould I ſay any more of them?

LXXII. The ſeventh part of his religious inſtitutions was allotted to the college of the *Feciales*: Theſe may be called, in Greek, Ειρηνοδικαι, *Judges in matters relating to peace*: They are choſen out of the beſt families, and exerciſe their holy office during life; Numa being the firſt, who inſtituted this holy magiſtracy, alſo, among the Romans: But, whether he took the example from thoſe, called the [a143] Aequicoli, according to the opinion of ſome; or from

142. Παρμας εχοντες. M. *** has, in his preface, deſervedly, cenſured le Jay for copying even the faults of the printer, who printed the tranſlation of Portus, in which it ſtands *Palmas geſtantes*, inſtead of *Parmas*: This error le Jay has, ſervilely, copied, and ſaid, *des* Palmes *à la main*. Had he caſt his eye on the Greek text, which, I dare ſay, he never did, he could not, poſſibly, have fallen into this ridiculous error.

143. Αικικλων. This correction is owing to [d] Cluver, who has, plainly,

[d] Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 16.

the city of the Ardeates, as Gellius writes, I cannot ſay: It is ſufficient for me to give notice that, before Numa's reign, the college of the Feciales was not in being among the Romans. It was inſtituted by Numa, when he was upon the point of making war with the Fidenates, who had made incurſions into, and ravaged, his territories, in order to try, whether they would come to an accommodation with him without entering into a war, which, being under a neceſſity, they ſubmitted to. But, ſince the college of the Feciales is not in uſe among the Greeks, it is incumbent on me to relate how many, and how great affairs fall under its juriſdiction; to the end that thoſe, who are unacquainted with the piety of the men of thoſe times, may not be ſurpriſed to find that the event of all their wars, was moſt ſucceſsful: For it will appear that the ſprings, and motives of them all were moſt pious; and, for this reaſon, chiefly, the gods were propitious to them in all the dangers, that attended them. The multiplicity of the affairs, that fall within the province of theſe Feciales, makes it no eaſy matter to enumerate them all; but the ſubſtance of them is, as follows: To take care that the Romans do not enter into an unjuſt war againſt any confederate city: And, if others begin the violation of their treaties, to go as embaſſadors, and demand juſtice, in the firſt place; but, if they refuſe to comply with

ſhewn that theſe were the people, called by the Roman authors, Aequicoli. They lived on both ſides of the Anio. And [e] Livy, though he aſcribes the inſtitution of the *Feciales* to Ancus Marcius, derives their origin from the Aequicoli; *Jus ab antiquâ gente* Aequicolis, *quod nunc* Feciales *habent, deſcripſit, quo res repetuntur.*

[e] B. i. c. 32.

their

their demands, then, to give their ſanction to the war. In like manner, if any, in alliance with the Romans, complain of having been injured by them, and demand juſtice, theſe men are to inquire whether they have ſuffered any thing in violation of their alliance; and, if they find their complaints well grounded, to ſeize the guilty, and deliver them up to the ſufferers. They are, alſo, to take cognizance of the crimes committed againſt embaſſadors; to take care that treaties are, religiouſly, obſerved; to make peace; and, if they find it entered into, contrary to the holy laws, to ſet it aſide; to inquire into, and expiate, the tranſgreſſions of the generals, as far as they relate to oaths, and treaties, concerning which I ſhall ſpeak in a proper place. As to the function they perform in quality of heralds, when they go to demand juſtice of any city thought to have injured the Romans (for theſe things, alſo, are worthy of our knowledge, being tranſacted with great regard both to religion, and juſtice) I have received the following account. One of theſe Feciales, choſen by his collegues, being clad in his robes, and bearing the enſigns of his holy dignity to diſtinguiſh him from others, proceeds towards the city, whoſe inhabitants have done the injury; and, ſtanding on the confines, calls upon Jupiter, and the reſt of the gods to witneſs that he is come to [144] demand juſtice on the behalf of the Ro-

144. Ὅτι δίκας αἴλων. The form of demanding juſtice by the *Fecialis*, together with his proteſtation, in caſe of refuſal, and the declaration of war, are all ſet forth by [f] Livy in the very words, in which they were ſpoken by him: *Audi, Jupiter*, inquit, *audite, fines*, (cujuſque gentis ſunt, nominat)

[f] B. i. c. 32.

mans:

mans: After which, he takes an oath that he is going to a city, that has done an injury; and, having made the moſt dreadful imprecations againſt himſelf, and his country, if, what he averred was not true; he then, enters their confines: Afterwards, he calls to witneſs the firſt man he meets, whether he was an inhabitant of the country, or of the city; and, having repeated the ſame imprecations, he advances towards the latter; and, before he enters it, he calls the keeper of the gate, or the firſt perſon he finds there to witneſs, in the ſame manner: Upon which, he proceeds to the market-place; and, being there, he informs the magiſtrates of the reaſons of his coming, adding, every where, the ſame oaths, and imprecations. If they are diſpoſed to make ſatisfaction by delivering up the guilty, he leads them away, and returns as from friends, he himſelf being now their friend: If they deſire time to deliberate, he allows them ten days,

*audiat fas. Ego ſum publicus nuncius populi Romani, juſte pieque legatus venio, verbiſque meis fides ſit.* Peragit deinde poſtulata. Inde Jovem teſtem facit: *Si ego injuſte impieque illos homines, illaſque res dedier nuncio populi Romani mihi expoſco, tum patriae compotem me nunquam ſiris eſſe.* Then, if juſtice is refuſed, after three and thirty days, he makes this proteſtation; *Audi, Jupiter, et Tu Juno; Quirine, Diique omnes caeleſtes, Voſque terreſtres, Voſque inferni, audite. Ego vos teſtor, populum illum* (quicunque eſt, nominat) *injuſtum eſſe, neque jus perſolvere. Sed de iſtis rebus in patriâ majores natu conſulemus, quo pacto jus noſtrum adipiſcamur.* After that, if the Roman people reſolved upon the war, and the ſenate gave their conſent, the *Fecialis* returned to the frontiers of the people, againſt whom the war had been decreed; and, carrying a ſpear in his hand pointed with iron, or ſtained with blood, and burnt at the head, he declared war againſt them in the following words, after reciting the reſolution of the people, and ſenate, *Ob eam rem ego populuſque Romanus populo hominibuſque* (naming them) *bellum indico facioque.* Having ſaid this, he threw the ſpear within their frontiers. M.***, very well, obſerves, that Livy, in computing thirty three days, includes the three days employed in demanding juſtice, and declaring war.

after

after which he returns, and waits till they have aſked this three times: But, after the expiration of the thirty days, if the city ſtill perſiſts in refuſing to do him juſtice, he calls both the celeſtial and infernal gods to witneſs, and goes away, ſaying no more than this, that the Romans will deliberate concerning them at their leiſure. After his return to Rome, he, together with the reſt of the Feciales, make their report to the ſenate, that they had done every thing, that was ordained by the holy laws; and, if they thought proper to reſolve upon a war, there was no obſtacle on the part of the gods. But, if any of theſe things were omitted, neither the ſenate, nor the people had the power of reſolving upon a war. This, therefore, is the account we have received concerning the Feciales.

LXXIII. The laſt branch of the religious inſtitutions of Numa was That, which related to thoſe, who are inveſted with the chief pontificate, and greateſt power among the Romans. Theſe, from one of their duties, which concerns the reparation of the wooden bridge, are, in their language, called [145] *Pontifices*: Affairs of the greateſt moment are ſubject to their juriſdiction. For they are the judges in all

145. Πονλιφικες. [g] Varro gives the ſame etymology of this word with our author; and their authority ought to have ſcreened this etymology from the ridicule, with which Plutarch treats it; though, at the ſame time, he owns that it was received by the generality of the Romans. However, this is certain, that they could not be called *pontifices* at the time of their inſtitution; becauſe, the *pons Sublicius*, from the repairing of which they derived their name, was built by Ancus Marcius, the ſecond king after Numa, as we find by [h] our author, and [i] Livy. So that, after this bridge was built, and the care of it became one of their functions, they were called *Pontifices*.

[g] De Ling. Lat. B. iv. [h] B. iii. c. 45. [i] B. i. c. 33.

religious

religious cauſes, wherein private men, magiſtrates, or the miniſters of the gods are concerned: They enact laws relating to religion, where there are none either written, or ſupported by cuſtom; and, where there are laws, and cuſtoms, they adopt ſuch, as they think moſt proper to be obſerved: They inquire into the conduct of all magiſtrates, to whom the performance of any ſacrifices, or any ſervice of the gods is committed; and, alſo, into That of all the prieſts: They take care that their ſervants, and miniſters, whom they make uſe of in religious matters, do nothing in violation of the holy laws: They are the teachers, and interpreters of every thing relating to the worſhip of the gods, and genius's, to private perſons, who are unacquainted with it; and, if they find that any diſobey their orders, they inflict a puniſhment on them proportionable to every offence: They are alſo, exempt from all judgement, and puniſhment; neither are they accountable to the ſenate, or the people. Concerning, therefore, theſe prieſts, if any one will call them Ιεροδιδασκαλες, *the Teachers*, Ιερονομες, *the Miniſters*, Ιεροφυλακας, *the Guardians*, or, as we call them, Ιεροφαντας, *the interpreters of holy things*, he will not deviate from the truth. When any one of them dies, another is appointed in his place; who is [146] not elected by the people, but by

146. Ουχ' ὑπο τε δημε αἱρεθεις. By the Domitian law, the Pontifices were choſen by the people. This law was brought in by Cn. Domitius, then, one of the tribunes, and paſſed in the 651ſt year of the city, Caius Marius for the third time, and Lucius Aurelius being conſuls. This [k] Velleius Paterculus, poſitively, aſſerts; *quo Anno Cneius Domitius, tribunus plebis, legem tulit, ut ſacerdotes, quos antea collegae ſufficiebant, populus crearet.*

[k] B. ii. c. 12.

the

the pontifices themſelves, who chuſe the perſon they think the beſt qualified among their fellow-citizens. Being, thus, approved of, he receives the prieſthood, provided the auguries are favourable to him. Theſe, not to ſpeak of others leſs conſiderable, are the greateſt, and the moſt remarkable laws, enacted by Numa concerning divine worſhip, and divided by him according to the different branches of his religious inſtitutions, by which the city encreaſed in piety.

LXXIV. Among the many regulations of Numa, tending to inſpire frugality, and temperance, and to eſtabliſh a love of juſtice, the guardian of concord, ſome are comprehended in written laws, others unwritten, and preſerved by cuſtom, and long uſage: To treat of all which would be a work of great difficulty: I ſhall, therefore, mention only two of them, which have been the moſt extolled, and which will be ſufficient for any one to form a judgement of the reſt. The law, that appoints boundaries to every man's poſſeſſion, renders the people content with their own, and hinders them from coveting what belongs to others: For, having ordered every one to circumſcribe his own poſſeſſion, and to place ſtones on the bounds, he conſecrated theſe ſtones to *Jupiter Terminalis*; and appointed all to aſſemble at the

This law was enacted about ninety four years before our author publiſhed his hiſtory; and how he came to be unacquainted with it I cannot underſtand; unleſs it may be ſaid that, in ſpeaking of the laws inſtituted by Numa, he thought it ſufficient to treat of them in the form, in which they were enacted by him: This, to me, ſeems much more probable than that he ſhould be uninformed in any point of the Roman hiſtory, with which any of us are acquainted. What could poſſeſs le Jay to tranſlate ſo plain a paſſage, in this abſurd manner, *on le choiſit, non parmi le peuple, mais parmi ce qu'il y a de plus conſiderables citoyens?*

place, every year, on a certain day, and offer ſacrifices to them; inſtituting a ſolemn feſtival, alſo, in honor to the gods, who preſide over theſe boundaries: This feſtival the Romans call [147] *Terminalia* from Τερμονες, *Bounds*, and the bounds themſelves, by the change of one letter, in imitation of our language, they call *Termines*. He, alſo, enacted, that, if any perſon demoliſhed, or diſplaced theſe bound-ſtones, he ſhould be looked upon as devoted to this god, to the end that any one might kill him, as a ſacrilegious perſon, with impunity, and without being defiled with guilt. This law did, not only, take place in private poſſeſſions, but, even, in Thoſe belonging to the public: For he circumſcribed theſe, alſo, with boundaries, to the intent that the Terminal gods might ſeparate the lands of the Romans from Thoſe of their neighbours, and the public lands from ſuch, as belonged to private perſons. This cuſtom is obſerved by the Romans to this day, as a monument of paſt ages, and a point of religion: For they look upon theſe bound-ſtones as gods, and ſacrifice to them ſtill, offering up no kind of

147. Τερμιναλια. This feſtival was celebrated by the Romans on the ſeventh of the kalends of March, the twenty third of February. From the deſcription, given by [k] Ovid of this feſtival, it appears that this Pagan divinity was, generally, nothing elſe but a ſtone, or a poſt, placed on the boundaries,

Termine, *ſive lapis, ſive es defoſſus in agro*
*Stipes, ab* antiquis, *ſic quoque nomen habes.*

Theſe *ancients* were the Greeks, among whom Τερμονες, as our author ſays, ſignifies the ſame thing with *termen*, which was, viſibly, derived from it: For we find by [l] Varro, that the old Romans uſed the word *termen* inſtead of *terminus*; *Apud Accium, non* terminus *dicitur, ſed* termen. But, to preſerve the analogy between the two languages, here alluded to, *termen* muſt be of the maſculine gender.

[k] Faſtorum, B. ii. ℣. 641.

[l] De Ling. Lat. B. iv. c. 4.

animal

animal (for it is irreligious to ſtain theſe ſtones with blood) but cakes made with flour, and other firſt-fruits of the earth: But they ought ſtill to obſerve the motive itſelf, in conſideration of which it was ordered that theſe bound-ſtones ſhould be called gods, and content themſelves with their own poſſeſſions, without invading Thoſe of others, either by violence, or fraud: Whereas, now, there are ſome, who without conſulting their duty, or the example of their anceſtors, inſtead of ſeparating their own poſſeſſions from Thoſe of others, make their deſire of every thing, not the law, the boundary of their poſſeſſions; which reflects great diſhonor on them. But we leave theſe conſiderations to others.

LXXV. By theſe laws, Numa formed the city to frugality, and temperence: Juſtice in contracts he introduced by inventing a regulation, which was unknown to all, who inſtituted the moſt celebrated commonwealths: For, obſerving that contracts, made in public, and before witneſſes, are, from a regard to the perſons preſent, generally, performed, and that few are guilty of any violation of them; but that thoſe, which are tranſacted without witneſſes, being many more in number than the former, reſt on no other ſecurity than the faith of the contractors, he thought it incumbent on him to make this faith the chief object of his care, and to render it worthy of divine worſhip. For he found that Juſtitia, Themis, Nemeſis, and Thoſe the Greeks call Erinnyes, with others of that kind, had been, ſufficiently, honoured by the ancients, in being erected into divinities,

and conſecrated; but that Faith, than which there is no greater, nor more ſacred virtue among men, was not yet worſhiped, either by ſtates in their public capacity, or by private perſons: Having conſidered theſe things, he, firſt of all men, erected a temple to public Faith, and inſtituted ſacrifices to be performed to her, at the public expence, in the ſame manner as to the reſt of the gods. By this means, the public faith of the city, which was preſerved inviolate to all men, could not fail, in time, to communicate the ſame fidelity to the behaviour of private men: And, indeed, ſo ſacred, and inviolable a thing was faith in their eſtimation, that the greateſt oath a man could take was, By his own faith; and more depended upon than any other teſtimony: And, if there happened any conteſt between two perſons concerning the performance of a contract entered into without witneſſes, the faith of either of the parties was ſufficient to decide the controverſy, and not ſuffer it to proceed any further: And the magiſtrates, and courts of juſtice founded their decrees, in moſt cauſes, on the oaths of the parties atteſting by their faith. Theſe regulations, then invented by Numa, which perſuaded to temperance, and inforced juſtice, rendered the city of Rome more orderly than the beſt regulated family.

LXXVI. Thoſe I am going to relate, rendered it both careful to provide itſelf with neceſſaries, and induſtrious to acquire the advantages, that flow from labor: For this perſon, conſidering that a city, formed to the love of juſtice, and to habitual temperance, ought to abound with all things neceſſary

neceſſary to the ſupport of life, divided the whole country into what they call Pagi, *Villages*; and over each of theſe villages he appointed a magiſtrate, whoſe duty it was to inſpect, and viſit the lands lying in his own diviſion: Theſe, going their rounds frequently, took an account in writing of the lands, that were well, and ill cultivated, and laid it before the king; who repaid the diligence of the careful huſbandmen with commendations, and favor; and, by reprimanding, and fining the ſlothful, excited them to cultivate their lands with greater attention: By which means, the people, being freed from wars, and exempt from any attendance on the affairs of the city; and, at the ſame time, diſgraced, and puniſhed, for idleneſs, and ſloth, became all laborious huſbandmen, and looked upon the riches, which the earth yields, and which, of all others, are the moſt innocent, as more agreeable than the precarious affluence of a military life: And, by the ſame means, Numa became the darling of his ſubjects, the example of his neighbours, and the theme of poſterity. It was owing to him, that, neither civil diſſenſion broke the harmony of the city, nor foreign war interrupted the obſervance of theſe wiſe, and admirable inſtitutions: For their neighbours were ſo far from looking upon the peaceful tranquillity of the Romans, as an opportunity of invading them, that, if, at any time, they were at war with one another, they choſe the Romans for mediators, and were willing to put an end to their conteſts under the arbitration of Numa. I ſhould, therefore, make no difficulty in placing this perſon among the firſt of thoſe, who

who are the moſt celebrated for their happineſs: For he was of a royal family, had a majeſtic aſpect, and cultivated that kind of literature, which, inſtead of uſeleſs eloquence, formed his mind to piety, and every other virtue: When he was young, he was thought worthy to be king of the Romans, who, upon the reputation of his virtue, invited him to that dignity, which he exerciſed, during his whole life, over an obedient people. He lived to be very old, without any infirmity, or misfortune, and died the eaſieſt of all deaths, being worne out with age; the genius, who had been allotted to him from his birth, having continued the ſame favor to him till he was no more. He lived above fourſcore years, and reigned forty three; leaving behind him, according to moſt hiſtorians, four ſons, and one daughter, whoſe poſterity remain to this day; but, according to Cneius Gellius, only one daughter, who was the mother of Ancus Marcius, the third king of the Romans after him. His death was, exceedingly, lamented by the city, who made a moſt ſplendid [148] funeral for him: He lies buried upon

148. Ταφας. Here again, the tranſlators are ranged in their uſual order: Portus was reſolved to give the ſenſe of this word; and, for that reaſon, he has rendered it both a funeral, and a monument, *funere ſplendidiſſimo, et monumento maxime inſigni, decoravit*; le Jay ſcorned to do leſs honor to Numa, than his guide, and has ſaid, word for word, *on lui fit de ſuperbes funerailles, et l'on dreſſa à ſa memoire un magnifique tombeau.* Sylburgius is more modeſt, and contents himſelf with the monument, *inſigni monumento decoravit civitas*; and M. *** has copied his modeſty in copying his words, *on lui érigea un ſuperbe tombeau.* Now, I cannot agree with Sylburgius (for his tranſlator is not concerned in the text) that ταφαι ſignifies *a monument*, for which the Greek word is ταφος. This will be ſeen by [m] Julius Pollux, a writer of great authority, and of great uſe, who gives us every thing relating

[m] B. viii. c. 14.

the

the Janiculum, on the other ſide of the Tiber. And this is the account we have received concerning Numa Pompilius.

to funeral honors in their proper order. Περὶ δὲ τὸν τάφον, ἐνλαφία, μνῆμα, τάφος, χῶμα, στήλη. Here, τάφος precedes τάφος, and is, plainly, diſtinguiſhed from it. Beſides, if our author had deſigned that τάφαι ſhould ſignify a monument, he would have ſaid κεῖναι, inſtead of κεῖται, which can relate only to the body of Numa.

The end of the ſecond book.

THE

A

# FRAGMENT

Out of the

## SIXTH-BOOK

OF

# *POLYBIUS,*

Containing a Diſſertation upon GOVERNMENT in general, particularly applied to that of the Romans, together with a Deſcription of the ſeveral Powers of the CONSULS, SENATE, and PEOPLE of Rome,

Tranſlated from the Greek with Notes.

To which is prefixed a Preface, wherein the Syſtem of POLYBIUS is applied to the Government of *England:* And, to the above-mentioned Fragment concerning the Powers of the Senate, is annexed a Diſſertation upon the Conſtitution of it.

*Ita demum liberam Civitatem fore—ſi ſua quiſque jura ordo, ſuam Majeſtatem teneat.* Liv. B. iii. c. 63.

Αρχειν και αρχεσθαι.

THE tranſlation of this fragment of *Polybius* with the preface, and the diſſertation on the *Roman* ſenate annexed to the tranſlation, was publiſhed by me in 1743; which I mention to the end that, if the reader finds the ſame quotations, and the ſame conſequences drawn from them in Dr. *Middleton's Treatiſe on the Roman Senate*, and Dr. *Chapman's Eſſay*, both on the ſame ſubject, and both publiſhed ſeveral years after mine, he may acquit me of plagiariſm. I had, then, my reaſons for not putting my name to the book, though my bookſeller thought fit to affix my name, or ſomething like my name, to what he called a ſecond edition, without my knowledge, and to add to it a moſt impertinent title page of his own.

I have inſerted this little book, which has been many years out of print, in my tranſlation of *Dionyſius*, becauſe I look upon it that the deſcription of the ſeveral powers of the conſuls, ſenate, and people of *Rome*, given by ſo great an author as *Polybius*, will very much tend to explain, and confirm many paſſages in this hiſtory.

THE

# PREFACE.

*SEveral conſiderations led me to lay before the public a tranſlation of the following fragment of* POLYBIUS: *The principal of which was, the very great ſatisfaction I received, as an Engliſhman, in finding the whole reaſoning of that excellent author as applicable to our own conſtitution, as to That, for which it was intended.*

*The great advantages flowing from the happy temper, and equal mixture of the three orders, for which he ſo juſtly celebrates the Roman government, are all to be found in our own; with this circumſtance in our favor, that our ſituation, as an iſland, forbids us either to fear, or aim at, conqueſts; by the gaining, as well as the ſuffering of which, that political harmony is in danger of being deſtroyed. By the ſpoils of conquered nations Cæſar was enabled to corrupt the Roman people, and bribe them to be the inſtruments of their own ruin, by erecting an abſolute monarchy in his favor; which, growing, afterwards, wanton for want of a check from the other two orders, and weak for want of their aſſiſtance, became, at laſt, a prey to a bar-*

*a barbarous invader, often vanquiſhed, and always deſpiſed, while the ballance of all three was preſerved.*

*If my countrymen will attentively conſider every argument, made uſe of by* POLYBIUS, *to ſhew the excellence of a government founded on an equal mixture of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy, they will, I dare ſay, have the ſame ſatisfaction I enjoyed; that is, they will find the ſyſtem of policy, laid down by that great man, in the following diſſertation on the conſtitution of the Romans, to be a deſcription of the advantages enjoyed under That of England.*

*I would not be thought to ſay this in flattery to the government, under which I was born, and hope to paſs the remainder of my life; not only my own reaſon, but, what is of much greater weight, even to myſelf, the authority of the greateſt men of antiquity, convinces me that a goverment mixed like Thoſe of Sparta, Rome, and England, is, of all others, the eaſieſt, the ſecureſt, and the happieſt to live under. If any of us are inſenſible of the bleſſings we enjoy, I muſt think it owing to our being accuſtomed to them. Cuſtom, I know, can both deaden the ſenſe of the greateſt misfortunes, and pall the enjoyment of the greateſt bleſſings; and cuſtom may, poſſibly, make us view that ſtate with indifference, which all other nations look upon with envy. But this indifference is far from being epidemical; the fears, the jealouſies of innovations, all pardonable in a free ſtate,*

*however*

*however groundleſs, are to me a proof, beyond contradiction, that we love what we ſo much fear to loſe: and how general muſt thoſe fears be, when it is popular only to pretend to fear?*

*In all free governments there ever were, and ever will be, parties: we find that Sparta, Rome, Athens, and all the Greek colonies in Aſia Minor had their ariſtocratical, and democratical parties; while the only conteſt among the ſubjects of the kings of Perſia was, who ſhould be the greateſt ſlaves. The truth is, different underſtandings, different educations, and different attachments muſt neceſſarily produce different ways of thinking every where; but theſe will ſhew themſelves in free governments only, becauſe there only they can ſhew themſelves with impunity. However, it was not the exiſtence of the two parties I have mentioned, that deſtroyed the liberties of any of thoſe cities, but the occaſional extinction of one of them, by the ſuperiority the other had gained over it: and, if ever we ſhould be ſo unhappy as to have the ballance between the three orders deſtroyed; and that any one of the three ſhould utterly extinguiſh the other two, the name of a party would, from that moment, be unknown in England, and we ſhould unanimouſly agree in being ſlaves to the conqueror.*

*Parties, therefore, are not only the effect, but the ſupport, of liberty: I do not at all wonder that they are perpetually exclaimed at by Thoſe in power: they may have, ſometimes, rea-*

*ſon*

*ſon to be diſſatisfied with the parties themſelves, but have much more to be ſo with the heads of them; for Theſe are properly their rivals: the bulk of the party aims, generally, at no more than a reformation of what they think an abuſe of power; the others, at the power itſelf, without conſidering the abuſe, unleſs it be to continue it: The party quarrels with things, and the leaders with perſons; conſequently, a change of meaſures may appeaſe the firſt; but nothing leſs than a change of miniſters can ſatisfy the laſt. However, in one reſpect, theſe leaders often give ſome eaſe to miniſters without deſigning it; for, as they generally attack them upon perſonal, rather than national points, their followers are unconcerned in the conteſt; and, conſidering themſelves as ſpectators, rather than parties, do not think it incumbent on them to go great lengths for the choice of miniſters; eſpecially, ſince by the indifference their leaders ſhew for national points, when they are aiming at power (which is the ſeaſon for giving hopes, as the gaining it is for diſappointing them) their followers have but little reaſon to expect they will ſhew a greater warmth for them, when they have attained the poſſeſſion of it.*

*But, whatever may be the ſucceſs of the oppoſers, the public reaps great benefit from the oppoſition; ſince This keeps miniſters upon their guard, and, often, prevents them from purſuing bold meaſures, which an uncontrolled power might, otherwiſe,*

*tempt them to ingage in: they muſt act with caution, as well as fidelity, when they conſider the whole nation is attentive to every ſtep they take, and that the errors they may commit, will not only be expoſed, but aggravated: in the mean time, a thirſt of power, irritated by diſappointment, animates the application of the oppoſers of public affairs, infinitely more than the languid impulſe of national conſiderations: By this means, they grow able ſtateſmen, and when they come to be miniſters, are not only capable of defending bad ſchemes, but, when they pleaſe, of forming good ones.*

*Another great advantage, that accrues to the people from this oppoſition, is, that each party, by appealing to them upon all occaſions, conſtitutes them judges of every conteſt; and, indeed, to whom ſhould they appeal, but to thoſe, whoſe welfare is the deſign, or pretence, of every meaſure? And for whoſe happineſs the majeſty of kings, the dignity of peers, and the power of the commons were finally inſtituted. This is, undoubtedly, the end of their inſtitution, and this end it is their glory, as well as duty, to accompliſh: For, what greater honor can be done to the three orders, of which our government is ſo happily compoſed, than to look upon them as they really are, that is, as the channels, through which eaſe, plenty, and ſecurity are derived to millions of people?*

*I would*

*I would not willingly do injuſtice to perſons ſo uſeful, at all times, to the public, whatever they may be to themſelves, as the heads of an oppoſing party; but ſhall mention one point, to which I will appeal, as to a touchſtone of their conduct, and, by which, it will evidently appear whether it is influenced by perſonal, or national, conſiderations; it is This: There is not, I believe, in Great Britain, a man, who is not convinced, nor a man, not actually in the adminiſtration, or not expecting one day to be in it, who will not own, that annual parliaments are an effectual cure for all the evils, that are felt, feared, or complained of: If this is ſo evident a truth, how comes it to paſs that, for this laſt century, that is, ever ſince an oppoſition to a miniſtry was made the road to a ſucceſſion in it, that ſo national a point has been neglected? How comes it to paſs, I ſay, that ſo many ſucceſſive oppoſitions have never, in the warmeſt ſeaſon of their conteſt, taken one ſtep to reſtore the people to a right confirmed to them by more than one act of parliament* (1) *and ſupported by the enjoyment of ſome hundred years? Are the heirs apparent to miniſters to be looked upon as the only perſons in the nation, who are unacquainted with the rights of the people? Or the champions of liberty the only perſons unconcerned in the defence of it? The truth is, they all*

(1) 4 Edw. III. 36 Edw. III.

*expect*

*expect to be, one day, miniſters themſelves, and are ſenſible that annual parliaments are ſo much the ancient right of the people, ſo obviouſly conducive, if not eſſential, to their ſecurity, their dignity, and power, that they are afraid any attempt to reſtore them ſhould prove ſucceſsful; and, conſequently, that, by breaking the peoples chains aſunder, in order to diſtreſs the miniſters, they ſhould forge others for themſelves when they come to ſucceed them. Whenever there has been any attempt to enact, or reſtore triennial parliaments, it has ever been objected that triennial parliaments would produce triennial miniſtries; and they are afraid that annual parliaments ſhould alſo produce annual miniſtries:* Hinc illæ lachrymæ. *But I ſee no reaſon for theſe fears; we do not find that, during the long tract of time the people enjoyed annual parliaments, the reign of good miniſters was ſhorter than ſince they have been deprived of that right: And if, during that period, the reign of bad miniſters was ſo, this becomes an acceſſional reaſon for their being reſtored to it. But, ſay they, every thing will be ſo fluctuating under annual parliaments, that no nation will treat with you, no war can be proſecuted with ſucceſs: Have they then forgotten that the treaties of Bretigny, and Troyes were concluded, and the victories of Crecy, and Azincourt gained, under the auſpices of annual parliaments?*

*It is thought by many people that the ſeptennial act was the ſevereſt ſtab the liberties of the people of England ever received: Indeed the circumſtances of the nation at the time of its being enacted, were ſome juſtification of it: There had lately been an actual rebellion raiſed againſt a prince, who, without flattery, (which is ſeldom beſtowed upon dead princes) wanted nothing to be admired by his ſubjects, but to be known to them; and who, by a peculiar caſt of good qualities, ſeemed formed by nature to reign over a free people. This rebellion was indeed extinguiſhed, but though the ſtorm was laid, the heaving of the ſea continued. However, if theſe circumſtances, while they ſubſiſted, were a reaſon for enacting that law, now they are removed, they can be none for continuing it. I muſt, indeed, do one ſet of men the juſtice to allow that they have ſhewn themſelves of that opinion, by endeavouring to reſtore triennial parliaments: But that attempt, if it had ſucceeded, would have proved a palliative remedy only, not a cure. Have not triennial parliaments been already tried, and found ineffectual? Were not ſeveral eſſential clauſes in the act of ſettlement repealed, the peace of Utrecht confirmed, and the ſchiſm act paſſed by triennial parliaments?*

*It muſt be allowed that, in all free governments, the oftener the collective body of the people is reſorted to, the oftener they will have legal opportunities of reforming thoſe grievances,*

*that*

*that will, from time to time, unavoidably, ſteal into the legiſlative, as well as the executive part of every government; and, while they have legal methods of redreſs, they will never fly to Thoſe, that are not ſo. This would be the great advantage of annual parliaments: For, to ſuppoſe that the repreſentatives of the people will, at all times, be as vigilant to diſcover, and as zealous to reform, thoſe grievances, or as careful of their conduct in every other reſpect, when they are independent of their conſtituents for ſeven years, as, when they annually depend upon their approbation, is to ſuppoſe that hopes, and fears have loſt their influence on the minds of men. On the other ſide, if it ſhould ever happen that the repreſentatives, encouraged by this independence, ſhould, inſtead of reforming grievances, encreaſe their number, and become themſelves the greateſt grievance; the people will, in that caſe, have no legal remedy, which is, in itſelf, contrary to the nature of government; it being ridiculous to imagine that the ſame law, which provides a remedy for every private wrong, ſhould provide none for Thoſe of the public; or, that the whole body of the people, for whoſe ſake the law itſelf was inſtituted, ſhould ever find themſelves in ſuch circumſtances, as to loſe the benefit of it. Yet, this muſt happen, if it be received as a ſtanding maxim of law and juſtice, that their repreſentatives, when once choſen for any number of years, let their abuſe of power be never ſo glaring,*

*have ſtill a right to ſit out their term, and, what is worſe, to extend it as far as the affairs of the nation, or their own may require. If this be admitted, it muſt alſo be admitted that no term can, by law, be preſcribed to their ſitting, becauſe they have ſtill a power, by law, of extending that term, and, conſequently, of perpetuating themſelves: This, however improbable, muſt, upon a ſuppoſition of the legality of the firſt extention of the original term, be allowed to be equally legal. From hence it appears how dangerous it is to remove the corner ſtones of government; and that, whenever they have been removed, either through neceſſity, or convenience, the firſt opportunity ought to be laid hold on to reſtore them to their former ſituation.*

*There is ſomething ſo bewitching in power, that, without very compulſive laws, men are not eaſily brought to reſign it: This tenaciouſneſs of power has filled all hiſtories, both ancient and modern, with attempts made to extend it beyond the term, for which it was originally delegated. Thus, the laſt Roman decemvirs, though choſen by their country but for a year, prolonged their term by their own act, and retained the power they had uſurped, till the people forced it out of their hands, and puniſhed them ſeverely for their uſurpation, and their memory ſtands branded in hiſtory* (2) *with all the infamy it deſerves:*

(2) Liv. B. iii. Dionyſ. Hal. B. xi.

*While*

*While the names of Valerius, and Horatius, under whoſe conduct the people recovered their right of electing annual magiſtrates, are celebrated by their hiſtorians with all the praiſes, that gratitude can yield, or merit claim; monuments more laſting than braſs, or marble: Thoſe no ſtorms can overturn, no flight of time deface; ſtill are their praiſes read by applauding nations, who look upon thoſe worthy patriots, as the benefactors, not of their own country only, but of all mankind.*

*The ſame attempt met with, I will not ſay, deſerved, a better fate at Venice,* (3) *where in the year* 1298, *an act paſſed in the great council, which, till then, was annually choſen by the people, that all thoſe, of which it was that year compoſed, or who had been members of it for the four laſt years, ſhould, upon their obtaining twelve voices in the council of forty, be themſelves, and their poſterity, ever after, members of it and that all the other citizens ſhould be, for ever, excluded from the adminiſtration of public affairs. From this time, the people of Venice, like all others under the like circumſtances, have found how dangerous it is to be uſeleſs, and that, to have no ſhare in the government, is to be a prey to Thoſe who have.*

*Many are the expedients gentlemen have been driven to, in order to ſupply the want of annual parliaments; ſuch as the penſion act, the act for diſabling thoſe, who have accepted em-*

(3) Amelot de la Houſſaie. Hiſt. du Gouvern. de Ven.

*ployments,*

*ployments, from ſitting in the houſe unleſs they are re-elected, and ſome others of the like tendency: All which are, no doubt, very well calculated to anſwer the ends, for which ſuch bills are generally brought in, that is, to defame the miniſtry, if they are not paſſed, and to diſtreſs them, if they are. But, I believe, the people have received no great benefit from any of theſe expedients. In this I am the more confirmed, becauſe the promoters of them are ſo loud in their complaints of ſuch abuſes, as could not, poſſibly, be committed, if theſe laws were effectual: Their complaints, therefore, muſt be looked upon as an acknowledgement that they are not ſo; and, if theſe gentlemen perſiſt in applying remedies, which they themſelves know to be ineffectual, the nation will have reaſon to complain in their turn, and to ſay that they treat them as ſome phyſicians treat their patients, that is, they chuſe rather to preſcribe, than cure. As to the place bill, the people have a right to have That go hand in hand with the bill for annual parliaments; ſince, among other clauſes of* Nolumus (4) *formerly inſerted in the writs of ſummons, we find the following one,* Nolumus autem quod aliquis de retinentia domini noſtri regis aliqualiter ſit electus.

*The people of Rome, Sparta, and Athens were not repreſented; but appeared in a collective body, whenever any thing was to be laid before them. This method of taking the ſenſe of*

(4) Whitelock's Memo. p. 432.

*the*

*the whole body of the people, upon every occaſion, might not be ſubject to great inconveniences either at Sparta, or Athens, by reaſon of the ſmall extent of their reſpective territories, which, though very populous, contained but few inhabitants: But, at Rome, whoſe dominions were ſo extenſive, and its citizens ſo numerous, I think it muſt have been ſubject to many, particularly, to one of theſe two; either all the Roman citizens, who were not actually ingaged in the ſervice of the commonwealth, muſt have come from the moſt diſtant parts of the world at every meeting of the people, or the whole power muſt have devolved upon the inhabitants of the city, and neighbourhood of Rome: I own, I have never met with any complaints of either of theſe inconveniences in any of their authors, and yet the alternative ſeems unavoidable. For which reaſon, notwithſtanding the great deference, which is undeniably due to the wiſdom of their inſtitutions, I cannot help thinking that a repreſentative, under proper regulations, anſwers all the purpoſes of the peoples voting in a collective body, and is ſubject to none of the inconveniences of it. But, to effect this, two things ſeem to be neceſſary; the firſt, that the people be annually repreſented, to the end they may have, annually, an opportunity of confirming, or reforming their choice; the ſecond is, that they be equally repreſented; for a people unequally repreſented, will, of courſe, be unequally taxed. This is a miſchief, which all mo-*

*dern*

*dern governments are more, or leſs, ſubject to, becauſe none of them have been ſo wiſe as to follow the example of the Romans, in eſtabliſhing a general regiſter: This, perhaps, may not be practicable, at leaſt, not adviſeable, in a trading country; ſince credit, which is the life of commerce, and ſubſiſts by opinion, would be very much impaired, if not deſtroyed, by certainty; and, if every man's circumſtances were known, a merchant would, no longer, have it in his power, by making uſe of other peoples fortune, to raiſe his own, and to grow rich, by being thought ſo. But, to apply what I have ſaid, in a particular manner, to our own affairs, I will appeal even to thoſe gentlemen, who find their advantage in this national misfortune, I mean the inequality of the land tax, whether it has not, in a great meaſure, been the occaſion of this immenſe load of debts, under which we, at preſent, labour; I think it paſt diſpute that this inequality has contributed to it more ways than one; in the firſt place, it has, frequently, made it neceſſary to have recourſe to other funds, in order to raiſe thoſe ſums, which the land tax alone, if equally levied, would have annually produced. Secondly, this inequality in levying the land tax has often put miniſters upon raiſing money by more equal methods; that is, finding it impracticable to raiſe the ſums required by ſuch means, as all people ought to contribute to in proportion to their poſſeſſion, they have been obliged to raiſe them by ſuch, as all*

*muſt*

*muſt contribute to in proportion to their conſumption. This has obliged them to create new funds, to extend the old, and apply the ſinking fund, the nation's only hope, to purpoſes very different from Thoſe, to which it was originally appropriated. Theſe, and many more miſchiefs would be cured, if the people of England were annually, and equally repreſented; and, if ever we are ſo happy as to ſee the promiſes, made by gentlemen, while they are oppoſing public meaſures, performed, when they come to have the conduct of them; and power adminiſtred with the ſame ſpirit, by which it was acquired, the nation then will, no doubt, have juſtice done them in theſe two important points; the obtaining of which would, in my opinion, render our conſtitution more perfect than any, that has yet appeared either in the ancient, or modern world. In the mean time, and until theſe two accompliſhing regulations ſhall take place, we may have the ſatisfaction of conſidering both how near our government is arrived to perfection, and how fair a proſpect it has of attaining it.*

*The following reaſon alſo did not a little contribute to my publiſhing this tranſlation: I obſerved with pleaſure the great ſucceſs, which the life of Cicero has deſervedly met with, and the happy turn it has given to converſation by baniſhing the trifles, that were, before, the unworthy ſubjects of it, and ſubſtituting in their room an inquiry into the conſtitution, the lan-*

*guage, and cuſtoms of a people, whoſe view was to conquer, poliſh, and inſtruct mankind. As a taſte for learning does honor to every nation, where it flouriſhes, it is the duty of all perſons to endeavour to revive that taſte, where it is loſt, and to preſerve, and improve it, where it ſubſiſts; and nothing can contribute ſo effectually towards thoſe ends as a conſtant ſupply of freſh materials; but on the choice of theſe depends the ſucceſs: Scarce any thing has, of late, been offered to the public upon this ſubject, but mean tranſlations of French performances, which, though every branch of learning is much indebted to the productions of that nation, have generally more vivacity, than ſolidity: This vivacity, the property of which is to entertain, rather than to inſtruct, has rendered their tranſlations of the ancient authors ſo looſe, they hardly deſerve that name: One of the beſt, and moſt eſteemed is that of* POLYBIUS *by Dom Vincent Thuillier: If I have found myſelf obliged to take notice of ſome inaccuracies, that have eſcaped him, it has been leſs with a view of cenſuring his tranſlation, than of juſtifying my own. The difficulty of doing juſtice to the great authors of antiquity, by a tranſlation of their works into a modern language, is ſo great, that I am infinitely more diſpoſed to admire his work for the many excellences, with which it abounds, than to cenſure it for a few faults, which may be owing to a little inattention, or to the condition of human nature, whoſe fate it is never to be per-*

*fect; but theſe errors are ſo rarely to be met with in that performance, that they lie among the many beauties of it, like a few pebbles, wantonly ſcattered by the hand of nature, in a mine of diamonds.*

*But there is another difficulty, which a tranſlator of* POLYBIUS *has particularly to encounter, and which I ſhall mention more for my own ſake, than for That of the French tranſlator, becauſe I may, poſſibly, have greater occaſion for the excuſe: This difficulty ariſes from the ſtyle of that author; which, notwithſtanding the unwillingneſs of Caſaubon, and of the French tranſlator to own it, is not ſo elegant, nor perſpicuous as might be wiſhed: It is very well known that he has been cenſured for a want of attention to the beauties of ſtyle by one of the greateſt critics, as well as one of the greateſt hiſtorians, of antiquity, I mean Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus* (5); *and it is certain there are many words made uſe of by Polybius, that are not to be met with in any other author, and many words made uſe of by him in a ſenſe, which no other author gives to them: This, joined to an obſcurity, either natural, or affected, makes the reading him very difficult, and the tranſlating him much more ſo. I have often wiſhed that ſo complete an hiſtorian in all other reſpects, and one, whoſe ſenſe is ſo ſtrong, and compaſs of learning ſo great, had written with as great elegance, and*

(5) Περι συνθεσεως ονοματων, c. 4.

*harmony of ſtyle, as the author, who, in my opinion, ſo juſtly cenſures him for the want of them.*

*In my notes upon the fragment of Polybius, I have not taken any notice of an Engliſh tranſlation of that author by Sir H. S. becauſe, upon comparing it with the Greek text, and Caſaubon's latin verſion, which is by much the beſt, I found it to be a tranſlation of neither; for which reaſon, I violently ſuſpect the author has tranſlated ſome old tranſlation publiſhed before Caſaubon's edition appeared; which I am the rather inclined to believe, becauſe there are two hiatus's in the Engliſh tranſlation of this fragment, which are not in the Greek text, one anſwering to page 462, in Caſaubon's edition, of two lines, and the other to page 464, of no leſs than 56 lines.*

*In the diſſertation upon the conſtitution of the Roman Senate, I have taken notice of the many difficulties I met with in treating that ſubject: To what is there obſerved, I beg leave to add the following conſideration. Every one, who reads at all, muſt have read the memorial written by the late Earl Stanhope to the Abbé de Vertot, author of the Roman revolutions: In that memorial, his lordſhip ſtates ſeveral difficulties relative to the perſons, of whom the Roman ſenate was compoſed: This memorial that gentleman anſwers in ſuch a manner, as ſhews that, if he did not think thoſe difficulties unanſwerable, he left them, at leaſt, unanſwered; ſo that, whoever reads his anſwer to*

*that*

*that memorial, will, I believe, receive very little ſatisfaction, unleſs it be in reflecting that the praiſes ſo liberally beſtowed, upon that occaſion, by the writer of that anſwer, were as eminently deſerved by the noble lord, to whom it was written. What I would infer from this, is, that, if a perſon, who was ſo perfectly acquainted with the civil, as well as military inſtitutions of the ancients, as the late earl Stanhope, and who had paſſed his life in ſtudying the actions, or following the examples, of the greateſt men of antiquity; if a perſon, I ſay, ſo well qualified to decide, could doubt, and the author of the Roman revolutions not ſatisfy thoſe doubts; I hope I may be intitled to ſome indulgence, ſhould not every difficulty, which a curious reader may form to himſelf, be fully anſwered in that diſſertation.*

Τα των πολιτευματων ειδη· ἡ γενεσις και καθα φυσιν μεταβολη των πολιτειων εις αλληλας. ὁτι αριστη πολιτεια ἡ εκ παντων των ειδων συνεστωσα. και ὁτι ἡ των Ρωμαιων εστι τοιαυτη.

ΤΩΝ μεν γαρ Ελληνικων πολιτευματων ὁσα πολλακις μεν ηυξηται, πολλακις δε της εις ταναντια μεταβολης ὁλοχερως πειραν ειληφε, ῥαδιαν ειναι συμβαινει και την ὑπερ των προτεθεντων εξηγησιν, και την ὑπερ τυ μελλοντος αποφασιν. τοτε γαρ εξαγγελλαι τα γινωσκομενα ῥαδιον· τοτε προειπειν ὑπερ τυ μελλοντος, στοχαζομενον εκ των ηδη γεγονοτων, ευμαρες· περι δε της Ρωμαιων υδ' ὁλως ευχερες, ὡτε περι των παροντων εξηγησασθαι, δια την ποικιλιαν της πολιτειας· ὡτε περι τυ μελλοντος προειπειν, (1) δια την αγνοιαν των προτεθεντων περι αυτης ιδιωματων και κοινη και κατ' ιδιαν. Διοπερ, υ της τυχυσης επισασεως προσδειται, και θεωριας, ει μελλοι τις τα διαφεροντα καθαριως εν αυτη συνοψεσθαι.

Συμβαινει δη τυς πλειστυς των βυλομενων διδασκαλικως ἡμιν ὑποδεικνυειν περι των τοιυτων, τρια γενη λεγειν πολιτειων· ὡν το μεν καλυσι βασιλειαν, το δ' αριστοκρατιαν, το δε τριτον δημοκρατιαν. δοκει δε μοι πανυ τις εικοτως αν επαπορησαι προς αυ-

(1) Δια την αγνοιαν των προτεθεντων περι αυτης ιδιωματων και κοινη και καθ' ιδιαν.] Dom Vincent Thuillier, the French Tranſlator, has rendered this, *parce que l'on ne connôit point aſſez comment elle ſe conduiſoit autrefois, ſoit dans les affaires générales, ſoit dans les particulieres*, which I do not take to be the ſenſe of the author, ſince ιδιωματα muſt, I believe, be underſtood to relate to the *peculiar frame* of the conſtitution of the Romans, and not to

τυς,

## *Of the ſeveral* FORMS *of* *GOVERNMENT: Of the origin, and natural tranſition of thoſe governments to one another: That the beſt conſtitution is That, which is compounded of all of them; and that the conſtitution of the* Romans *is ſuch a one.*

CONcerning thoſe Greek commonwealths, which have often encreaſed in power, and often, to their ruin, experienced a contrary turn of fortune, it is an eaſy matter both to relate paſt tranſactions, and foretel Thoſe to come; there being no great difficulty either in recounting what one knows, or in publiſhing conjectures of future events, from Thoſe that are paſt. But, concerning the Roman commonwealth, it is not at all eaſy either to give an account of the preſent ſtate of their affairs, by reaſon of the variety of their inſtitutions; or to foretel what may happen to them, through the ignorance of the peculiar frame of their ancient government, both public and private, upon which ſuch conjectures muſt be founded. For which reaſon, an uncommon attention and inquiry ſeem requiſite, to form a clear idea of the points, in which the Roman commonwealth differs from Thoſe of Greece.

It is, I find, cuſtomary with thoſe, who profeſſedly treat this ſubject, to eſtabliſh three ſorts of government; kingly government, ariſtocracy, and democracy: Upon which, one may, I think, very properly aſk them,

the conduct of their affairs. But, the beſt way of illuſtrating an author's meaning is to explain him by himſelf: Towards the end of this diſſertation, POLYBIUS ſays, the Romans attained whatever they propoſed, *through the peculiar frame of their government*, where he makes uſe of almoſt the ſame word he employs upon this occaſion; τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς πολιτεύματος. In this I am ſupported by Caſaubon's tranſlation.

whether

τυς, ποτερον ὡς μονας ταυτας, η και νη Δι' ὡς αριστας ἡμιν εισηγηνται των πολιτειων. κατ' αμφοτερα γαρ αινοειν μοι δοκυσι· δηλον γαρ, ὡς αριστην μεν ζητεον πολιτειαν την εκ παντων των προειρημενων ιδιωματων συνεστωσαν. τυτυ γαρ τυ μερυς υ λογῳ μονον, αλλ' εργῳ πειραν ειληφαμεν· Λυκυργυ συνηναυλος πρωτυ καλα τυτον τον τροπον το Λακεδαιμονιων πολιτευμα. Και τοι υδ' ὡς μονας ταυτας προσδεκτεον· και γαρ μοναρχικας και τυραννικας ηδη τινας τεθεαμεθα πολιτειας, αι πλειστον διαφερυσαι βασιλειας, παραπλησιον εχειν τι ταυτῃ δοκυσιν· ἡ και συμψευδονται και συγχωρειται παντες οι μοναρχοι, καθ' ὁσον οιοι τ' εισι, τῳ της βασιλειας ονοματι. Και μην ολιγαρχικα πολιτευματα και πλειω γεγονε, δοκυντα παρομοιον εχειν τι τοις αριστοκρατικοις, ἁ πλειστον, ὡς επος ειπειν, διεσασιν. ὁ δ' αυτος λογ@ και περι δημοκρατιας.

Οτι δ' αληθες εστι το λεγομενον, εκ τυτων συμφανες. υτε γαρ πασαν δηπυ μοναρχιαν ευθεως βασιλειαν ρητεον· αλλα μονην την εξ ἑκοντων συγχωρυμενην, (2) και τῃ γνωμῃ το πλειον, η φοβῳ και βια κυβερνωμενην. υδε μην πασαν ολιγαρχιαν αριστοκρατιαν νομιστεον· αλλα ταυτην ἡ τις αν κατ' εκλογην ὑπο των δικαιοτατων και φρονιμωτατων ανδρων βραβευηται. (3) Παραπλησιως υδε δημοκρατιαν, εν ἡ παν

(2) Και τῃ γνωμῃ το πλειον, η φοβῳ και βια κυβερνωμενην.] I am obliged to differ both from Caſaubon, and the French tranſlator, in rendering this paſſage. The former has ſaid, *et quæ conſilio potius quàm metu aut vi regitur*; and the latter, *et où tout ſe fait plutôt par raiſon que par crainte, et par violence.* In the firſt place, I doubt whether γνωμη is to be met with in the ſenſe they have given to it, in any good author; whereas there is nothing ſo common as to find the word made uſe of for *conſent* or *approbation*, whence come theſe phraſes, καλα γνωμην, *according to one's deſire*; παρα γνωμην,

πληθος

whether they lay theſe down as the only forms of government, or, as the beſt: For, in both caſes, they ſeem to be in an error; ſince it is manifeſt that the beſt form of government is That, which is compounded of all three. This we find to be founded not only in reaſon, but alſo in experience; Lycurgus having ſet the example of this form of government in the inſtitution of the Lacedæmonian Commonwealth. Beſides, theſe three are not to be received as the only forms; ſince we may have obſerved ſome monarchical and tyrannical governments, which, though widely different from kingly government, ſeem ſtill to bear ſome reſemblance to it. For which reaſon, all monarchs agree in uſing their utmoſt endeavours, however falſely, or abuſively, to be ſtyled kings. We may have alſo obſerved ſtill more oligarchies, which ſeemed, in ſome degree, to reſemble ariſtocracies, though the difference between them has been extremely great. The ſame thing may be ſaid alſo of democracy.

What I have advanced will become evident from the following conſiderations: For, every monarchy is not preſently to be called a kingly government, but only That, which is the gift of a willing people, and is founded on their conſent, rather than on fear, and violence. Neither, is every oligarchy to be looked upon as an ariſtocracy, but only That, which is adminiſtred by a ſelect number of thoſe, who are moſt eminent for their juſtice, and prudence. In the ſame manner, that government ought not to be looked

*contrary to one's deſire*; and, particularly, ἐκ μιας γνωμης, *unanimouſly*. Secondly, this ſenſe of the word γνωμη ſeems to agree better with what immediately precedes it, ἐξ ἑκοντων συγχωρεμενην, and to be more properly oppoſed to what immediately follows it, φοβῳ και βιᾳ.

(3) Παραπλησιως δε δημοκρατιαν, εν ᾗ παν πληθος κυριον εστι ποιειν ὁ,τι ποτ' αν αυτο βεληθῃ και προθηται· παρα δε ᾧ πατριον εστι και συνηθες θεους σεβεσθαι, γονεις θεραπευειν, πρεσβυτερους αἰδεισθαι, νομοις πειθεσθαι.] The French tranſlator has ſtrangely miſtaken this paſſage; he has not attended to the force of the

πληθος κυριον εστι ποιειν ὁ,τι ποτ' αν αυτο βουληθη και προθηται· παρα δε ὡ πατριον εστι και συνηθες θεους σεβεσθαι, γονεις θεραπευειν, πρεσβυτερους αιδεισθαι, νομοις πειθεσθαι· αλλα παρα τοις τοιουτοις συστημασιν, ὁταν το τοις πλειοσι δοξαν νικα, τουτο δει καλειν δημοκρατιαν.

Διο και γενη μεν ἑξ εισι πολιτειων· τρια μεν ἁ παντες θρυλλουσι, και νυν προειρηται· τρια δε τα τουτοις συμφυη, λεγω δε μοναρχιαν, ολιγαρχιαν, οχλοκρατιαν. πρωτη μεν ουν αναγκαιως και φυσικως συνιστατι μοναρχια· ταυτην δ' ἑπεται και εκ ταυτης γινονται, μετα κατασκευης και διορθωσεως βασιλεια. μεταβαλλουσης δε ταυτης εις τα συμφυη κακα, λεγω δη εις τυραννιδα· (4) αυθις εκ της τουτων καταλυσεως, αριστοκρατια φυεται. και μην ταυτης εις ολιγαρχιαν εκπεσουσης κατα φυσιν, τοις δε πληθεσι οργη μετελθουσα τας των προεστωτων αδικιας, γινονται δημοι· εκ δε της τουτου παλιν υβρεως, και παρανομιας, αποκληρωται συν χρονοις οχλοκρατια.

Γνοιη δ' αν τις σαφεστατα περι τουτων, ὡς αληθως εστιν, οια δη νυν ειπον, επι τας εκαστων κατα φυσιν αρχας και γενε-

particle δε, by which POLYBIUS has placed the latter part of this period in oppoſition to the former; but, the only way to make the reader ſenſible of this miſtake, is to quote the words of the French tranſlation. *En vain auſſi*, ſays he, *donneroit-on le nom de démocratie à un état, où la populace ſeroit maîtreſſe de faire tout ce qu'il lui plairoit, & où l'on ſeroit depuis long tems dans l'uſage de révérer les dieux, d'être ſoumis à ceux dont on tient le jour, de reſpecter les anciens, & d'obéir aux loix: on ne doit appeller démocratie qu'un état, où le ſentiment qui l'importe ſur les autres eſt celui du plus grand nombre.* So that, according to him, religion, a reſpect to parents and elders, and obedience to the laws, are as repugnant to a democracy as licentiouſneſs. But this is far from being the ſenſe of POLYBIUS, as the reader will find, if he pleaſes to compare the French tranſlation with the original.

upon as a democracy, where the multitude have a power of doing whatever they deſire, and propoſe; but That only, in which it is an eſtabliſhed law and cuſtom to worſhip the gods, to honour their parents, to reſpect their elders, and obey the laws: When, in aſſemblies ſo formed, every thing is decided by the majority, ſuch a government deſerves the name of a democracy.

So that, ſix kinds of government muſt be allowed; three, which are generally eſtabliſhed, and have been already mentioned; and three, that are allied to them; namely, monarchy, oligarchy, and the government of the multitude. The firſt of theſe is inſtituted by nature, without the aſſiſtance of art: The next is kingly government, which is derived from the other by art and improvement; when this degenerates into the evil, that is allied to it, I mean, tyranny, the deſtruction of the tyrant gives birth to ariſtocracy; which degenerating alſo, according to the nature of things, into oligarchy, the people, inflamed with anger, puniſh the injuſtice of their magiſtrates, and form a democracy; from the inſolence of which, and their contempt of the laws, ariſes, in time, the government of the multitude.

Whoever examines, with attention, the natural principles, the birth, and revolution of each of theſe forms of

(4) Αυθις εκ της τυτων καταλυσεως αριστοκρατια φυεται.] *De la monarchie vient la royauté, lorſqu'on y ajoute l'art & qu'on en corrige les défauts; & quand elle dégénere en tyrannie, dont elle approche beaucoup, ſur les ruines de l'une & de l'autre s'éléve l'ariſtocracie.* The French tranſlator has rendered this, as if τυτων related both to kingly government and tyranny, the deſtruction of *both which* gives, according to him, birth to ariſtocracy; but, this is not the gradation ſet forth by POLYBIUS: Firſt, monarchy is improved into kingly government, which afterwards degenerates into tyranny; then, the deſtruction of tyranny gives birth to ariſtocracy; thus, it is viſible that according both to the ſenſe, and the conſtruction, τυτων can relate to συμφυη κακα only; that is, as our author himſelf explains it, to tyranny.

σεις και μεταβολας επισησας. ὁ γαρ συνιδων ἑκασον αυτων ὡς φυσει, μονῳ αν ὅτῳ δυναιτο συνιδειν και την αυξησιν, και την ακμην, και την μεταβολην ἑκασων, και το τελῳ, ποτε, και πως, (5) και πῃ καταλησει παλιν. Μαλισα δε επι της Ρωμαιων πολιτειας τουτον ἀρμοσειν τον τροπον ὑπειληφα της ἐξηγησεως, δια το καθα φυσιν αυτην απ' αρχης ειληφεναι την τε συσασιν και αυξησιν.

Ακριβεσερον μεν ουν ισως ὁ περι της κατα φυσιν μεταβολης των πολιτειων εις αλληλας, διευκρινειται λογῳ παρα Πλατωνι, και τισιν ἑτεροις των φιλοσοφων· (6) ποικιλῳ δε ων και δια πλειονων λεγομενῳ, ολιγοις εφικτος εσιν· διοπερ ὁσον ανηκειν ὑπολαμβανομεν αυτῃ προς την πραγματικην ἱστοριαν, και την κοινην επινοιαν, τουτο πειρασομεθα κεφαλαιωδως διελθειν. και γαρ αν ελλειπειν τι δοξῃ δια της καθολικης εμφασεως, ὁ κατα μερος λογος των ἐξης ῥηθησομενων ἱκανην ανταποδοσιν ποιησει των νυν επαπορηθεντων.

Ποιας ουν αρχας λεγω, και ποθεν φημι φυεσθαι τας πολιτειας πρωτον; Οταν η δια κατακλυσμους, η δια λοιμικας περισασεις, η δι' αφορίας καρπων, η δι' αλλας τοιαυτας αιτιας φθορα γενηται τῳ των ανθρωπων γενει, οἱας ηδη γεγονεναι παρειληφαμεν, και παλιν πολλακις εσεσθαι ὁ λογος αιρει· τοτε δη συμφθειρομενων παντων των επιτηδευματων, και τεχνων, ὁταν εκ των περιλειφθεντων οἱονει σπερματων αυθις αυξηθῃ συν χρονῳ πληθος ανθρωπων, τοτε δηπου, καθαπερ επι των αλλων

(5) Και πῃ καταντησει παλιν.] *En quelle forme il se changera*, is much too general, in my opinion; POLYBIUS speaks of the rotation of governments,

ζωων,

government, will be convinced of the truth of what I have advanced: For he alone, who knows in what manner each of them is produced, can form a judgement of the encreaſe, the perfection, the revolution, and end of each; and when, by what means, and to which of the former ſtates they will return. I thought this detail, in a particular manner, applicable to the Roman government, becauſe the eſtabliſhment and encreaſe of That was, from the beginning, founded on nature.

Poſſibly, the natural revolution of governments into one another, may be more accurately determined by PLATO, and ſome other philoſophers; but thoſe diſcourſes, being full of variety, and of a great length, few are capable of underſtanding them; for which reaſon, we ſhall endeavour to give a ſummary account of ſo much of them, as is conſiſtent with hiſtory (whoſe object is action) and the general underſtanding of mankind: For, if, by reaſon of the univerſality of this diſſertation, any thing ſhould ſeem to be omitted, the particular detail we ſhall afterwards enter into, will make ſufficient amends for what may now appear doubtful.

What, therefore, are the beginnings of governments, and from whence do they originally ſpring? When, either by a deluge, a peſtilence, a famine, or the like calamity, ſuch as we know have happened, and reaſon teaches us will often happen again, the race of mankind is well nigh deſtroyed, and all their inſtitutions, and arts deſtroyed with them; from the few that are left, as from ſo many ſeeds, a new generation, in proceſs of time, encreaſes to a multi-

and of their return to the ſame point, from whence they ſet out. This he expreſſes a few lines after in other words, *viz.* περι της κατα φυσιν μεταβολης των πολιτειων εις αλληλας; which the French tranſlator has again rendered generally by *changement des états.*

(6) Ποικιλος δε ων.] Left out by the French tranſlator.

tude;

ζωων, και επι τυτων συναθροιζομενων, ὁπερ εικος κατα τυτο το ὁμοφυλον συναγελαζεσθαι δια την της φυσεως ασθενειαν· αναγκη τον τη σωματικη ῥωμη και τη ψυχικη τολμη διαφεροντα, τυτων ἡγεισθαι, και κρατειν· καθαπερ και επι των αλλων γενων (7) των αδοξοποιητων ζωων θεωρυμεν. τυτο χρη φυσεως εργον αληθινωτατον νομιζειν· παρ' οις ὁμολογυμενως τυς ισχυροτατυς ὁρωμεν ἡγυμενυς· λεγω δε ταυρυς, καπρυς, αλεκτρυονας, και τα τυτοις παραπλησια. τας μεν υν αρχας εικος τοιυτυς ειναι και τυς των ανθρωπων βιυς ζωηδον συναθροιζομενων, τοις αλκιμωτατοις και δυναμικωτατοις ἑπομενων. οις ὁρῳ μεν εστι της αρχης ισχυς· ονομα δ' αν ειποι τις μοναρχιαν. επειδαν δε τοις συσημασι δια τον χρονον ὑπογενηται συντροφια και συνηθεια, τοτε αρχη βασιλειας φυεται· και τοτε πρωτως εννοια γινεται τυ καλυ και δικαιυ τοις ανθρωποις, ὁμοιως δε και των ἐναντιων τυτοις. (8) ὁ δε τροπος της αρχης, και της γενεσεως των ειρημενων τοιοσδε.

Παντων γαρ προς τας συνουσιας ὁρμωντων κατα φυσιν, ἐκ δε τυτων παιδοποιιας αποτελυμενης· ὁποτε τις των εκτρα-

(7) Των αδοξοποιητων ζωων.] This word, like many others in POLYBIUS, is not to be found in any lexicon, either ancient, or modern, that I have ſeen; nor, I believe, in any other author; but, as it is formed from δοξα and ποιεω, with the negative particle placed before it, it can mean nothing but thoſe animals, that are not governed in their actions by *opinions*; which ſenſe, I think, the French tranſlator ought to have expreſſed, and not to have contented himſelf with ſaying negatively, *qui certainement ne ſuivent que ſes loix*; that is, *celles de la nature*, which immediately precedes it.

(8) Ο δε τροπος της αρχης, και της γενεσεως των ειρημενων τοιοσδε.] Thus rendered by the French tranſlator, *c'eſt donc de cette ſorte que les republiques, ou les ſociétez civiles ont pris naiſſance:* If he had attended cloſely to the chain of reaſoning, which our author has purſued in treating this ſubject, he would have been ſenſible that των ειρημενων, in this place, relates to the formation

φεντων

tude; then it comes to paſs, as in other animals, ſo in men, when they are got together (which it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe they would be, as they are of the ſame kind, by reaſon of their natural weakneſs) that he, who excels in ſtrength of body, and courage, muſt, of neceſſity, gain the command, and authority over the reſt: And, as in animals of other kinds alſo, which are not influenced by opinions, we obſerve the ſame thing commonly falls out, this ought to be looked upon as the moſt genuine work of nature: Among theſe, the ſtrongeſt are, by common conſent, allowed to be the maſters; ſuch as bulls, wild boars, cocks, and animals of the like nature: In the ſame manner, it is probable that men alſo, when they firſt get together, like a herd, are governed by thoſe of the greateſt ſtrength and courage; the meaſure of whoſe power is ſtrength, and their government, monarchy. When the individuals, thus aſſembled, by living together, become, through time, habituated to one another, then is the foundation laid of kingly government; and then do mankind receive the firſt tincture of honor and juſtice, and of their oppoſites: The notions of which are firſt formed in the following manner.

Every one having a natural impulſe to copulation, the conſequence of which is procreation, when a child, who,

of the notions of *honor* and *juſtice*, τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια, which immediately precedes it, and not to That of commonwealths, and civil ſocieties: For, after he has ſet forth the undutifulneſs of children to their parents, and the ingratitude of the obliged to their benefactors, he makes the indignation ariſing in the breaſts of thoſe, who are witneſſes to the inſtances he gives of both, to produce the firſt impreſſion of the power of duty, which, he ſays, is the beginning, and end of *juſtice*. He goes on to ſhew that the applauſe which valor meets with, and the contempt, with which a contrary behaviour is treated, create in the minds of men the notions of *honor* and *diſhonor*, and of the difference between them. So that, I believe, the reader will agree with me, that this paſſage is not applicable to the formation of commonwealths, and civil ſocieties, as the French tranſlator has rendered it, but to That of the notions of *honor* and *juſtice*; and that τοιοῦδε plainly relates to what follows, and not to what precedes.

by

φεντων εις ἡλικιαν ἱκομενος, μη νεμοι χαριν, μηδ' αμυναι τȣτοις οἱς εκτραφειη· αλλα που τἀναντια κακως λεγειν η δραν τȣτοις εγχειροιη· δηλον ὡς δυσαρεστειν και προσκοπτειν εικος τȣς ενοντας και συνιδοντας την γεγενημενην εκ των γεννησαντων επιμελειαν, και κακοπαθειαν περι τα τεκνα και την τȣτων θεραπειαν και τροφην. τȣ γαρ γενȣς των ανθρωπων ταυτῃ διαφεροντος των αλλων ζωων, ᾗ μονοις αυτοις μετεστι νȣ και λογισμȣ· φανερον ὡς ȣκ εικος παρατρεχειν αυτȣς την προειρημενην διαφοραν, καθαπερ επι των αλλων ζωων· αλλ επισημαινεσθαι το γινομενον, και δυσαρεστεισθαι τοις παρȣσι· προορωμενȣς το μελλον, και συλλογιζομενȣς, ὁτι το παραπλησιον ἑκαστοις αυτων συγκυρησει. Και μην ὁταν πȣ παλιν ἑτερος ὑπο θατερȣ τυχων επικȣριας η βοηθειας εν τοις δεινοις, μη νεμῃ τῳ σωσαντι χαριν, αλλα ποτε και βλαπτειν εγχειρῃ τȣτον· φανερον ὡς εικος τῳ τοιȣτῳ δυσαρεστεισθαι και προσκοπτειν τȣς ειδοτας, συναγανακτȣντας μεν τῳ πελας, αναφεροντας δ' επ' αυτȣς το παραπλησιον· (9) εξ ὡν ὑπογιγνεται τις εννοια παρ' ἑκαστῳ της τȣ καθηκοντος δυναμεως και θεωρια· ὁπερ εστιν αρχη και τελος δικαιοσυνης.

Ομοιως παλιν, ὁταν αμυνῃ μεν τις προ παντων εν τοις δεινοις, ὑφιστηται δε και μενῃ τας επιφορας των αλκιμωτατων ζωων· (10) εικος μεν τὸν τοιȣτον ὑπο τȣ πληθȣς επισημασιας

(9) Εξ ὡν ὑπογιγνεται τις εννοια παρ ἑκαστῳ της τȣ καθηκοντος δυναμεως και θεωρια.] Casaubon's edition of POLYBIUS, which is by much the best, has θεωριας, which I imagine to be a fault in the impression, particularly, since he has not followed this sense in his translation; I have altered it to θεωρια, which is more agreeable both to the sense, and to the construction, since εννοια τις θεωριας is scarce intelligible.

τυγχανειν

by the care of his parents, has attained the age of discretion, makes no grateful return, nor yields any assistance, to those, by whom he was brought up; but, on the contrary, endeavours to abuse them by his words, or actions, it is plain that those, who are witnesses of it, and know the pains and hardships their parents underwent in taking care of, and bringing up, their children, must be displeased, and offended at this behaviour: For, as there is this difference between mankind, and other animals, that the former are indued with understanding and reason, it is plain, they will not neglect the use of these faculties, by which they are so much distinguished from those animals, but observe what passes upon this occasion, and be displeased with it; particularly, when they look forward, and consider that the like misfortune may happen to each of them. Again, when any one, who has been assisted, and relieved by another in distress, instead of being grateful, endeavours to injure his benefactor, it is manifest that those, who are acquainted with such a proceeding, must be disgusted, and offended at it, not only because they compassionate the sufferings of their neighbour, but also because they themselves expect to meet with the like treatment: From whence some notion, and consideration of the power of duty is introduced into every man's mind; which is the beginning, and end of justice.

In like manner, when any one runs the hazard of his life in the defence of the community, resists, and withstands the most violent attacks of wild beasts, it may be expected that such a one will meet with the acclamations of the

(10) Εικος μεν τον τοιουτον ὑπο του πληθους επισημασιας τυγχανειν ευνοϊκης και προσατικης.] The French translator has left out the most material part of this sentence, which serves as the foundation of every thing that follows. *Pourquoi au contraire donne-t-on tant d'applaudissements à celui qui* &c. are his words; whereas POLYBIUS says, that superior strength and valor are the qua-



people,

τυγχανειν ευνοϊκης και προστατικης· τον δε τἀναντια τȣτῳ πραττοντα καταγνωσεως και προσκοπης· εξ ȣ̓ παλιν ευλογον ὑπογινεσθαι τινα θεωριαν παρα τοις πολλοις αισχρȣ και καλȣ, και της τȣτων προς αλληλα διαφορας. και το μεν ζηλȣ και μιμησεως τυγχανειν, δια το συμφερον· το δε φυγης. ὁταν εν οἱς ὁ προεστως και την μεγιστην δυναμιν εχων, αει συνεπισχυῃ τοις προειρημενοις κατα τας των πολλων διαλεξεις, και δοξῃ τοις ὑποταττομενοις διανεμητικος ειναι τȣ κατ᾽ αξιαν ἑκαστοις· ȣκ ετι την βιαν δεδιοτες, τῃ δε γνωμῃ το πλειον ευδοκουντες, ὑποταττονται και συσσωζȣσι την αρχην αυτȣ, κἀν ὁλως ῃ γηραιος· ὁμοθυμαδον επαμυνοντες και διαγωνιζομενοι προς τȣς επιβȣλευοντας αυτȣ τῃ δυναστειᾳ· και δη τῳ τοιȣτῳ τροπῳ βασιλευς εκ μοναρχȣ λανθανει γενομενος· ὁταν παρα τȣ θυμȣ και της ισχυος μεταλαβῃ την ἡγεμονιαν ὁ λογισμος. Αυτη καλȣ και δικαιȣ πρωτη παρ᾽ ανθρωποις κατα φυσιν εννοια και των εναντιων τȣτοις· αὑτη βασιλειας αληθινης αρχη και γενεσις. ȣ γαρ μονον αυτοις, αλλα και τοις εκ τȣτων επι πολυ διαφυλαττȣσι τας αρχας· πεπεισμενοι, τȣς εκ τοιȣτων γεγονοτας, και τραφεντας ὑπο τοιȣτοις, παραπλησιως ἑξειν και τας προαιρεσεις. Εαν δε ποτε τοις εκγονοις δυσαρεστησωσι, ποιουνται μετα ταυτα την αἱρεσιν των αρχοντων και βασιλεων, ȣκ ετι κατα τας σωματικας και θυμικας δυναμεις· αλλα και κατα τας της γνωμης, και τȣ λογισμȣ διαφορας· πειραν ειληφοτες επ᾽ αυτων των εργων της εξ αμφοιν παραλλαγης.

lities, that first ingage the people to chuse the person, who is possessed of them, for their *commander*: This is properly expressed by the word προστατικης, and ought to have been preserved in the translation.

To

people, teſtifying their good will to, and deſire to be governed by, him; while the man, who acts in a contrary manner, will be cenſured, and diſliked: From whence, again, it is reaſonable to believe that ſome conſideration of honor and diſhonor, and of the difference between them, will be produced in the minds of the people; and that the former will be admired and imitated, through the advantage that flows from it, and the latter avoided. When therefore, the perſon, who has the command over the reſt, and is indued with ſuperior ſtrength, in his harangues to the people, for ever countenances the men I have mentioned, and has created in his ſubjects an opinion, that he conſtantly treats every one according to his merit; they are no longer afraid of violence, but rather willingly ſubmit to him, and unite in ſupporting his government, even though he is far advanced in years, unanimouſly defending, and maintaining him againſt all thoſe, who endeavour to ſupplant him in the command. By this means, a monarch inſenſibly becomes a king, that is, when the power is transferred from courage and ſtrength, to reaſon: This is the firſt natural notion of honor and juſtice among men, and of their contraries; and this the beginning, and origin of true kingly government: For the people preſerve the command not only to them, but to their deſcendants long after them; being perſuaded that thoſe, who have received their birth, and education from ſuch men, will reſemble them alſo in their principles. But, if, at any time, they are diſſatisfied with their deſcendants, they then chuſe magiſtrates and kings, with regard only to ſuperior ſenſe and reaſon, and not to bodily ſtrength and courage; having, by experience been convinced of the difference between them.

Το μεν γν παλαιον ενεγηρασκον ταις βασιλειαις οι κειθενλες ἁπαξ, και τυχοντες της εξυσιας ταυτης· τοπυς τε διαφερονλας οχυρυμενοι, και τειχιζοντες, και χωραν καλαχλωμενοι· το μεν της ασφαλειας χαειν, το δε της δαψιλειας των επιηδειων τοις ὑποτελαγμενοις· ἁμα δε περι ταυτα ωδδαζονλες εκλος ησαν πασης διαβολης και φθονου, δια το μηδε περι την εσθητα μεγαλας ποιεισθαι τας ωδδαλλαγας, μητε περι την βρωσιν και ποσιν· αλλα ωδδαπλησιον εχειν την βιοτειαν τοις αλλοις, ὁμοσε ποιυμενοι τοις πολλοις αει την διαιταν· επει δ' εκ διαδοχης και κατα γενος τας ἀρχας ωδδαλαμβανονλες, ἑτοιμα μεν ειχον ηδη τα προς την ασφαλειαν, ἑτοιμα δε και πλειω των ἱκανων τα προς την τροφην· τοτε δη ταις επιθυμιαις ἑπομενοι δια την περιυσιαν, εξαλλους μεν εδηδας ὑπελαβον δειν εχειν τους ἡγουμενους των ὑπολατομενων, (11) εξαλλυς δε και ποικιλας τας ωδει την τροφην απολαυσεις και ωδδασκυας, αναλἰρρητους δε και ωδδα των μη προσηκοντων τας των Αφροδισιων χρειας και συνυσιας· εφ' οἰς μεν φθονυ γενομενυ και προσκοπης, εφ' οἰς δε μισυς εκκαιομενυ, και δυσμενικης ὀργης, εγενετο μεν εκ της βασιλειας τυραννις· αρχη δε καταλυσεως εγεννατο, και συγασις επιβυλης τοις ἡγυμενοις· ἡν γκ εκ των χειρισων, αλλ' εκ των γενναιοτατων και μεγαλοψυχοτατων, ετι δε θαῤῥαλεωτατων ανδρων συνεβαινε γενεσθαι· δια το τυς τοιυτυς ἡκιστα δυνασθαι φερειν τας των εφεστωτων ὑβρεις. τυ

(11) Εξαλλυς δε και ποικιλας τας ωερι την τροφην απολαυσεις και ωαρασκευας.] *Plus pompeuſement ſervi que ſes ſujets,* ſays the French tranſlator; which, in

δε

Formerly, therefore, thoſe, who were once choſen kings, and inveſted with this dignity, grew old in the enjoyment of it: In the mean time, they fortified advantageous poſts, ſurrounding them with walls, and poſſeſſed themſelves of a territory; by the former, they conſulted the ſecurity of their ſubjects; and, by the latter, they ſupplied them with plenty of proviſions. While they employed themſelves in this manner, they continued blameleſs and unenvied, becauſe they differed very little either in their clothes, their table, or their manner of living, from the reſt of the people, with whom they paſſed their lives: But afterwards, their poſterity ſucceeding to the government by right of inheritance, and finding every thing provided for them, that was neceſſary for their ſecurity, and more than was neceſſary for their ſupport; they were led by ſuperfluity to indulge their appetites, and to imagine that it became princes to appear in a different dreſs from their ſubjects, to eat in a different, and more luxurious manner, with greater variety, and preparation, and to enjoy, without contradiction, even the forbidden pleaſures of love; the firſt of which, produced envy and diſlike, and the other, hatred and reſentment; by which means, kingly government degenerated into tyranny; and, at the ſame time, a foundation was laid, and a conſpiracy formed for the deſtruction of thoſe who exerciſed it: The accomplices of which, were not men of inferior rank, but perſons of the moſt generous, the moſt exalted, and alſo the moſt enterpriſing ſpirit; becauſe ſuch men can leaſt bear the inſolence of thoſe in power. The

my opinion, is much too general an expreſſion, ſince it leaves out the *variety* both of the meats, and dreſſing.

people,

δε πληθȣς, ὁταν λαβῃ προςατας, συνεπισχυοντος κατα των ἡγȣμενων, δια τας προειρημενας αιτιας· το μεν της βασιλειας και μοναρχιας ειδος αρδην ανῃρειτο, (12) το δε της αριςοκρατιας αυθις αρχην ελαμβανε και γενεσιν.

Τοις γαρ καταλυσασι τȣς μοναρχȣς, οἱονει χαριν (13) εκ χειρος αποδιδοντες οἱ πολλοι, τȣτοις εχρωντο προςαταις, και τȣτοις επετρεπον περι σφων. οἱ δε, το μεν πρωτον ασμενιζοντες την επιτροπην, ȣδεν προυργιαιτερον εποιȣντο τȣ κοινῃ συμφεροντος, και κηδεμονικως και φυλακτικως ἑκαςα χειριζοντες, και τȣς κατ' ιδιαν, και τα κοινα τȣ πληθȣς. ὁτε δε, διαδεξαιντο παλιν παιδες παρα πατερων την αυτην εξȣσιαν (14), απειροι μεν οντες κακων, απειροι δε καθολȣ πολιτικης ισοτητος και παῤῥησιας, τεθραμμενοι δ' εξ αρχης εν ταις των πατερων εξȣσιαις, και προαγωγαις· ὁρμησαντες οἱ μεν επι πλεονεξιαν και φιλαργυριαν αδικον, οἱ δ' επι μεθας και τας ἁμα ταυταις απληςȣς ευωχιας· οἱ δ' επι τας των γυναικων ὑβρεις και παιδων ἁρπαγας· μετεςησαν μεν την αριςο-

(12) Το δε της αριςοκρατιας ΑΥΘΙΣ αρχην ελαμβανε και γενεσιν.] Both the Latin and French tranſlators have very properly avoided an abſurdity, which the rendering αυθις in the common acceptation of the word muſt neceſſarily have led them into; though I wiſh they had given it the ſenſe, in which POLYBIUS has taken it upon this occaſion, which is, *thereupon, after that*, or ſomething to that effect. There is a paſſage in Homer, in which that word can be uſed in no other ſenſe: It is in the dialogue between Ulyſſes, and Eumæus, where the latter ſays, *How could I expect to live in reputation among men, or implore the aſſiſtance of Jupiter with any confidence, if, having brought you to my houſe, and treated you in a hoſpitable manner, I ſhould*, after that, *put you to death?*

Ξειν', ȣτω γαρ κεν μοι εὐκλειη τ', αρετη τε,
Ειη επ' ανθρωπȣς ἁμα τ' αυτικα, και μετεπειτα,
Ος σ' επει ες κλισιην αγαγον, και ξεινια δωκα,
ΑΥΘΙΣ δε κτειναιμι, φιλον δ' απο θυμον ἑλοιμην,
Προφρων δη κεν επειτα Δια Κρονιωνα λιτοιμην;
Odyſſ. Ξ. ver. 402.

κρατιαν,

people, therefore, having theſe to lead them, and, for the reaſons before mentioned, uniting againſt their rulers, kingly government, and monarchy were extirpated, and ariſtocracy thereupon began to be eſtabliſhed.

For the people, as an immediate acknowledgement to thoſe who had deſtroyed monarchy, choſe theſe leaders for their governors, and left all their concerns to them. Theſe, at firſt, chearfully accepting the truſt, preferred the advantage of the public to all other conſiderations, and adminiſtred all affairs, both public and private, with care and vigilance: But here again, the ſons of theſe, having ſucceeded their parents in the ſame power, they, being unacquainted with evils, abſolute ſtrangers to civil equality and liberty, and educated, from their infancy, in the ſplendor of the power, and dignities of their parents, and ſome of them, giving themſelves up to avarice, and the deſire of unjuſt gain, others, to drunkenneſs, and intemperate entertainments, and others, to the abuſe of women, and raviſhment of boys, by this behaviour, changed the ariſto-

(13) Οιονει χαριν εκ χειρος αποδιδονλες οι πολλοι.] The French tranſlator has ſaid, *Le peuple, ſenſible au bienfait de ceux qui l'avoient délivré des monarques, miet ces généreux citoiens à ſa tête & ſe ſoumit à leur conduite.* So that, he has left out εκ χειρος, which gives great beauty to this paſſage, and which Caſaubon has very properly rendered by *è veſtigio.*

(14) Απειροι μεν ονλες κακων.] *Gens peu accôutumez au travail* is, ſurely, not the ſenſe of this paſſage; POLYBIUS means *the evils*, which the people had ſuffered under their tyrants, and with which theſe ſucceſſors of their deliverers were unacquainted. This he afterwards explains, when, ſpeaking of the infancy of democracy, he ſays that, *while any are living, who felt the power and domination of the few, they acquieſce under the preſent eſtabliſhment.* μεχρι μεν αν ετι σωζωνται τινες των υπεροχης και δυναστειας πειραν ειληφοτων, which is the ſame thing he ſays here, only in more words.

cracy

κρατιαν εις ολιγαρχιαν· ταχυ δε κατεσκευασαν εν τοις πληθεσι παλιν τα ωδαπλησια τοις αρτι ρηθεισι. διο και ωδαπλησιον συνεβαινε το τελος αυλων γινεσθαι της καλασροφης τοις περι τυς τυραννυς ατυχημασιν. επειδαν γαρ τις συνθεασαμενος τον φθονον και το μισος κατ' αυτων, το παρα τοις πολιταις υπαρχον, καπειτα θαρρησῃ λεγειν η πρατ̃ειν τι κατα των προεσωτων, παν ἑτοιμον και συνεργον λαμβανει το πληθος· λοιπον, ὁς μεν φονευσαντες, ὁς δε φυλαδευσαντες, . . . ὑτε βασιλεα προϊσαθαι τολμωσιν· ετι δεδιοτες την των προτερων αδικιαν· ὑτε πλειοσιν επιτρεπειν τα κοινα θαρρυσι· παρα ποδας αυτοις ὑσης της προτερον αγνοιας· (15) μονης δε σφισι καταλειπομενης ελπιδος ακερεαιυ της εν αυτοις, επι ταυτην καταφερονται· και την μεν πολιτειαν εξ ολιγαρχικης δημοκρατιαν εποιησαν, την δε των κοινων προνοιαν και πιςιν εις σφας αὐτυς ανελαβον.

Και μεχρι μεν αν ετι σωζωνται τινες των ὑπερεχης και δυνασειας πειραν ειληφοτων, ασμειζοντες τῃ παρουσῃ καλασασει, περι πλειςυ ποιυνται την ισηγοριαν, και την παρρησιαν. ὁταν δ' επιγενωνται νεοι, και παισι παιδων παλιν ἡ δημοκρατια ωδαδοθῃ, τοτ' ὐκ ετι δια το συνηθες εν μεγαλῳ τιθεμενοι το της ισηγοριας και παρρησιας, ζητυσι πλεον εχειν των πολλων· μαλισα δ' εις τυτ' εμπιπλυσιν οἱ ταις ὑσιαις

(15) Μονης δε σφισι καταλειπομενης ελπιδος ακερεαιυ της εν αυτοις.] *Il ne reſtoit donc plus au peuple d'autre eſpérance que dans lui-meme.* I imagine, the difficulty of rendering ακερεαιυ properly, prevailed upon the French tranſlator to leave it out; though he muſt have been ſenſible that the energy of the

cracy into an oligarchy; and ſoon inſpired the people with the ſame paſſions they were before poſſeſſed with; by which means, their cataſtrophe became the ſame with That of the tyrants: For, if any perſon, obſerving the general envy and hatred, which theſe rulers have incurred, has the courage to ſay, or do any thing againſt them, he finds the whole body of the people ready to aſſiſt him: Thereupon, they put ſome of them to death, and baniſh others; but dare not, after that, appoint a king to govern them, being ſtill afraid of the injuſtice of the firſt; neither dare they intruſt the government with any number of men, having ſtill before their eyes the errors, which theſe had before committed: So that, having no hope unallayed, but in themſelves, they lay hold on that; and, by converting the government from an oligarchy to a democracy, take upon themſelves the care, and charge of the public affairs.

And, as long as any are living, who felt the power, and domination of the few, they acquieſce under the preſent eſtabliſhment, and look upon equality, and liberty as the greateſt of bleſſings. But, when a new race of men grows up, and the democracy falls into the hands of their childrens children, theſe, no longer regarding equality and liberty, from being accuſtomed to them, aim at a greater ſhare of power than the reſt, particularly thoſe of the greateſt fortunes; who, grown now ambitious, and, being

whole ſentence turns upon the force of that word, which will plainly appear upon conſidering the context; POLYBIUS ſays that the people, having been abuſed both by their kings and the few, whom they had ſucceſſively intruſted with the government, were equally afraid of both; ſo that, they had no hope that was not *mixed* with very juſt apprehenſions, but in themſelves.

ὑπερεχοντες· λοιπον ὁταν ὁρμησωσιν επι το φιλαρχειν, (16) και μη δυνωνται δ' αὐτων και δια της ιδιας αρετης τυγχανειν τυτων, διαφθειρυσι τας υσιας, δελεαζοντες και λυμαινομενοι τα πληθη καλα παντα τροπον. εξ ὡν ὁταν ἁπαξ δωροδοκυς και δωροφαγυς κατασκευασωσι τυς πολλυς, δια την αφρονα δοξοφαγιαν, τοτ' ηδη παλιν το μεν της δημοκρατιας καταλυεται. μεθισαται δ' εις βιαν και χειροκρατιαν ἡ δημοκρατια. συνειθισμενον γαρ το πληθος εσθιειν τα αλλοτρια, και τας ελπιδας εχειν τυ ζην επι τοις των πελας, ὁταν λαβη προστατην μεγαλοφρονα και τολμηρον, εκκλειομενον δε δια πενιαν των εν τη πολιτειᾳ τιμιων· τοτε δη χειροκρατιαν αποτελει, και τοτε συναθροιζομενον ποιει σφαγας, φυγας, γης αναδασμυς· ἑως αν αποτεθηριωμενον παλιν εὑρη δεσποτην και μοναρχον.

Αυτη πολιτειων ανακυκλωσις· (17) αὑτη φυσεως οικονομια, καθ' ἡν μεταβαλλει και μεθισαται, και παλιν εις αυτα καταντα τα κατα τας πολιτειας. Ταυτα τις σαφως επεγνωκως, χρονοις μεν ισως διαμαρτησεται λεγων ὑπερ τυ μελλοντος περι πολιτειας· το δε πυ της αυξησεως ἑκασον εστιν ἡ της φθορας, ἡ πυ μεταπεσειται, σπανιως αν διασφαλλοιτο, (18) χωρις οργης ἡ φθονυ ποιυμενος την αποφασιν. Και μην περι γε της Ρω-

(16) Και μη δυνωνται δ' αὐτων και της ιδιας αρετης τυγχανειν τυτων.] I have taken the liberty to make two alterations in the text with regard to this ſentence; the firſt is very obvious, all the editions have αυτων, for which I have ſubſtituted αὐτων: The ſecond, though not ſo obvious, may, poſſibly, appear as well founded. All the editions (not excepting Caſaubon's) join τυτων to διαφθειρυσι τας υσιας; ſo that, according to them, the conſtruction will run thus, οι ὁρμησαντες επι το φιλαρχειν, τυτων διαφθειρυσι τας υσιας, meaning their own fortunes, which muſt, no doubt, be the ſenſe, but cannot be ſupported by this conſtruction; to avoid this difficulty, therefore, I think

μαιων

unable to obtain the power they aim at, by themſelves, and their own merit, diſſipate their wealth in alluring, and corrupting the people by every method: And when, to ſerve their wild ambition, they have once taught them to receive bribes and entertainments, from that moment the democracy is at an end, and changes to force and violence. For the people, being accuſtomed to live at the expence of others, and to place their hopes of a ſupport in the fortunes of their neighbours, if headed by a man of a great and enterpriſing ſpirit, but who, through his poverty, is excluded from public offices, will then have recourſe to violence; and, getting together, will murder, baniſh, and divide among themſelves the lands of their adverſaries, till grown wild with rage, they again find a maſter, and a monarch.

This is the rotation of governments, and this the order of nature, by which they are changed, transformed, and return to the ſame point. Whoever, therefore, is perfectly acquainted with theſe things, may, poſſibly, be miſtaken in point of time, when he ſpeaks of the future ſtate of any government; but, if he gives his opinion without paſſion, or envy, he will ſeldom miſtake in the degree of the encreaſe, or corruption of each, or in the change that attends them. This conſideration, above all others, will lead us to the

there is a neceſſity of ſuppoſing αρχαι to be underſtood; to which τυτων may very naturally be referred; unleſs the reader chuſes rather to read τοτε inſtead of τυτων.

(17) Αυτη φυσεως οικονομια, καθ' ην μεταβαλλει και μεθισ'αται, και παλιν εις αυτα καταντα τα καλα τας πολιτειας.] Thus rendered by the French tranſlator; *Telle eſt la révolution des états, tel eſt l'ordre ſuivant lequel la nature change la forme des républiques.* This general manner of rendering an expreſſion of the ſame import has been already taken notice of in the 5th annotation: Upon this occaſion, I ſhall only ſay that neither *révolution*, nor *changement* expreſſes the ſenſe of παλιν εις αυτα καταντα, which implies a *return to the former State*, ſince there may be a *revolution*, a *change*, without ſuch a *return*.

(18) Χωρις οργης η φθονυ.] All the editions have χωρις οργης αφθονυ, which is

μαιων πολιτειας κατα ταυτην την επισασιν μαλις' αν ελθοιμεν εις γνωσιν και της συσασεως, και της αυξησεως, (19) και της ακμης· ὁμοιως δε και της εις τὸμπαλιν εσομενης εκ τουτων μεταβολης. ει γαρ τινα και ἑτεραν πολιτειαν, ὡς αρτιως ειπα, και ταυτην συμβαινει κατα φυσιν απ' αρχης εχουσαν την συσασιν, και την αυξησιν, κατα φυσιν ἑξειν και την εις τἀναντια μεταβολην. σκοπειν δ' εσαι δια των μετα ταυτα ῥηθησομενων. Νυν δ' επι βραχυ ποιησομεθα μνημην ὑπερ της Λυκουργου νομοθεσιας· εστι γαρ ουκ ανοικειος ὁ λογος της προθεσεως.

Εκεινος γαρ ἑκασα των προειρημενων συννοησας αναγκαιως και φυσικως επιτελουμενα, και συλλογισαμενος ὁτι παν εἰδος πολιτειας ἁπλουν και κατα μιαν συνεχικως δυναμιν, επισφαλες γινεσαι, δια το ταχεως εις την οικειαν και φυσει παρεπομενην εκτρεπεσθαι κακιαν. (20) καθαπερ γαρ σιδηρῳ μεν ιος, ξυλοις δε σριπες και τερηδονες συμφυεις εισι λυμαι, δι' ὡν κἀν πασας τας εξωθεν διαφυλωσι βλαβας, ὑπ' αυτων φθειρεσαι των συγγενομενων· τον αυτον τροπον και των πολιτειων συγκινεσαι κατα φυσιν ἑκασῃ και παρεπεσαι τις κακια· βασιλεια μεν

scarce to be underſtood; for which reaſon, I have ventured to read η φθονε inſtead of αφθονε. *Sans préjugez*, ſays the French tranſlator, which is a tranſlation of neither.

(19) Και της ακμης.] *La ſplendeur*, in my opinion, does not expreſs ακμη, ſince a thing may be in *ſplendor*, and not in its *perfection*; this may, I think, with great propriety, be ſaid of the very commonwealth our author is here ſpeaking of, I mean That of the Romans, which, it is well known, was in great ſplendor, both before it had arrived to its perfection, and after it was paſt it: This is ſo true that no other ſtate ever attained ſo great power as the Roman commonwealth was poſſeſſed of above a century before it was in its perfection, and as long after it had paſſed it.. So that, though its *ſplendor*, at both thoſe periods, outſhone that of all other ſtates, when in their meridian, yet it was far outſhone by itſelf, when arrived to that point.

(20) Καθαπερ γαρ σιδηρῳ μεν ιος, ξυλοις

knowledge not only of the eſtabliſhment, the encreaſe, and perfection of the Roman commonwealth, but alſo of its future return to its former ſtate: For, as the original inſtitution, and encreaſe of this commonwealth is, as much as any other, as I ſaid before, founded on nature, ſo its future return to its former ſtate is alſo founded on nature. This will appear from the following diſcourſe: At preſent, we ſhall juſt take notice of the laws of Lycurgus; the conſideration of which will not be improper to the preſent purpoſe.

He, therefore, obſerving that every thing, that has been ſaid, was founded on neceſſity, and the laws of nature, concluded that every form of government that is ſimple, and conſiſts but of one kind, by ſoon degenerating into that vice, that is allied to it, and naturally attends it, muſt be unſtable: For, as ruſt is the natural bane of iron, and worms of wood, by which, as by inbred evils, though they eſcape all foreign miſchief, they are ſure to be deſtroyed; ſo, in like manner, there is a certain vice implanted by the hand of nature in every form of government, and by her

δε θριπες και τερηδονες συμφυεις εισι λυμαι.] This fine thought has ſuffered very much in the hands of the French tranſlator; he ſeems to have been miſled by the word συμφυης, which ſignifies *natural* or *allied to*, as well as *born with*; and, by taking it in the laſt ſenſe, has made POLYBIUS betray an ignorance in French, which I am perſuaded he was very incapable of in his own language: But, before I go any farther, let us hear what he ſays; this it is, *comme la Rouille nait avec le fer, & les vers avec le bois:* Now, it is certain that neither ruſt *is born* with iron, nor worms with wood; the firſt being the effect of ſome, or of all the coroſive acid ſalts, with which the air is impregnated, and which are perpetually floating about in it, together with the attenuated particles, that are continually flying off from all other bodies; all which particles form a chaos, wherein I am perſuaded every production of nature has its repreſentative. And, as for worms, they are no more *born* with wood, than ruſt is with iron; worms make uſe indeed of wood for their protection, and, poſſibly, for their nouriſhment; but, if, from the toughneſs of its parts it is improper for the former, as the heart of oak, or from

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ὁ μοναρχικος λεγομενος τροπος, αριστοκρατια δε ὁ της ολιγαρχιας, δημοκρατια δε ὁ θηριωδης και χειροκρατικος· εις ὁς ουχ οιον τε μη ου παντα τα προειρημενα συν χρονῳ ποιεισθαι τας μεταστασεις κατα τον αρτι λογον. ὁ προιδομενος Λυκουργος, ουχ απλην, ουδε μονειδη συνεστησατο την πολιτειαν· αλλα πασας ὁμου συνηθροιζε τας αρετας, και τας ιδιοτητας των αριστων πολιτευματων· ινα μηδεν αυξανομενον υπερ το δεον εις τας συμφυεις εκλειπηται κακιας· ανθιστωμενης δε της εκαστου δυναμεως υπ' αλληλων μηδαμου νευη, μηδ' επι πολυ καταρρεπη μηδεν αυτων· αλλ' ισορροπον και ζυγοστατουμενον, επι πολυ διαμενη [21] κατα τον της ανθιπλοιας λογον αει το πολιτευμα· της μεν βασιλειας κωλυομενης υπερηφανειν δια τον απο του δημου φοβον, δεδομενης και τουτῳ μεριδος ικανης εν τη πολιτειᾳ· του δε δημου παλιν μη θαρρουντος καταφρονειν των βασιλεων, δια τον απο των γεροντων φοβον· οι κατ' εκλογην αριστινδην κεκριμενοι παντες εμελλον αει τῳ δικαιῳ προσνεμειν εαυτους· ωστε την των ελαττωμενων μεριδα δια το τοις εθεσιν εμμενειν, ταυτην αει γινεσθαι μειζω, και βαρυτεραν τη των γεροντων προσκλισει και ροπη. τοιγαρουν ὁτω συνεσταμενος, πλειστον ων ημεις ισμεν χρονον διεφυλαξε τοις Λακεδαιμονιοις την ελευθεριαν. Εκεινος μεν

its bitter taſte, for the latter, as the cedar, the worm ſeldom attacks it: So that, wood may be, and frequently is without worms; they are conſequently not eſſential to, nor *born with*, it: And, that ruſt is not more eſſential to iron, nor *born with* it, appears from this; let a piece of iron be kept in a recipient inacceſſible to all air, and to the corroſive ſalts, with which it abounds, and it will be no more effected with ruſt, than gold, on which thoſe ſalts have no power. As our language has no word to expreſs either θριπες or τερηδονες, I have been obliged to comprehend them both under the general name of *worms*; if the reader pleaſes to turn to the 5th chapter of the 5th

ordained to accompany it: The vice of kingly government is monarchy, that of ariſtocracy, oligarchy; and of democracy, rage and violence; into which all of them, in proceſs of time, muſt neceſſarily degenerate, in the manner I have mentioned. Theſe inconveniences were foreſeen by Lycurgus; who, to avoid them, formed his government not of a ſimple nature, and of one ſort, but united in one all the advantages, and properties of the beſt governments; to the end that no branch of it, by ſwelling beyond its due bounds, might degenerate into the vice which is congenial to it; and that, while each of them were mutually acted upon by oppoſite powers, no one part might incline any way, or outweigh the reſt; but that the commonwealth, being equally poiſed and ballanced, like a ſhip acted upon by contrary powers, might long remain in the ſame ſituation; while the king was reſtrained from exceſs by the fear of the people, who had a proper ſhare in the commonwealth; and, on the other ſide, the people did not dare to diſregard the king from their fear of the ſenate, who, being all elected for their virtue, would always incline to the juſteſt ſide; by which means, that branch which happened to be oppreſſed, this inſtitution being obſerved, became always ſuperior, and, by the acceſſional weight of the ſenate, out-ballanced the other. Lycurgus, therefore, having formed his commonwealth according to this ſyſtem, preſerved the Lacedæmo-

book of Theophraſtus, he will there find theſe inſects not only diſtinguiſhed, but deſcribed. I am afraid *congenitæ peſtes* in Caſaubon is liable to the ſame exception.

(21) Κατα τον της αντιπλοιας λογον] I do not remember ever to have met with αντιπλοια in any other author; poſſibly, therefore, it may be, like many other words in POLYBIUS, a term of his own coining, or, rather, of his own compounding: The Latin and French tranſlators have underſtood it of a ſhip equally acted upon by contrary winds, which, I believe, the ſeamen will not allow ever to happen: I, at firſt thought it might ſignify a ſhip acted upon by contrary currents, which,

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ȣν λογῳ τινι προϊδομενος, (22) ποθεν ἑκαστα και πως πεφυκε συμβαινειν, αβλαβως συνεστησατο την προειρημενην πολιτειαν.

Ρωμαιοι δε το μεν τελος ταυτο πεποιηνται της εν τῃ πατριδι καταστασεως, ȣ μην δια λογȣ· δια δε πολλων αγωνων και πραγματων, εξ αυτης αει της εν ταις περιπετειαις επιγνωσεως αἱρȣμενοι το βελτιον· ȣτως ηλθον επι ταυτο μεν Λυκȣργῳ τελος, καλλιστον δε συστημα των καθ' ἡμας πολιτειων.

Δει δε τον αγαθον κριτην ȣχ εκ των παραλειπομενων δοκιμαζειν τȣς γραφοντας, αλλ' εκ των λεγομενων. κἀν μεν εν τȣτοις τι λαμβανῃ ψευδος, ειδεναι διοτι κἀκεινα παραλειπεται δι' αγνοιαν· εαν δε παν το λεγομενον αληθες ῃ, συγχωρειν, διοτι κἀκεινα παρασιωπαται κατα κρισιν, ȣκ αγνοιαν.

Ην μεν δη (23) τρια μερῃ τα κρατȣντα της πολιτειας, ἁπερ ειπα προτερον, ἁπαντα· (24) ȣτω δε παντα κατα μερος ισως και πρεποντως συνετετακτο και διῳκειτο δια τȣτων, ὡστε μηδενα ποτ' αν εἰπειν δυνασθαι βεβαιως, μηδε των εγχωριων, ποτερ' αριστοκρατικον το πολιτευμα (25) συμπαν, η δημοκρατικον, η μοναρχικον· και τȣτ' εἰκοτως ην πασχειν. ὁτε μεν γαρ εις την των

though possible, is too uncommon to serve for a comparison; I would, therefore, suppose the ship to be rowed against the wind, or tide, or, rather, against both, which will have the effect here intended by POLYBIUS, that is, to keep it in the same wonderful situation: However, as the Greek text does not particularly describe the contrary powers, by the force of which the ship is kept in the same place, I have not thought it necessary to enter into that particular in the translation.

(22) Ποθεν ἑκαστα, και πως πεφυκε συμβαινειν.] This is, I think, rendered too generally by the French translator, *prévoyant la cause & le temps de certains événements.*

(23) Τρια μερη τα κρατȣντα της πολιτειας.] *Les trois sortes de governments dont j'ay parlé composoient la république Romaine*, says the French translator, who, by rendering it thus, has left out τα κρατȣντα της πολιτειας, which is the

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nians in liberty longer than any other people we have heard of, ever enjoyed it: So that, he, by foreſeeing from a certain way of reaſoning, from whence, and, by what means, every thing naturally proceeds, guarded that commonwealth againſt every danger.

The Romans have arrived at the ſame end in forming their commonwealth, not indeed, by any chain of reaſoning, but by weighing every incident, that offered itſelf in the many ſtruggles, and difficulties they were ingaged in, and always embracing that meaſure, which was moſt advantageous. By this means, they arrived at the ſame end, which Lycurgus attained, and formed the moſt glorious ſyſtem of government now in being.

A good critic ought not to judge of a writer by thoſe things he omits, but by thoſe he relates; and, if he diſcovers any untruth in the latter, conclude that the former were omitted through ignorance: But, if every thing he relates be found true, let him grant that the others were omitted through choice, not ignorance.

All the three principal orders of government I have mentioned, were found in the Roman commonwealth; but every thing, in particular, was conſtituted and adminiſtred with that equality and propriety by theſe three, that it was not poſſible for any perſon, not even for a Roman citizen, to aſſert poſitively, whether the government, in the whole, was ariſtocratical, democratical, or monarchical; neither was this doubt ill founded: For, when we caſt our eyes

proper character of the three branches of government our author has been treating of.

(24) Ουτω δε παντα κατα μερος ισως και παρεπιντως συνετεταχτο και διωκειτο δια τυτων.] *Toutes trois étoient tellement balancées l'une par l'autre.* This is ſo far from being the ſenſe of the original, that, had I not met with it in this place, I ſhould not have imagined it was intended for a tranſlation of it.

(25) Συμπαν.] The French tranſlator ſays, *que perſonne, même parmi les Romains, ne pouvoit aſſurer, ſans crainte*

ὑπατων ατενισαιμεν εξουσιαν, τελειως μοναρχικον εφαινεῖ ειναι και βασιλικον· ὁτε δε εις την της συγκλητου, παλιν αριστοκρατικον. και μην ει την των πολλων εξουσιαν θεωροιη τις, εδοκει σαφως ειναι δημοκρατικον. ὡν δ' ἑκαστον ειδος μερων της πολιτειας επεκρατει, και τοτε, και νυν ετι, πλην ολιγων τινων, ταυτ' εστιν.

Οι μεν γαρ ὑπαλοι προ του μεν εξαγειν τα στρατοπεδα παρουσιν εν Ρωμη, πασων εισι κυριοι των δημοσιων πραξεων. οἱ τε γαρ αρχοντες οἱ λοιποι παντες ὑποτασσονται και πειθαρχουσι τουτοις, πλην των δημαρχων· εις τε την συγκλητον ἑτοι τας πρεσβειας αγουσι· προς δε τοις προειρημενοις, ὑτοι τα κατεπειγοντα των διαβουλιων αναδιδοασιν· (26) ὑτοι τον ὁλον χειρισμον των δογματων επιτελουσι. και μην ὁσα δει δια του δημου συντελειωθαι των προς τας κοινας πραξεις αιηκοντων, τουτοις καθηκει φροντιζειν, και συναγειν αει τας εκκλησιας· (27) τουτοις εισφερειν τα δογματα, τουτοις βραβευειν τα δοκουντα τοις πλειοσι. και μην περι πολεμου κατασκευης, και καθολου της εν ὑπαιθροις οικονομιας, σχεδον αὐτοκραλορα την εξουσιαν

*de ſe tromper, ſi le governement y étoit ariſtocratique, ou populaire, ou monarchique.* Thus, by leaving out συμπαν, the French tranſlator has maimed this ſentence; for, in reality, the Roman government was ariſtocratical, popular and monarchical, *in its parts*; but, *in the whole*, it was none of the three.

(26) Ουτοι τον ὁλον χειρισμον των δογματων επιτελουσι.] *Le droit de faire les ſenatus-conſultes leur appartient.* Whoever reads this, will, I dare ſay, conclude that the right of *making the decrees* of the ſenate belonged to the conſuls; which every body knows was not the caſe; neither does POLYBIUS ſay any more than that the conſuls were *ſolely intruſted with the execution of the decrees of the ſenate.*

(27) Τουτοις εισφερειν τα δογματα.] *D'y propoſer ce dont il s'agit.* This is ſo looſe a tranſlation, and, at the ſame time, ſeems to imply ſo great an ignorance of the Roman conſtitution, that I am ſurpriſed a man of ſo great learning as the French tranſlator, could

on the power of the conſuls, the government appeared intirely monarchical and kingly; when on That of the ſenate, ariſtocratical; and, when any one conſidered the power of the people, it appeared plainly democratical. The ſeveral powers, which each of theſe orders then obtained, and ſtill continues to obtain, with ſome few exceptions, are as follows.

The conſuls, when they are at Rome, and before they take the field, have the adminiſtration of all public affairs: For all other magiſtrates are ſubject to, and obey, them, except the tribunes of the people: They introduce embaſſadors into the ſenate: They alſo propoſe to the ſenate thoſe ſubjects of debate, that require immediate diſpatch; and are ſolely intruſted with the execution of their decrees: To them belongs the conſideration of all public affairs, of which the people have cognizance; whom they are to aſſemble upon all occaſions, and lay before them the decrees of the ſenate, then purſue the reſolutions of the majority. Beſides this, the conſuls have almoſt an abſolute power in every thing, that relates either to the preparations of war, or to the conduct of it in the field: For they may give what

ſuffer it to eſcape from his pen. It is very well known that all laws were firſt propoſed in the ſenate, before they were laid before the people, when aſſembled in the *comitia curiata*, or *centuriata*, though not in the *tributa*; for which reaſon, Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, and the reſt of the Greek authors, who have written the Roman hiſtory, call a previous order of the ſenate, προβούλευμα: The phraſe made uſe of, upon theſe occaſions, by the Latin authors, alludes to the ſame cuſtom: Thus, after Livy has given an account of the deſign formed by the Roman ſoldiers to ſurpriſe Capua, and very pathetically deſcribed their reconciliation with their fellow citizens, at the head of whom Valerius Corvus, as dictator, was ſent to reclaim them: For it ſeems, the Romans were, at that time, unacquainted with civil ſlaughter, and unexperienced in all other wars but in Thoſe againſt a foreign enemy: After this reconciliation, Valerius Corvus returned to Rome, where he got an act propoſed in the ſenate, and, afterwards, paſſed by the people, for the impunity of the ſoldiers, who had formed the deſign upon Capua. Livy's

εχυσι· και γαρ επιτατ]ειν τοις συμμαχικοις το δοκυν, και τυς χιλιαρχυς καθισαναι, και διαγραφειν τυς σρατιωτας, και διαλεγειν τυς επιτηδειυς, τυτοις εξεσι· προς δε τοις ειρημενοις, ζημιωσαι των υποτατ]ομενων εν τοις υπαυθροις, ὁν αν βυληθωσι, κυριοι καθεσασιν· εξυσιαν δ' εχυσι και δαπανην των δημοσιων ὁσα προθειντο, παρεπομενυ ταμιυ, και παν το προσαχθεν ἑτοιμως ποιυντ@. ὡς' εικοτως ειπειν αν, ὁτε τις εις ταυτην αποβλεψειε την μειδα, διοτι μοναρχικον ἁπλως και βασιλικον εσι.το πολιτευμα. ει δε τινα τυτων η των λεγεσθαι μελλοντων ληψεται μεταθεσιν η κατα το παρον, η μετα τινα χρονον, υδεν αν ειη προς την ιυν ὑφ ὑμων λεγομενην αποφασιν.

Και μην ἡ συγκλητ@ πρωτον μεν εχει την τυ ταμιειυ κυριαν. και γαρ της εισοδυ πασης αὐτη κρατει, και της εξοδυ ωδαπλησιως. υτε γαρ εις τας κατα μερ@ χρειας υδεμιαν ποιειν εξοδον οἱ ταμιαι δυνανται χωρις των της συγκλητυ δογματων, πλην την εις τυς ὑπατυς. της δε ωδα πολυ των αλλων ὁλοσχερεσατης και μεγισης δαπανης, ἡν οἱ τιμηται ποιυσιν (28) εις τας επισκευας και κατασκευας των δημοσιων κατα

words are theſe, B. vii. c. 41. *dictator equo citato ad urbem revectus*, auctoribus patribus *tulit ad populum ne cui militum fraudi ſeceſſio eſſet.* It is true that, at other times, he applies theſe words to the confirmation given by the ſenate to the acts paſſed by the people. But, whoever has read Livy with attention, muſt be ſenſible that this phraſe is, upon many other occaſions, made uſe of by him to expreſs what the Greek Hiſtorians call προβυλευμα; and it is very poſſible that, if he had tranſlated this paſſage of Polybius, as he has many others, he would have ſaid *his, quorum patres auctores fuerant, ferre ad populum*, for τυτοις εισφερειν τα δογματα. I am ſenſible that Dion Caſſius, B. lv. diſtinguiſhes δογμα from αυξητωριτας, which word he makes uſe of, becauſe, as he ſays, it is not poſſible to tranſlate it into Greek; this *auctoritas* was a reſolution of the ſenate paſſed when there was not a full houſe, that is, as many as the law required for the paſſing a ſenatus-conſul-

πενλαετηριαν·

orders they pleaſe to their allies; and appoint the tribunes: They may raiſe forces, and inliſt thoſe who are proper for the ſervice: They alſo have a power, when in the field, of puniſhing any who ſerve under them; and of expending as much as they pleaſe of the public money, being always attended by a quæſtor for that purpoſe, whoſe duty it is to yield a ready obedience to all their commands: So that, whoever caſts his eyes on this branch, may, with reaſon, affirm that the government is merely monarchical, and kingly. But, if any thing I have already mentioned, or may hereafter mention, ſhall, either now, or after ſome time, be altered, this ought not to affect the preſent relation.

The ſenate have, in the firſt place, the command of the public money: For they have the conduct of all receipts, and diſburſements: Since the quæſtors cannot iſſue money for any particular ſervice, without a decree of the ſenate, except thoſe ſums they pay by the direction of the conſuls. The ſenate have alſo the power over all thoſe diſburſements, that are made by the cenſors every fifth year in

tum, which, with POLYBIUS, he calls δογμα: But this will not invalidate any thing that has been ſaid, when it is conſidered that the law he ſpeaks of was inſtituted by Auguſtus, who, as Dion tells us in the ſame place, when he fixed the number of ſenators, whoſe preſence ſhould be neceſſary for enacting decrees of every kind, appointed the particular days, on which they were to aſſemble; and, in order to oblige the ſenators to be preſent on thoſe days, encreaſed the fine, to which ſuch as abſented themſelves without a lawful excuſe, were before liable. This was in the year of Rome 743, Claudius Nero Druſus, and T. Quintius Criſpinus being conſuls; the ſame year Druſus died, which ſome will have to have been the year 741 of Rome.

(28) Εις τας επισκευας και κατασκευας.] *Aux réparations*, in the French tranſlator, very well expreſſes the firſt; but what becomes of κατασκευας? that, it ſeems, is omitted: This deſerves the more to be taken notice of, becauſe, when the ſame expreſſion is afterwards repeated by our author, the ſame tranſlator ſays very properly, *érection de nouveaux édifices, réparation des anciens*: So that, I muſt look upon the former in the ſame light every candid reader

repairing

πενταετηριαν· ταυτης ἡ συγκλητος εστι κυρια, και δια ταυτης γινεται το συγχωρημα τοις τιμηταις. ὁμοιως και ὁσα των ἀδικηματων των κατ' Ιταλιαν [29] προσδεηται δημοσιας επισκεψεως· λεγω δε οἱον προδοσιας, συνωμοσιας, φαρμακειας, δολοφονιας, τη συγκλητῳ μελει περι τουτων. προς δε τουτοις, ει τις ιδιωτης η πολις των κατα την Ιταλιαν διαλυσεως η επιτιμησεως, η βοηθειας, η φυλακης προσδεηται, τουτων παντων επιμελες εστι τη συγκλητῳ. και μην ει των εκτος Ιταλιας προς τινας εξαποστελλειν δεοι πρεσβειαν τινα, η διαλυσαν τινας, η προσκαλεσασθαι, η και νη Δια επιταξασθαι, η προσληψομενην, η πολεμειν επαγγελλασαν, αὐτη ποιειται την προνοιαν. ὁμοιως δε και των προσαγενομενων εις Ρωμην πρεσβειων ὡς δεον εστιν ἑκασοις χρησθαι, και ὡς δεον αποκριθηναι, παντα ταυτα χειριζεται δια της συγκλητου. προς δε τον δημον καθαπαξ ουδεν εστι των προειρημενων. εξ ὡν παλιν ὁποτε τις επιδημησαι μη παρουσιος ὑπατου, τελειως αριστοκρατικη φαινεται ἡ πολιτεια. ὁ δη και πολλοι των Ελληνων, ὁμοιως δε και των βασιλεων πεπεισμενοι τυγχανουσι, δια το τα σφων πραγματα σχεδον παντα προς την συγκλητον κυρουν.

Εκ δε τουτων τις ουκ αν εικοτως επιζητησειε ποια και τις ποτε εστιν ἡ τῳ δημῳ καταλειπομενη μερις εν τῳ πολιτευματι· της μεν συγκλητου των καθ' ὁλου μερους, ὡν ειρηκαμεν κυριας ὑπαρχουσης, το δε μειζον, ὑπ' αὐτης και της εισοδου και της εξοδου χειριζομενης ἁπασης; των δε στρατηγων ὑπατων παλιν αυτοκρατορα μεν εχοντα δυναμιν περι τας του πολεμου παρα-

ought to view it, that is, as a ſlip of the memory only.

σκευας,

repairing, and erecting public buildings, which are of all others the greateſt, and the moſt conſiderable; and, for which, the cenſors muſt have the allowance of the ſenate. This order alſo takes cognizance of all crimes committed in Italy, that require a public inſpection, ſuch as treaſons, conſpiracies, poiſonings, and aſſaſſinations. Moreover, if any private perſon, or city in Italy ſtands in need of an accommodation, animadverſion, relief, or defence, all theſe are within the province of the ſenate: And, if it is neceſſary to ſend an embaſſy out of Italy to reconcile differences, to uſe exhortation, or, indeed, to ſignify a command, to admit an alliance, or declare war, the ſenate has the care of theſe things. In like manner, when embaſſadors come to Rome, the ſenate determines in what manner they are to be treated, and what anſwer is to be given to them. Nothing that has been mentioned belongs to the people: For theſe reaſons, again, when a foreigner comes to Rome in the abſence of the conſuls, the government appears to him purely ariſtocratical: Which opinion prevails with ſeveral of the Greeks, and alſo with ſeveral kings, becauſe almoſt all their tranſactions with the Romans are ratified by the ſenate.

From what has been ſaid, who would not have reaſon to aſk what ſhare in the government, and of what nature that ſhare is, which is left to the people? Since the ſenate is inveſted with all the particular powers already mentioned, and with the greateſt of all, the conduct of all receipts and diſburſements; and ſince, on the other ſide, the conſuls, as generals, have an abſolute power in regard both to the prepa-

(29) Οσα—προσδεηται δημοσιας επισκεψεως.] *Qui méritent une punition publique*, is not, in my opinion, the ſenſe of this paſſage; becauſe it confounds the *inquiry* into a crime with the *puniſhment* of it.

rations

σκευας, αυτοκρατορα δε την εν τοις υπαιθροις εξουσιαν; (30) ου μην αλλα καταλειπεται μερις και τω δημω, και καταλειπεται γε βαρυταη. (31) Τιμης γαρ εστι και τιμωριας εν τη πολιτειαι μονω ὁ δημω κυριω· οις συνεχονται μονοις και δυναστειαι, και πολιτειαι, και συλληβδην πας ὁ των ανθρωπων βιω. παρ' οις γαρ η μη γινωσκεσθαι συμβαινει την τοιαυτην διαφοραν, η γινωσκομενην χειριζεσθαι κακως, παρα τουτοις ουδεν οιον τε κατα λογον διοικεισθαι των υφεστωτων. πως γαρ εικος; (32) εν ιση τιμη οντων των αγαθων τοις κακοις. κρινει μεν ουν ὁ δημω και διαφορα πολλακις, ὁταν αξιοχρεων η το τιμημα της αδικιας, και μαλιστα τους τας επιφανεις εσχηκοτας αρχας. θανατου δε κρινει μονος. και γινεται τι περι ταυτην την χρειαν παρ' αυτοις αξιον επαινου και μνημης. τοις γαρ θανατου κρινομενοις επαν καταδικαζωνται, διδωσι την εξουσιαν το παρ' αυτοις εθω απαλλατεσθαι φανερως, καν ετι μια λειπηται φυλη των επικυρουσων την κρισιν αψηφοφορητω, ἑκουσιον ἑαυτου καταγνοια φυγαδειαν. εστι δ' ασφαλεια

(30) Ου μην αλλα καταλειπεται μερις και τω δημω, και καταλειπεται γε βαρυτατη.] *Cependant le peuple a ſa part, & une part très-conſidérable*; not only *très-conſidérable*, but *la plus conſidérable*; which is the plain import of the text, and ſtands confirmed by the whole tenor of the Roman hiſtory, but more ſo by their conqueſts.

(31) Τιμης γαρ εστι και τιμωριας εν τη πολιτειαι μονος ὁ δημος κυριος.] *Il eſt ſeul maitre des récompences & des peines*, ſays the French tranſlator. Caſaubon has rendered it in the ſame ſenſe, *ſolus in civitate populus præmii & pœnæ eſt arbiter*. I am ſorry I am obliged to differ from them both. In the firſt place, I do not remember ever to have met with the word τιμη for a *reward*; 2dly, I think it manifeſt that it cannot be taken in that ſenſe upon this occaſion, if one conſiders what follows; which, in my opinion, is always the ſureſt method of coming at the ſenſe of an author: Polybius then, after he has told us that the people have the ſole power of *honors*, and of puniſhments, gives the particular inſtances, wherein they exerciſe that power; he begins with puniſhments, and tells us

τοις

rations of war, and, when in the field, to the management of it. Notwithſtanding all this, there is ſtill a ſhare in the government left for the people, and that the moſt conſiderable: For they only have the power of diſtributing honors, and puniſhments; to which alone both monarchies and commonwealths, and, in a word, all human inſtitutions owe their ſtability: For, wherever the difference between thoſe two is not underſtood, or, being underſtood, is injudiciouſly applied, there nothing can be properly adminiſtred. How ſhould it, ſince the worthy, and unworthy are equally honoured? The people, therefore, often take cognizance even of thoſe cauſes, where the fine to be impoſed is conſiderable, particularly, where the criminals are perſons, who have exerciſed great employments: But, in capital caſes, they alone have juriſdiction; concerning which, there is a cuſtom among them worthy to be remembered with commendation: This cuſtom gives to thoſe, who are tried for their lives, the power of departing openly, and of condemning themſelves to a voluntary baniſhment pending the trial, provided there remains one tribe, that has not yet given its vote; and the baniſhed perſon may live in ſafety either at

that they take cognizance of thoſe cauſes, where the fine is conſiderable, particularly, where the criminals have exerciſed great employments; and that they alone have the power of life and death. He then ſays that the people have alſo the right of conferring the magiſtracy on thoſe they think worthy of it, και μην τας αρχας ὁ δημος διδωσι τοις αξιοις. Where, I think it is evident that αρχαι is deſigned by our author to explain τιμη before mentioned, and αθλου, which immediately follows, to ſignify *des récompences*.

(32) Εν ισῃ τιμῃ οντων των αγαθων τοις κακοις.] This ſeems to be a paraphraſe of the following verſe of Homer, who puts this complaint into the mouth of Achilles,

Εν δε ῃ τιμῃ ημεν κακος, ηδε και εσθλος.
Il. I. ver. 319.

Whoever has read Polybius with attention muſt be ſenſible that, upon many occaſions, he ſhews himſelf very well acquainted with Homer. It is aſtoniſhing with what reſpect, I may ſay, veneration, the greateſt authors of antiquity ſpeak of that great man; and that not only poets, but orators, and hiſtorians propoſe him as their

τοις φευσεσιν εν τε τη Νεαπολιτων και Πραινεσινων, ετι δη Τιβερηνων πολει, και ταις αλλαις προς ας εχουσιν ορκια. Και μην τας αρχας ὁ δημος διδωσι τοις αξιοις· ὁπερ εσι καλλιστον αθλον εν πολιτειᾳ καλοκαγαθιας. εχει δε την κυριαν και περι της των νομων δοκιμασιας. (33) και το μεγιστον, ὑπερ ειρηνης ουτος βουλευεται και πολεμου. Και μην περι συμμαχιας, και διαλυσεως, και συνθηκων, ὁτος εσιν ὁ βεβαιων ἑκασα τουτων, και κυρια ποιων η τουναντιον. ὡστε παλιν εκ τουτων εικοτως αν τινα ειπειν ὁτι μεγιστην ὁ δημος εχει μεριδα, και δημοκρατικον εσι το πολιτευμα.

model in their reſpective kinds of writing. And, indeed, the ſentiment, which is the ſubject of this annotation, was long before copied from Homer by Xenophon, who makes Chryſantas ſay, Και τοι εγωγε οὐδεν ανισωτερον νομιζω των εν ανθρωποις ειναι, τῳ των ισων τον τε κακον και τον αγαθον αξιουσθαι. Εν Κυρου παιδεια. B. 2. p. 128. Ed. of Hutch.

(33) Και το μεγιστον, ὑπερ ειρηνης ὁτου βουλευεται και πολεμου.] As the French tranſlator has differed from Caſaubon in rendering this paſſage, and I from both; and, as not only a point of criticiſm, but the moſt important branch of the power of the Roman people is concerned in this queſtion, I hope I ſhall be allowed to extend this annotation to a more than ordinary length, in order to prove, 1ſt, That βουλεῖαι, in this place, does not ſignify, with Caſaubon, *deliberat*, nor, which the French tranſlator, *on le conſulte*, but that they *determine*; 2dly, That the people of Rome had the power of making peace and war. As to the firſt, though I could prove the word to have that ſenſe by many paſſages out of the beſt authors, yet I ſhall content myſelf with the following one from Thucydides, not only becauſe it plainly proves that βουλεῦσθαι ſignifies to *determine* or *reſolve*, but alſo becauſe it conveys a ſentiment very agreeable to the exalted genius of the people, to whom it was delivered, and to the envied ſituation of the perſon, who delivered it. The paſſage I mean is at the cloſe of that fine ſpeech, which Thucydides puts into the mouth of Pericles, when he exhorts the Athenians to ſupport themſelves with magnanimity under the twofold evils, with which they were then oppreſſed, namely, the Peloponneſian war, and the plague; it is this, ὁστις δ' επι μεγιστοις το επιφθονον λαμβανει, ορθως βουλευεται, *whoever incurs envy for things of the greateſt moment, wiſely determines*; or, if the reader prefers the tranſlation of Hobbes, *he does well that undergoeth hatred, for matters of great conſequence*; but the reaſon Pericles, or, rather, Thucydides gives for this is ſo ſtrong,

Τινα

Naples, Prænesté, or Tibur, or in any other city in alliance with the Romans. The people also have the power of conferring the magistracy upon those they think worthy of it; which is the most honourable reward of merit any government can bestow. Besides this, they have the power of rejecting, or confirming laws; and, what is the most considerable of all, they determine concerning peace and war; and also, concerning alliances, accommodations, and conventions; every one of these the people may either ratify, or annul: So that, from hence again, one may, with reason, assert that the people have the greatest share in the government, and that the commonwealth is democratical.

and so beautifully expressed, that I cannot help transcribing it, though it is nothing to the point I am treating of; μισος μεν γαρ ου επι πολυ ανιεχει· ἡ δε παραυτικα τε λαμπροτης, και ες το επειτα δοξα αειμνηστος καταλειπεται; *for the hatred flowing from it does not last long, while both the present lustre, and the future glory remain for ever to be celebrated:* But, for the sake of those who deservedly admire Hobbes, I shall add also his translation; *for the hatred lasteth not, and is recompenced both with a present splendor, and an immortal glory hereafter.* I shall next endeavour to shew that, by the Roman constitution, the power of peace and war was in the people; the authority I shall quote, upon this occasion, will be that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, B. vi. and of Livy, who, with Polybius, are of all other historians, the most to be depended on. The first then, when the secession of the people, which ended in the establishment of their tribunes, was agitated in the senate, makes the consuls of the year speak to that assembly, in the following manner; ισθι δη που νομον ημιν υπαρχοντα εξ ου τηνδε οικουμεν την πολιν, πασιν ειναι κυριαν τιθεσθαι βουλην, πλην αρχας αποδειξαι, και νομους ψηφισαι και πολεμον εξενεγκειν, ἡ τον συνεσωτα καταλυσασθαι. τουτων δε των τριων τον δημον εχειν τιθεσθαι εξουσιαν ψηφον επιφεροντα. *You are sensible that we have a law as old as the city we inhabit, by which the senate have the power of every thing besides the creation of magistrates, the enacting of laws, and* declaring of war, or putting an end to it, when declared; *which three things the people have a right to determine by their suffrages.* And, that this right was not nominal only, but fully exercised by the people upon all occasions, appears from as many instances in their history, as there are examples of their having declared war with prudence, prosecuted it with courage, and concluded it with success. However, I shall select two of them, not only because they will, beyond all contradiction, establish the truth of what I have advanced, but also, because the two wars I shall

Τινα μεν ȣν τροπον διῃρηται τα της πολιτειας εις ἑκαστον ειδος, ειρηται· τινα δε τροπον αντιπραττειν βȣληθεντα, και συνεργειν αλληλοις παλιν ἑκαστα των μερων δυναται, νυν ῥηθησεται.

Ο μεν γαρ ὑπατος επειδαν τυχων της προειρημενης εξȣσιας ὁρμησῃ μετα της δυναμεως, δοκει μεν αυτοκρατωρ ειναι προς την των προκειμενων συντελειαν· προσδειται δε τȣ δημȣ, και της συγκλητȣ, και χωρις τȣτων επι τελος αγειν τας πραξεις ȣχ ἱκανος εστι· δηλον γαρ, ὡς δει μεν επιπεμπεσθαι τοις στρατοπεδοις αει τας χορηγιας· ανευ δε τȣ της συγκλητȣ βȣληματος ȣτε σιτος, ȣτε ἱματισμος, ȣτε οψωνια δυναται χορηγεισθαι τοις στρατοπεδοις· ὡς' απρακτȣς γινεσθαι τας επιβολας των ἡγȣμενων, (34) εθελοκακειν και κωλυσιεργειν προθεμενης της συγκλητȣ. Και μην το γ' επιτελεις η μη γινεσθαι τας επινοιας, και προθεσεις των στρατηγων, εν τῃ συγκλητῳ κειται. τȣ γαρ επαποστειλαι στρατηγον ἑτερον, επειδαν ενιαυσιος διελθῃ

mention were of the greateſt conſequence to the Romans, the concluſion of the firſt having freed them from the fears of a dangerous rival, I mean Carthage; and the ſecond having been undertaken againſt Philip of Macedon, a kingdom, which a long poſſeſſion of power had rendered venerable, and a great encreaſe of it formidable.

After the ſucceſſes of Scipio in Africa had extorted a ſubmiſſion from the Carthaginians, Livy, Book xxx, chap. 43, tells us the Romans were inclined to peace; upon which occaſion he ſays; Tum Man. Acilius & Q. Minucius tribuni plebis ad populum tulerunt, vellent, juberentne ſenatum decernere, ut cum Carthaginienſibus pax fieret; & quem eam pacem dare, quemque ex Africâ exercitus deportare juberent: de pace uti rogaſſent, omnes tribus juſſerunt: pacem dare P. Scipionem, eundem exercitus deportare. *Then Man. Acilius, and Q. Minucius, tribunes of the people, aſked the opinion of the people whether they deſired and commanded the ſenate to decree that peace ſhould be made with the Carthaginians; and whom they thought fit to order to make that peace, and whom to tranſport the armies out of Africa: Concerning the peace, all the tribes voted for the affirmative, and ordered P. Scipio to make the peace, and tranſport the armies.* This paſſage wants no comment, the next will as little ſtand in need of one.

The ſame author tells us, Book

χρονος,

Having ſhewn in what manner the commonwealth is divided into the ſeveral orders, we ſhall now ſhew in what manner each of theſe orders may oppoſe, and aſſiſt one another.

The conſul, being inveſted with the command I have mentioned, and in the field at the head of the army, ſeems to have an abſolute power to carry every thing he propoſes into execution; yet he ſtill ſtands in need of the people, and ſenate, and, without their aſſiſtance, can affect nothing: For it is manifeſt that ſupplies of all kinds muſt from time to time be ſent to the army, which, without the conſent of the ſenate, can be furniſhed neither with corn, clothes, nor their pay: So that, the deſigns of the generals muſt prove abortive, whenever the ſenate, by wilfully neglecting their duty, oppoſe the execution of them. It is alſo in the breaſt of the ſenate whether the ſchemes and plans of the general ſhall be accompliſhed, or not: For the ſenate has the power of ſending another general to ſucceed him, as ſoon

xxxi, chap. 6, that P. Sulpicius, one of the conſuls for the year, aſked the opinion of the people, vellent, juberent Philippo regi Macedonibuſque, qui ſub regno ejus eſſent, ob injurias, armaque illata ſociis populi Romani, bellum indici. *Whether they were willing and ordered that, in conſideration of the injuries, and hoſtilities committed againſt the allies of the people of Rome, war be declared againſt king Philip, and the Macedonians his ſubjects.* Upon which, Livy ſays that the people, being then tired out with the length and dangers of the Carthaginian war, almoſt all the centuries rejected the motion the firſt time they were aſſembled upon that occaſion: But, upon the conſuls repreſenting how great a damage and diſgrace a delay in declaring the war would prove to them, they *gave their affirmative for it.* Ab hac oratione in ſuffragium miſſi, uti rogarat, bellum juſſerunt. Theſe inſtances prove, beyond contradiction, that the people of Rome did ſomething more than *deliberate* concerning peace and war.

(34) Εθελοκακειν και κωλυσιεργειν προθεμενης της συγκλητου.] *Si le ſénat n'entre pas dans leurs vûes, ou y met oppoſition.* The firſt part of this tranſlation does not, in my opinion, expreſs the ſenſe of εθελοκακειν, which implies a *voluntary neglect of duty*, as Suidas explains it; Εθελοκακησαι· εκουσιως ελεσθαι το κακον. And, indeed, this is the ſenſe, in which all authors uſe the word.

as

χρονος, η τον ὑπαρχοντα ποιειν επιμονον, εχει την κυριαν αὑτη. Και μην τας επιτυχιας των ἡγουμενων εκτραγῳδησαι και συναυξησαι, και παλιν αμαυρωσαι, και ταπεινῳσαι, το συνεδριον εχει την δυναμιν. τους γαρ προσαγορευομενους παρ' αυτοις θριαμβους, δι' ὡν ὑπο την οψιν αγεται τοις πολιταις ὑπο των στρατηγων ἡ των κατειργασμενων πραγματων εναργεια· τουτους ου δυνανται χειριζειν ὡς πρεπει, ποτε δε τοπαραπαν ουδε συντελειν, εαν μη το συνεδριον συγκαταθηται, και δῳ την εις ταυτα δαπανην. του γε μην δημου το διαλυεσθαι· και λιαν αυτοις αναγκαιον εστι, καν ὁλως απο της οικιας τυχωσι πολυν τοπον αφεστωτες. ὁ γαρ τας διαλυσεις και συνθηκας ακυρους και κυριας ποιων, ὡς επανω προειπον, ὑτος εστιν. το δε μεγιστον, αποτιθεμενους την αρχην, εν τουτῳ δει τας ευθυνας ὑπεχειν των πεπραγμενων. ὡστε κατα μηδενα τροπον ασφαλες ειναι τοις στρατηγοις ολιγωρειν μητε της συγκλητου, μητε της του πληθους ευνοιας.

Η γε μην συγκλητος παλιν ἡ τηλικαυτην εχουσα δυναμιν, πρωτον μεν εν τοις κοινοις πραγμασιν αναγκαζεται προσεχειν τοις πολλοις, και στοχαζεσθαι του δημου· τας δ' ὁλοσχερεστατας και μεγιστας ζητησεις, και διορθωσεις των ἁμαρτανομενων κατα της πολιτειας, οἱς θανατος ακολουθει το προστιμον, ου δυναται συντελειν· αν μη συνεπικυρωσῃ το προβεβουλευμενον ὁ δημος. ὁμοιως δε και περι των εις ταυτην ανηκοντων· εαν γαρ τις εισφερῃ νομον η της εξουσιας αφαιρουμενος τι της ὑπαρχουσης τῃ συγκλητῳ κατα τους εθισμους, η τας προεδριας και τιμας καταλυων αυτων, η και νη Δια ποιων ελαττωματα

as the year is expired, or of continuing him in the command. Again, the ſenate may either magnify, and extol, or, on the other ſide, obſcure, and extenuate the victories of the generals: For theſe cannot celebrate their triumphs, as they call them, (in which the repreſentations of their ſucceſſes are carried in pomp before the eyes of the people) with proper magnificence, ſometimes, not even at all, unleſs the ſenate conſents to it, and furniſhes the neceſſary expence. Then, as the power of putting an end to the war is in the people, the generals are under a neceſſity of having their approbation, though they happen to be never ſo far from home: For, as I ſaid above, the people have the right of ratifying, and annulling all accommodations, and conventions; and, which is of the greateſt importance, it is to the people that the generals, after the expiration of their command, give an account of their conduct: So that, it is, by no means, ſafe for them to diſregard the favor either of the ſenate, or of the people.

On the other ſide, the ſenate, though veſted with ſo great power, is under a neceſſity of ſhewing a regard to the people in the firſt place, and of aiming at their approbation in every thing relating to the public; as not having the power to take cognizance of crimes of the firſt magnitude, or to puniſh thoſe, which are committed againſt the ſtate, with death, unleſs the people confirm the previous decree they make for that purpoſe. In like manner, the regulation even of thoſe things, which particularly affect the ſenate, belongs alſo to the people: For, if any perſon propoſes a law, by which part of their power, as founded on cuſtom, is to be taken

περι τυς βιυς, παυλων ὁ δημος γινεται των τοιυλων και θειναι, και μη, κυριος. το δε συνεχον, εαν εις ενιςηται των δημαρχων υχ οιον επι τελος αξειν τι δυναλαι των διαβυλιων ἡ συγλητ@· αλλ' υδε συνεδρευειν η συμποδευεθαι τοπαραπαν. Οφειλουσι δε αει ποιειν οἱ δημαρχοι το δοκουν τῳ δημῳ, και μαλιςα σοχαζεθαι της τουτου βουλησεως. διο παυλων των προειρημενων χαριν δεδιε τους πολλους, και προσεχει τον νουν τῳ δημῳ ἡ συγλητος.

Ομοιως γε μην παλιν ὁ δημος υποχρεως εςι τη συγλητῳ, και σοχαζεθαι ταυτης οφειλων, και κοινη και καθ' ιδιαν. πολλων γαρ εργων οὐλων των εκδιδομενων υπο των τιμητων δια πασης Ιταλιας εις τας επιςκευας και καλασκευας των δημοσιων, ἁ τις ουκ αν εξαριθμησαιτο ραδιως· πολλων δε πολαμων, λιμενων, κηπιων, μεταλλων, χωρας· συλληβδην ὁσα πεπτωκεν υπο την Ρωμαιων δυνασειαν· παυλα χειριζεθαι συμβαινει τα προειρημενα δια του πληθους· και σχεδον, ὡς επος ειπειν, παυλας ενδεδεθαι ταις ωναις και ταις εργασιαις ταις εκ τουτων· οἱ μεν γαρ αγοραζουσι παρα των τιμητων αυτοι τας εκδοσεις, οἱ δε κοινωνουσι τουτοις· οἱ δ' εγγυωνται τους ωνουμενους· οἱ δε τας ουσιας διδοασιν περι τουτων εις το δημοσιον. εχει δε περι παυλων των προειρημενων την κυριαν το συνεδριον. και γαρ χρονον δουναι, και συμπτωματ@ γενομενου κουφισαι, και τοπαραπαν αδυναλου τιν@ συμβαντ@ απολυσαι της εργωνιας. και πολλα δη τινα εςιν εν οις και βλαπτει μεγαλα, και παλιν ωφελει τους τα δημοσια χειριζοντας ἡ συγλητ@. ἡ γαρ αναφορα των προειρημενων γινεται προς ταυτην· το δε με-

γιςον,

taken away, or their preeminence, or dignities to be aboliſhed, or even their fortunes to be diminiſhed, every thing of this kind, I ſay, the people have it in their power either to receive, or reject: And farther, if one of the tribunes of the people oppoſes the paſſing of a decree, the ſenate are ſo far from being able to enact it, that it is not even in their power to conſult, or aſſemble at all: And it is the duty of the tribunes to act agreeably to the ſenſe of the people, and to obſerve their pleaſure. For all theſe reaſons, the ſenate ſtands in awe of the people, and pays a regard to them.

In like manner, the people are alſo ſubject to the power of the ſenate, and under an obligation of cultivating the good will of all the ſenators in general, and of every one of them in particular: For, there being many works put out by the cenſors throughout all Italy, relating to the repairing, and erecting of public buildings, of which it is not eaſy to give an account, and alſo many rivers, ports, gardens, mines, and lands let out by them, and, upon the whole, whatever falls under the power of the Romans: It happens that all theſe are undertaken by the people; and, conſequently, that almoſt all of them are ingaged either in theſe undertakings, or in the works, that are conſequent to them: For ſome are themſelves the purchaſers of theſe undertakings from the cenſors; others are their partners; ſome are ſureties for the purchaſers; and others make aſſignments to the public of their fortunes for the performance of theſe contracts; now, all theſe things are under the controll of the Senate, which has power to give time, or, in caſe of misfortune, to mitigate the ſum due; and, if any thing has happened to render the performance of the contract impracticable, abſolutely to cancel it: So that, the ſenate has many opportu-

γίσον, εκ ταυτης αποδιδονται κειται των πλειστων και των δημοσιων και των ιδιωτικων συναλλαγματων, όσα μεγεθος εχει των εγκλημάτων· δια παντες εις την ταυτης πιστιν ενδεδεμενοι, και δεδιοτες το της χρειας αδηλον, ευλαβως εχουσι προς τας ενστασεις, και τας αντιπραξεις των της συγκλητου βουλημάτων. Ομοιως δε και προς τας των υπατων επιβολας δυσχερως αντιπρατθουσιν, δια το κατ' ιδιαν και κοινη παντες εν τοις υπαιθροις υπο την εκεινων πιπτειν εξουσιαν.

Τοιαυτης δ' ουσης της εκαστου των μερων δυναμεως, εις το και βλαπτειν και συνεργειν αλληλοις· προς πασας συμβαινει τας περιστασεις δεοντως εχειν την αρμογην αυτων· ωστε μη οιον τ' ειναι ταυτης ευρειν αμεινω πολιτειας συστασιν. όταν μεν γαρ τις εξωθεν κοινος φοβος επισας αναγκαση σφας συμφερειν και συνεργειν αλληλοις, τηλικαυτην και τοιαυτην συμβαινει γινεσθαι την δυναμιν του πολιτευματος, ωστε μηδε παραλειπεσθαι των δεοντων μηδεν, άτε περι το προσπεσον αει, παντων όμου ταις επινοιαις αρμιλλωμενων· μητε το κειθεν υστερειν του καιρου, κοινη και κατ' ιδιαν εκαστου συνεργουντος, προς την του προκειμενου συντελειαν. (35) διοπερ ανυποστατον συμβαινει γινεσθαι, και παντος εφικνεισθαι του κριθεντος την ιδιοτητα του πολιτευματος. όταν γε μην παλιν απολυθεντες των εκτος φοβων ενδιατριβωσι ταις ευτυχιαις και περιουσιαις ταις εκ των

(35) Διοπερ ανυποστατον συμβαινει γινεσθαι, και παντος εφικνεισθαι του κριθεντος την ιδιοτητα του πολιτευματος.] *C'eſt pour cela que cette république eſt invincible, & qu'elle vient à bout de tout ce qu'elle entreprend.* By this means, the French tranſlator has left out the very thing Polybius has been all along contending for, which is, that the great advantages the Roman commonwealth

καλοσθωμαλων,

nities both of prejudicing conſiderably, and of advantaging thoſe, who have the management of theſe public undertakings: For the report of all theſe things is made to the ſenate: And, what is ſtill of the greateſt moment, judges are appointed out of the ſenate in moſt of the cauſes, that relate either to public, or private contracts, when the action is of importance: For which reaſon, all the people, being ingaged in a dependence upon the ſenate, and apprehending the uncertainty of the occaſions, in which they may ſtand in need of their favor, they dare not reſiſt, or oppoſe their will. In like manner, they are not eaſily brought to obſtruct the deſigns of the conſuls, becauſe all of them in general, and every one in particular, become ſubject to their authority, when in the field.

Such, therefore, being the power of each order, both to hurt, and aſſiſt one another, it follows that their union is ſufficiently adapted to all contingencies; for which reaſon, it is not poſſible to invent a more perfect ſyſtem of government: For, when the common fear of a foreign enemy compels them to act in concert, and aſſiſt one another, ſuch, and ſo great is the ſtrength of the government, that nothing is either omitted, that is neceſſary; ſince, upon every occaſion, all vie with one another in directing their thoughts to the good of the public, or, being once reſolved, comes too late for the end propoſed; ſince all of them in general, and every one in particular, unite their endeavours in carrying their deſigns into execution: For theſe reaſons, their commonwealth, from the peculiar frame of it, becomes irreſiſtible, and attains whatever it propoſes. On the other ſide, when

was poſſeſſed of, were owing to the *peculiar frame* of its conſtitution, which he has expreſſed, in a manner one would think not to be overlooked, by την ιδιοτητα τε πολιτευματος.

κατορθωματων, απολαυοντες της ευδαιμονιας, και ὑποκολακευομενοι και ῥαθυμȣντες τρεπωνται προς ὑβριν, και προς ὑπερηφανιαν, ὁ δη φιλει γιγνεσθαι· τοτε και μαλιστα συνιδειν εστι αυτο παρ' αὑτȣ ποριζομενον το πολιτευμα την βοηθειαν· επειδαν γαρ εξοιδȣν τι των μερων φιλονεικῃ, και πλεον τȣ δεοντος επικρατηται· δηλον ὡς ȣδενος αρτιτελȣς οντος, κατα τον αρτι λογον, αντισπασθαι δε και παραποδιζεσθαι δυναμενης της ἑκαστȣ προθεσεως ὑπ' αλληλων, ȣδεν εξοιδει των μερων, ȣδ' ὑπερφρονει· παντα γαρ εμμενει τοις ὑποκειμενοις, τα μεν κωλυομενα της ὁρμης, τα δε εξ αρχης δεδιοτα την εκ τȣ πελας επιστασιν.

free from the fear of a foreign enemy, they live in proſperity and affluence, the conſequences of victory, enjoying their good fortune, and, through flattery and eaſe, grow inſolent and proud, which uſually happens; then, is their common-wealth chiefly obſerved to relieve itſelf: For, when any branch of it, ſwelling beyond its bounds, becomes ambitious, and aims at unwarrantable power, it is manifeſt that, no one of them being, as I have ſaid, abſolute, but the deſigns of each ſubject to the contradiction, and controll of the other two, no one can run into any exceſs of power, or arrogance: But all three muſt remain in the terms preſcribed by the conſtitution, either, by being defeated in their attempts to exceed them, or, by being prevented, through the fear of the other two, from attempting it.

A DIS-

A

# DISSERTATION

UPON THE

# CONSTITUTION

OF THE

# *ROMAN* SENATE.

IT were to be wiſhed that POLYBIUS had looked upon the conſtitution of the Roman ſenate to have as properly belonged to his ſubject, as the powers of it: Had he been of that opinion, there is no room to doubt, but he would have given us ſuch an exact account of it, as would have cleared up all the difficulties, that occur in reading the ancient authors. It is very probable that he looked upon this ſubject as too well known to ſtand in need of a diſcuſſion; in the ſame manner as an Engliſh hiſtorian would poſſibly judge it needleſs to give an account of the qualifications required by our laws and cuſtoms, to intitle a perſon to a ſeat in either houſe of parliament, though he might very reaſonably think a particular detail of the powers of each well worth the attention of the public.

This omiſſion in POLYBIUS, if it deſerves that name, has been endeavoured to be ſupplied by ſeveral modern authors, in ſeveral languages; but without giving that ſatisfaction, which, from the great reputation thoſe authors had deſervedly

edly acquired in other branches of learning, the public had reaſon to expect. Whether this proceeded from the difficulty of the ſubject, or from their want of attention in treating it, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but muſt be ſo juſt to their memory, as to own that I attribute it, in a great meaſure, to the former; particularly, ſince, though I have provided my ſelf with many more materials, than have been made uſe of by any of thoſe writers, yet there are ſome points, which I cannot clear up by the authority of the ancient authors; for which reaſon, I chuſe rather to ſubmit them to the conſideration of the learned, than endeavour to eſtabliſh any ſyſtem of my own upon unſupported conjectures.

Concerning the original inſtitution of the Roman ſenate, this is the ſubſtance of the account given of it by DIONYSIUS of Halicarnaſſus, who is much more particular than LIVY in every thing relating to this ſubject.

I. After ROMULUS had divided all the people into three tribes, and ſubdivided each of theſe into ten curiæ, he formed the ſenate in the following manner: Their body was to conſiſt of one hundred perſons, all patricians; of

I. Τριχῇ νειμας την πληθυν ἁπασαν — επειτα των τριων παλιν μοιρων ἑκασ῀ην εις δεκα μοιρας διελων — εκαλει δε τας μεν μειζους μοιρας, τελους· τας δ' ελατ῀ους, κυριας—εκ των πατρικιων ανδρας ἑκατον επιλεξαμενος—αυτος μεν εξ ἁπαν῀των ἑνα τον αριστον απεδειξεν—των δε φυλων ἑκασῃ προσεταξε τρεις ανδρας ἑλεσθαι — ἑκασῃ φρατρᾳ παλιν εκελευσε τρεις εκ των παλ῀ρικιων επιλεξαι — τον των ἑκατον εξεπληρωσε βελευτων αριθμον — εξ ὡν ἑκαστου ανδρας ὁς αἱ φρα῀ραι προεχειρισαν῀το, τοις αρχαιοις βελευταις προσεγραψαν. Dionyſ. Hal. B. ii. Ευθυς γαρ ἁμα τῳ παραλαβειν την αρχην, τον δημο῀ικον οχλον οικειον ἑαυτῳ ποιησαι προθυμηθεις—επιλεξας ανδρας ἑκα῀ον εκ παν῀των των δημο῀ικων — πατρικιους εποιησε, και κατεταξεν εις τον των βελευτων αριθμον, (Ταρκυνιος Πρισκος) και τοτε πρωῖον εγενον῀ο Ρωμαιοις τριακοσιοι βουλευται τεως ουλες διακοσιοι. id. B. iii. Εβουλευσα῀ο μεν γαρ τριακοσιους αυτους κα῀α το αρχαιον ποιησαι (ὁ Αυγουστος.) Dion Caſſ. B. liv. Παραλαμβανει την βασιλειαν ενιαυτῳ δευτερῳ μαλισ῀α της μιας και τετ῀αρακοστης ολυμπιαδος ὁ Ταρκυνιος. Dion. Hal. B. iii. L. Sulla 11. and Q. Metellus conſuls for the year 674. Faſti con-

theſe

theſe he himſelf choſe one, and ordered each of the tribes, and each of the curiæ, to chuſe three: All theſe together amounted to the number required: So that, the ſenate, in its original inſtitution, conſiſted of one hundred patricians, ninety nine of whom owed their ſeats there to the choice of the people. This was alſo obſerved in the addition of the hundred Sabines made, ſome time after, by ROMULUS, and TATIUS, who were all choſen by the curiæ: Theſe were alſo patricians, which then was, and, for many years after, continued to be, a neceſſary qualification for all, who were admitted into the ſenate; ſince we find that TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the people at his acceſſion, choſe out of their body one hundred perſons, whom he firſt made patricians, then ſenators. From this time, the complement of the ſenate was three hundred, and, in all probability, continued ſo till SYLLA's time, that is,

ſulares. Αυτη δε τη βελη, δια τας ϛασεις και τυς πολεμυς παμπαν ολιγανδρυσῃ, προσκατελεξεν (ὁ Συλλα) αμφι τυς τριακοσιυς εκ των αριϛων ἱππεων, ταις φυλαις αναδυς ψηφον περι ἑκασυ. Appian, B. i. Civ. W. There is a paſſage in the epitome of the 89th book of Livy, which is thought to relate to this addition made to the ſenate by Sylla; the paſſage is as follows: *Senatum ex equeſtri ordine ſupplevit:* The ſenſe of which ſeems to be, that he filled up the vacancies of the ſenate with knights, not that he made any addition to it; but, it plainly appears by the paſſage of Appian beforementioned, that he encreaſed their number. However, the author of the epitome, who, certainly, was not Livy, is not much to be depended upon; for, in the epitome of the 60th book, he ſays that *C. Gracchus added ſix hundred knights to the three hundred ſenators,* ut ſexcenti equites trecentis ſenatoribus admiſcerentur: id eſt, ut equeſter ordo bis tantum virium in ſenatu haberet; *to the end that the order of knights might have twice as much power in the ſenate.* This is ſo worded, that it cannot be conſtrued to relate to the Sempronian law, concerning the judges: For, by that law, the judicature was totally transferred from the ſenate to the knights, as may be ſeen at large in Appian, B. i. Civ. W. and, very particularly, in Velleius Paterculus, B. ii. c. 32. who ſays that *Cotta divided the judicature, which C. Gracchus had transferred from the ſenate to the knights, and Sylla from the knights to the ſenate, equally between the two orders:* Cotta judicandi munus, quod C. Gracchus ereptum ſenatui ad equites, Sylla ab illis ad ſenatum tranſtulerant, æqualiter inter utrumque ordinem partitus eſt. And

about five hundred and thirty four years, which is the number of years compriſed between the firſt year of TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, and the ſecond conſulſhip of SYLLA; who, to ſtrengthen his party in the ſenate, and, at the ſame time, to repair the loſſes it had ſuſtained by the death of many of its members in the late commotions, encreaſed their number, probably, to more than four hundred: Theſe additional ſenators were, like the former, choſen by the people.

II. From this time, to the fourth conſulſhip of CÆSAR, that is, during the ſpace of thirty four years, I ſhall not pretend to aſcertain the preciſe number of which the ſenate conſiſted: It is certain, however, that it exceeded four hundred; and, probably, the complement was the ſame that SYLLA left.

III. CÆSAR, the year before his death, and after he had overcome all oppoſition, among the various methods made uſe of by him to reward thoſe, who had preferred his cauſe to That of their country, introduced ſo many of his creatures into the ſenate, that the number of ſenators amount-

here, by the way, I cannot help taking notice of an error in Plutarch, in his life of C. Gracchus, where he ſays, that *he committed the judicature to three hundred ſenators, and as many knights.* ὁ δε τριακοσιους των ἱππεων προσκαλεσεξεν αυτοις ϰσι τριακοσιοις, ϰαι τας ϰρισεις ϰοινας των ἑξακοσιων εποιησε.

II. The interval between the ſecond conſulſhip of Sylla, and the fourth conſulſhip of Cæſar, particularly, the latter part of it, is ſo much illuſtrated by Cicero's writings, that I am ſurpriſed we ſhould not be able to gather out of them what the complement of the ſenate was, during that period. All I can find is, that they were above four hundred; ſince in his 14th letter of the firſt book to Atticus, he gives an account of a certain diviſion of the ſenate, in which *there were four hundred for the affirmative, and fifteen for the negative*; homines ad quindecim curioni nullum ſenatus-conſultum facienti aſſenſerunt: ex altera parte facilè quadringenti fuerunt. There is another paſſage to the ſame purpoſe, in his ſpeech to the ſenate, after his return from baniſhment; he there tells them, that *there were four hundred and ten ſenators preſent:* quo quidem die cum quadringenti & decem ſenatores eſſetis.

III. Μηδεν διαφερων μητ' ει τις τραλιω-

ed

ed even to nine hundred. It will be eaſily believed that this recruit proved a greater addition to his power, than to the dignity of the ſenate; particularly, when it is conſidered that they conſiſted of new-made citizens, half-barbarous Gauls, ſoldiers, and the ſons of freed-men. But CÆSAR was outdone in this, as in every other exceſs, by the triumvirs; for they, it ſeems, brought ſlaves into the ſenate. By theſe additions, the number of ſenators came to exceed a thouſand. The hiſtory of the Roman ſenate, under the emperors, is ſo diſagreeable a ſubject, that I ſhall not purſue it: For, what can be more afflicting, than to behold a wiſe, a virtuous, and a venerable aſſembly, become weak, abandoned, and deſpicable? transformed from all that is great, and glorious, to all that is mean, and infamous; from being the ſcourge of tyrants, to become their flatterers, and wretchedly ſubmitting to be not only ſlaves, but the inſtruments of ſlavery. Let us turn our eyes, therefore, from the ruins of this fair building to the qualifications, that were required in a Roman ſenator, when the ſenate deſerved to be called by CINEAS, the ambaſſador of PYRRHUS, an aſſembly of kings.

IV. Before the expulſion of the kings, the vacancies in the ſenate were filled up by them; and, after their expul-

της, μητ' ει τις απελευθερε παις ην, ενεγραψεν· ωστε και εννακοσιους το κεφαλαιον αυτων γενεσθαι. Dion Caſſ. B. xliii. *Cæſar dictator legit in ſenatum civitate donatos, et quoſdam è ſemi-barbaris Gallorum.* *Sueton.* Life of *Cæſ.* Ες τε το βουλευτηριον και δουλους ενεγραψαν. Dion Caſſ. B. xlviii. *Erant enim ſuper mille, et quidem indigniſſimi, poſt necem Cæſaris, per gratiam et præmium adlecti, quos orcinos vulgus vocabat.* Sueton. Life of Aug.

IV. *Hoc ſi polluit nobilitatem iſtam veſtram, quam plerique oriundi ex Albanis et Sabinis, non genere nec ſanguine, ſed per cooptationem in patres habetis, aut ab regibus lecti, aut, poſt reges exactos, juſſu populi.* *Liv. B.* iv. *c.* 4. *P. Licinius Calvus tribunus militum conſulari poteſtate—— vir nullus ante honoribus uſus, vetus tantum ſenator, et ætate jam gravis.* *Id. B.* v. *c.* 12. *Majores noſtri, cum regum poteſtatem non tuliſſent, ita magiſtratus annuos crea-*

ſion, thoſe ſenators, who had not a right to a ſeat in the ſenate, by virtue of ſome magiſtracy, were choſen by the people: So that, though the magiſtracy was the ſeminary of the ſenate, out of which it was annually ſupplied, yet there were other ſenators (probably choſen when the vacancies were too many to be filled up by the magiſtrates of the year) who were inveſted with that dignity by the people, without having borne any magiſtracy at all. Theſe ſenators were choſen promiſcuouſly out of the plebeians, as well as the patricians, even before the people were, by law, ca-

*verunt, ut concilium ſenatus reipublicæ præponerent ſempiternum; deligerentur autem in id concilium ab univerſo populo, aditusque in illum ſummum ordinem omnium civium induſtriæ ac virtuti pateret. Cic. for Sext.* I have ſaid that the time, when the people obtained the privilege of being choſen *immediately* into the ſenate, muſt have been between the years 263 and 314; becauſe it is plain, from Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, that it was after the affair of Coriolanus, which happened in the firſt of thoſe years; for he ſays that, *from that time, the democracy gained ground upon the ariſtocracy, by the peoples being made eligible into the ſenate*, and, by ſeveral other conceſſions made in their favor, of which he there gives a particular account, και ενθενδε αρξαμενος ὁ δημος, ηρθη μεγας· ἡ δε αριςοκρατια πολλα τȣ αρχαιȣ αξιωματος απεβαλε, βȣλης τε μετεχειν επιτρεπȣσα τοις δημοτικοις, &c. Dion. Hal. B. vii. The year 314 was remarkable for the puniſhment of Sp. Mælius, who was, as it appears, a plebeian; which is not at all contradicted by Livy's ſaying he was *ex equeſtri ordine*; for the order of knights was common both to the patricians, and plebeians; ſince, not birth, but the poſſeſſion only of four hundred thouſand ſeſtertii, that is, of 3229 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* ſterling gave a title to it. After Mælius had received the puniſhment he deſerved, Livy makes L. Quintius Cincinnatus, the dictator, tell the people, that it was monſtrous in Mælius to imagine that the city, *which could ſcarce digeſt his being a ſenator, would ſuffer him to be their king, ut quem ſenatorem concoquere civitas vix poſſet, regem ferret.* B. iv. c. 15. Sp. Mælius therefore, though a plebeian, might have been elected into the ſenate: It is alſo certain that we find the people in poſſeſſion of this privilege in the year 353, when P. Licinius Calvus was choſen conſular tribune. Upon the whole, as the affair of Coriolanus ſuggeſted the reflexion I have mentioned to Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, and, as that affair happened only two years after the inſtitution of the tribunes of the people, by which the people were admitted into the ſenate by virtue of that magiſtracy, it is very probable they ſoon after obtained the right of being elected *immediately* into that aſſembly.

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pable of being either conſular tribunes, or conſuls. When the people obtained the privilege of being choſen ſenators in this manner, I cannot determine; but ſhall obſerve that it muſt have been between the years of Rome 263, and 314. This, however, is certain, that the ſenators of both kinds were choſen by the people, with this difference, that one ſort of them were elected immediately into the ſenate; and the others, into thoſe magiſtracies, that gave them a right to a ſeat there.

V. All magiſtrates, ſuch as conſuls, prætors, cenſors, ædiles, tribunes of the people, and quæſtors had a right to a ſeat in the ſenate, during their magiſtracy; after the ex-

V. *Tum C. Canuleius pauca in ſenatu vociferatus. Liv. B.* iv. *c.* 1. και τυτο επεισαν ἡμας οἱ συμβυλοι το αρχειον (το των δημαρχων) εασαι παρελθειν εις την βυλην. Dionyſ. Hal. B. vii. επειτα συναχθειλες εις το βυλευτηριον οἱ συνεδροι, παρειλων και των δημαρχων, ὑπερ ασφαλειας τε και σωτηριας της πολεως εσκοπευν. Id. B. x. Ουτε γαρ πρωτος τις ανεβη των συναρχοντων εις το ταμειον Κατωνος, ὑτε ὑστερος απηλθεν· εκκλησιαν δε και βυλην εδεμιαν παρηκεν. Plut. Life of Cat. of Ut. The curule magiſtrates were the conſuls, prætors, cenſors, and curule ædiles; no authorities are brought to ſhew that theſe ſate in the ſenate, during their magiſtracy, it being a thing ſo well known. *Octoginta præterea aut ſenatores, aut qui eos magiſtratus geſſiſſent, unde in ſenatum legi deberent. Liv. B.* xxii. *c.* 49. It is moſt probable that the cenſors obſerved the ſame order in calling over the ſenate, with regard to thoſe, who had been magiſtrates ſince the laſt time it had been called over, that was followed by M. Buteo, who, being the oldeſt cenſorian, was created dictator to perform the duty of the cenſors, in reading over the names of the ſenators, and to ſupply the vacancies occaſioned by the death of great numbers of them, who had loſt their lives during the ſecond Punic war: Here the curule magiſtrates are firſt called over, in the order they had been created magiſtrates; then the plebeian ædiles, the tribunes of the people, and the quæſtors; *recitato vetere ſenatu, inde primos in demortuorum locum legit, qui poſt M. Æmilium et C. Flaminium cenſores curulem magiſtratum cepiſſent, necdum in ſenatum lecti eſſent; ut quiſque eorum magiſtratus primus creatus erat: tum legit qui ædiles, tribuni plebeii, quæſtoreſve fuerant. Liv. B.* xxiii. *c.* 23. This, therefore, ſeems to have been the order obſerved by the cenſors, in calling over the names of thoſe, who had been magiſtrates ſince the laſt call of the ſenate. As to the right I have ſaid thoſe, who had been curule magiſtrates, enjoyed, of being admitted into the ſenate during the interval

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piration of which, thoſe, who were not before in the cenſors liſt, ceaſed to be ſenators, till the next time the ſenate was called over by the cenſors; when, if their names were not omitted, they became ſenators: And, during the interval between the expiration of their magiſtracy, and the next

between the expiration of their magiſtracy, and the next call of the ſenate; and the excluſion of thoſe, whoſe magiſtracy had not been of that ſort, I hope the following authorities will be thought ſufficient to ſupport what I have advanced upon that ſubject. There is a paſſage in Valerius Maximus, B. ii. c. 2. where he ſays that Q. Fabius Maximus, as he was going into the country, met upon the road P. Craſſus, who, he knew, had been quæſtor three years before, and diſcourſed with him of what had paſſed in the ſenate; not knowing that he not yet been called by the cenſors to the degree of a ſenator, by which means alone, thoſe, who had been magiſtrates, could become ſenators. *Memor eum triennio ante quæſtorem factum, ignaruſque nondum a cenſoribus in ordinem ſenatorium allectum: quo uno modo his, qui jam honores geſſerant, aditus in curiam dabatur.* The quæſtorſhip, therefore, not being a curule magiſtracy, thoſe, who had been inveſted with it, had no right of coming into the ſenate, during that interval; which right thoſe, who had been curule magiſtrates, enjoyed, though they were not actually ſenators till their names were called over by the cenſors: This appears by the terms of the conſular edict, in which they are always ſummoned, and always diſtinguiſhed from the ſenators. This edict is often mentioned by Livy, and conſtantly runs in this form, *uti ſenatores, quibuſque in ſenatu ſententiam dicere licet, ad—— conveniant.* Here thoſe, who had a right of delivering their opinions in the ſenate, are diſtinguiſhed from the *ſenators:* In the following paſſage, Cicero, in his ſpeech for Cluentius, diſtinguiſhes them from the quæſtors, and the tribunes of the people, *quive quæſtor, tribunus plebis, quive in ſenatu ſententiam dixit.* There is an appellation often applied by the ancient authors to ſome of the ſenators, which has occaſioned great variety of opinions, and, conſequently, great difficulties; theſe have been encreaſed, if not created, by what Gellius has advanced upon this ſubject: The appellation I mean is that of *Pedarii*, which that author has endeavoured to explain in a manner ſo inconſiſtent with the teſtimony of all writers of the beſt authority, and, indeed, with what he himſelf has, upon other occaſions, aſſerted, that I do not think it worth while to confute him any otherwiſe, than by producing ſome paſſages out of thoſe authors, which the reader may, if he pleaſes, confront with what Gellius has ſaid upon this ſubject. But, to explain this matter: According to my opinion, there were three methods, by which the ſenators declared their ſenſe of what came before them; the firſt was by their *aſſent*, or approbation, which they ſignified as they ſate in their places; and this is what Cicero

call of the ſenate, if they had been *curule* magiſtrates, they had a right of coming into the ſenate, and of delivering their opinion there, though not of voting. But, if they had not been *curule* magiſtrates, they had no right of coming into the ſenate during that interval.

VI. This power of the cenſors was ſo great, that CICERO thinks it ought to have been abrogated. However, great as

means, when he tells Metellus, *nulla eſt a me unquam ſententia dicta in fratrem tuum, quotieſcunque aliquid eſt actum, ſedens iis aſſenſi, qui mihi leniſſimè ſentire viſi ſunt. B.* v. *Ep.* 2. The ſecond was, by delivering their opinions, with their reaſons, which they did ſtanding up in their places: This requires neither proof, nor explanation. The third method was, by dividing, without giving their reaſons, that is, by going over either to this, or that ſide of the houſe; and this was called *pedibus in ſententiam ire*, from whence came the appellation of *pedarii ſenatores*; and this is the ſenſe Feſtus has given to the word, *pedarium ſenatorem ——ita appellatur, quia tacitus tranſeundo ad eum, cujus ſententiam probat, quid ſentiat, indicat.* All theſe three methods are particularly mentioned in the following paſſage of Livy, B. xxvii. c. 34. It relates to M. Livius Salinator, choſen conſul with C. Claudius Nero, in the 547th year of Rome, whoſe conſulſhip was illuſtrated by the defeat of Aſdrubal: That author there ſays of the former, who, after a long abſence from public affairs, had been obliged, by the cenſors, to give his attendance in the ſenate, *ſed tum quoque aut verbo aſſentiebatur, aut pedibus in ſententiam ibat, donec cognati eum hominis cauſa, M. Livii Macati, quum fama ejus ageretur, ſtantem coëgit in ſenatu ſententiam dicere.* The ſenſe of this paſſage Sigonius, miſled by Gellius, has ſtrangely miſtaken; which I mention the rather, becauſe Gronovius, who, in his edition of Livy, frequently animadverts upon the errors of Sigonius, not only ſuffers this to eſcape without cenſure, but inſerts his annotation among his own. By this paſſage of Livy, it plainly appears, contrary to the opinion of Gellius, and of all the modern writers, that thoſe ſenators, who were called *pedarii*, were not diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of their body, any otherwiſe, than by their behaviour upon that particular occaſion; that is, they were called ſo, becauſe they *then* divided without giving their reaſons; for it muſt be obſerved, that Livius Salinator, whoſe manner of voting is here taken notice of by Livy, was, at that time, a conſular ſenator, and, conſequently, enjoyed, in an eminent degree, all the rights annexed to the dignity of a ſenator.

VI. *Ex iis autem qui magiſtratum ceperunt, quo ſenatus conſtituitur, populare eſt ſane neminem in ſummum locum niſi per populum venire, ſublatâ cooptatione cenſoriâ. Cic. B.* iii. *of Laws.* When the decemvirs were ſuppreſſed, it was made capital, by two ſeveral laws, to create any magiſtrate without an ap-

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it was, it was not without controll; for the cenſured perſon had a right of appealing from the cenſors to the people; to whom, from the ſuppreſſion of the decemvirs, there lay an appeal even from the dictators. This relief, therefore, the cenſured perſon was intitled to, when both the cenſors concurred in expelling him; but, if only one of them thought he deſerved this animadverſion, the other might acquit him of it.

VII. It muſt, however, be conſidered that this expulſion did not amount to a diſability; for the perſon expelled might be rechoſen into any magiſtracy, that gave right to a ſeat in the ſenate; and, conſequently, be readmitted to the degree of a ſenator.

VIII. No prieſts, as ſuch, were admitted into the ſenate, except the *flamen dialis*: But, as the dignities of the ſeveral

peal to the people; both thoſe laws are mentioned by Livy; the words of the firſt are, *ne quis ullum magiſtratum ſine provocatione crearet: qui creaſſet, eum jus faſque eſſet occidi: neve ea cædes capitalis noxæ haberetur. B.* iii. *c.* 55. Thoſe of the other are as follows, *qui magiſtratum ſine provocatione creaſſet, tergo ac capite puniretur. id. ib.* In conſequence of theſe laws, we find by Plutarch, in his Life of T. Flamininus, that his brother, L. Flamininus, being deſervedly expelled the ſenate by the cenſors, M. Porcius Cato, and L. Valerius, appealed from them to the people, who affirmed the ſentence of the cenſors. I know it is generally thought that there lay no appeal to the people from the dictators, even after the affair of the decemvirs; but the contrary is manifeſt from thoſe two laws, and will appear much more ſo by the ſpeech of M. Fabius, in favor of his ſon Q. Fabius, maſter of the horſe to L. Papirius Curſor, the dictator, who, without any regard to the interceſſion either of the ſenate, or army, deſigned to put the maſter of the horſe to death for ingaging the Samnites in his abſence, contrary to his orders, though he had gained a complete victory, in which twenty thouſand of the enemy were ſlain: To avert the effects of this ſeverity, M. Fabius appeals from the dictator to the people, as to the ſovereign judge of his conduct, *whoſe power*, he tells him, *is ſuperior to That of his dictatorſhip*; provoco ad populum; eumque tibi fugienti exercitus tui, fugienti ſenatus judicium, judicem fero, qui certè unus plus quam tua dictatura poteſt polletque. Liv. B. viii. c. 33. Tres ejecti de ſenatu: retinuit quoſdam Lepidus a collega præteritos. Liv. B. xl. c. 51.

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prieſthoods were generally conferred upon the principal perſons of the commonwealth, theſe were intitled to a ſeat there, by virtue of the magiſtracies they had borne: It being a fundamental maxim among the Romans, not to look upon the law, the ſword, and the prieſthood, as incompatible profeſſions: So that, every perſon, who pretended to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the commonwealth, was under an indiſpenſable obligation of qualifying himſelf for all of them. By this means, theſe three profeſſions, whoſe different intereſts ever muſt divide the world under any other regulation, being exerciſed by the ſame perſons, had, of courſe, the ſame intereſts.

IX. The power of the tribunes of the people was very great, even in the ſenate; ſo great, that, if only one of their college interpoſed, no decree could be made.

VII. Λεντȣλος ὁ Πȣπλιος, ὁ μετα την ὑπατειαν εκ της γερȣσιας εκπεσων (εστρατηγει γαρ ὁπως την βȣλειαν αναλαβῃ.) Dion Caſſ. B. xxxvii.

VIII. *Habetur ſenatus frequens: adhibentur omnes pontifices, qui erant ſenatores: à quibus Marcellinus, qui erat cupidiſſimus mei, ſententiam primus rogatus, quæſivit quid eſſent in decernendo ſecuti. Tum M. Lucullus de omnium collegarum ſententiâ reſpondit religionis judices pontifices fuiſſe, legis ſenatum: ſe, et collegas ſuos de religione ſtatuiſſe, in ſenatu de lege ſtatuturos.* Cic. Ep. 2. to Att. B. iv. *cum omnes pontifices, qui erant hujus ordinis, adeſſent. id.* of the Anſ. of the Haruſp. *C. Valerius Flaccus, flamen dialis ——— rem intermiſſam per multos annos ob indignitatem flaminum priorum repetivit, ut in ſenatum introiret. Ingreſſum eum curiam quum Licinius prætor inde eduxiſſet, tribunos plebis appellavit flamen —— tribuni rem inertiâ flaminum obliteratam, ipſis, non ſacerdotio damno fuiſſe, quum æquum cenſuiſſent, ne ipſo quidem contra tendente prætore, magno aſſenſu patrum plebiſque, flaminem in ſenatum introduxerunt. Liv.* B. xxvii. c. 8.

IX. *Neque poſſet per interceſſiones tribunicias ſenatus conſultum fieri. Liv.* B. iv. c. 43. Περι γαρ των δημαρχων ȣδεν λεγω, ὁτι μητε εν αναγκῃ τινι μεταςηναι εποιησαντο, ἁτε και εξȣσιαν εχοντες, ειτε εβȣλοντο τινα γνωμην συμβαλεσθαι, ειτε και μη. *Dion Caſſ.* B. xli. *Cum fieret ſenatus conſultum in ſententiam Marcellini, omnibus præter unum aſſentientibus, Serranus interceſſit. Cic.* Ep. 2. B. iv. to Att.

X. *Sempronii lectio erat; cæterum Cornelius morem traditum a patribus ſequendum aiebat, ut qui primus cenſor ex iis qui viverent, fuiſſet, eum principem legerent: is T. Manlius Torquatus erat. Sempronius, cui dii ſortem legendi*

X. The firſt perſon of this aſſembly in dignity was the prince of the ſenate; who by cuſtom was the oldeſt cenſorian; but, if it was inſiſted upon by the cenſor, to whoſe lot it fell to chuſe, he might name any other ſenator. The nomination of the prince of the ſenate preceded the calling over the ſenators.

XI. That the preſence of a certain number of ſenators was, at all times, neceſſary to the paſſing of decrees, cannot be denied; ſince we often find that, for want of the number required, no decree could be made; and often meet with complaints againſt ſurreptitious decrees, that is, decrees

*dediſſent, ei jus liberum eoſdem dediſſe deos, ſe id ſuo arbitrio facturum; lecturumque Q. Fabium Maximum — Quum diu certatum eſſet verbis, concedente collega, lectus à Sempronio princeps in ſenatu Q. Fabius Maximus conſul: inde alius ſenatus lectus. Liv.* B. xxvii. c. 11.

XI. *Nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam poterat ſenatus. Liv.* B. ii. c. 23. *Quid ab eo quemquam poſſe æqui expectare, qui per infrequentiam furtim ſenatus conſultum factum ad ærarium detulerit. id.* B. xxxix. c. 4. *Cupivi, inquit, ex ſenatus conſulto ſurrepto. Cic.* B. x. *Ep.* 4. to *Att.* It is generally thought that, while the complement of the ſenate was three hundred, the preſence of one hundred ſenators, and no more, was neceſſary to the paſſing of all decrees: I am ſenſible that there are ſeveral paſſages in Livy, where mention is made of the neceſſity of ſo many ſenators being preſent, when a report of ſome particular matter was to be made to the ſenate: But this ſeems to have been in conſequence of ſome order made for that purpoſe, *Senatus conſulto cautum eſt —— ut prætor ſenatum conſuleret— quum in ſenatu centum non minus eſſent. Liv.* B. xxxix. c. 18. And, if ſo, this order is ſo far from being a proof that the preſence of ſo many ſenators, and no more, was neceſſary to the paſſing of every decree, that it proves quite the contrary; particularly, ſince mention is alſo made by the ſame author of no leſs than one hundred and fifty ſenators being preſent, when a public vow was made for the proſperity of the commonwealth, *Quum centum et quinquaginta non minus adeſſent, præeunte verba Lepido pontifice maximo, id votum ſuſceptum eſt. Liv.* B. xlii. c. 28. I find, beſides, that, upon occaſions of great moment, the ſenate were ſworn, before they gave their votes; but this was alſo in conſequence of ſome order made for that purpoſe; which, like the orders before mentioned, was occaſional. *Patres jurati (ita convenerat) cenſuerunt. Liv.* B. xxx. c. 40. Απασι δε προσετεταλτο παρεσι, καθαπερ εν δικαστηριω, μεθ' ὁρκυ την ψηφον ἐπιφερειν. Dionyſ. Hal. B. vii. There is a paſſage in the xxvi B. c. 33. of Livy, which deſerves more than ordinary

made,

made, when the number required were not preſent. But, I am apt to believe that the number of ſenators requiſite varied, according to the importance of the decrees; in this I am confirmed by a regulation of Auguſtus, who, as I have obſerved upon another occaſion, appointed the particular number of ſenators, whoſe preſence ſhould be neceſſary to the enacting decrees of every kind: And it is probable this regulation was rather declaratory of the ſtanding order of the ſenate, than introductory of a new one. This was in the 744th, or 745th year of Rome: He had nine years before fixed the whole number of ſenators at ſix hundred, when the preſence of four hundred was neceſſary to the paſſing of decrees; which number he eight years after reduced; for he found the ſenators not very fond of giving their attendance in the ſenate, where they were conſtantly obliged to applaud, without approving; which, though they ſubmitted to in the moſt ſervile manner, yet they could not help remembering they had once been free; they

attention, not only as it ſhews that, upon the occaſion there mentioned, a particular order was made by the people that the ſenate ſhould be ſworn before they gave their votes, but alſo becauſe it was, at the ſame time, reſolved by the people to ſtand to what ſhould be determined by the major part of the ſenators, who ſhould be preſent at the deliberation of that affair, without requiring the preſence of any certain number of them. The conſideration related to the fate of the Campani, and others, who had ſubmitted to the Romans; upon which, Livy ſays, the people came to the following reſolution: *Plebes ſic juſſit, quod ſenatus juratus maxima pars, qui adſederint, cenſeat; id volumus jubemuſque.* Theſe conſiderations make me fearful of aſſerting, with the generality of thoſe, who have treated this ſubject, that, while the ſenate conſiſted of three hundred, the preſence of one hundred, and no more was neceſſary to the paſſing of every decree. Του τε αριθμου του εις την κυρωσιν των δογματων αναλκαιον, καθ' ἑκαςον ειδος αυτων, ὡσγε εν κεφαλαιοις ειπειν, διενομοθετησε (ὁ Αυγυς@.) Dion Caſſ. B. lv. Δυσχερωναιλων δε παιλων ὁμοιως——τυς ἑξακοσιυς καιλελεξαιλο. id. B. liv. Ορων δε ὁτι εκ αει συχνοι συνελεγονιλο, εκελευσε τα δογματα αυτης και εν ελαιλοσιν η τετρακοσιοις γιγνεσθαι· ε γαρ εξην τινα εκ τυ πριν αλλως κυρυσθ. id. B. liv.

could command their words and actions, and even their looks, but not their memories.

XII. The Romans were not a mercantile people: Their view was to conquer, and to govern; to ſpare ſubmitting, and ſubdue reſiſting nations. For this reaſon, though, perhaps, not for this reaſon only, commerce of every kind was thought unbecoming a Roman ſenator. But, that their dignity might be ſupported by law, as well as cuſtom, it was made unlawful either for a Roman ſenator, or his father, to have a ſhip of greater burden, than was neceſſary to convey the product of their farms to Rome.

XIII. As the magiſtracy, according to the common courſe, gave admittance into the ſenate, ſo it regulated the ranks of the ſenators: The magiſtrates of the year had the precedency of all; and of one another, according to their reſpective dignities; according to which alſo, the conſular, the prætorian, the cenſorian, the ædilician, the tribunician, and the quæſtorian ſenators were placed: Of theſe the quæſtorſhip was the firſt conferred, and qualified the perſon inveſted with it for a ſeat in the ſenate, as a magiſtrate, during the year, and, as a ſenator, the firſt time the ſenate was called over by the cenſors: But no one was capable, even of this magiſtracy, till he had ſerved ten campaigns. And here I cannot help ſtopping a while, to take a ſurvey of this auguſt body, which was compoſed of thoſe, who, beſides the merit and experience of ten years ſervice, actu-

XII. *Legem Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adverſus ſenatum, uno patrum adjuvante C. Flaminio tulerat; ne quis ſenator, quive ſenatoris pater fuiſſet, maritimam navem quæ plus quam trecentarum amphorarum eſſet, haberet: id ſatis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos: quæſtus omnis patribus indecorus viſus. Liv.* B. xxi. c. 63.

XIII. *Hoc igitur fretus ſenatu, Pompeianum ſenatum deſpicit, in quo decem fuimus conſulares—qui vero prætorii?—qui ædilicii? qui tribunicii? qui quæſtorii? Cic. Philip.* 13.

ally

ally were, or had been treaſurers, guardians of the peoples liberties, ſuperintendents of the temples of their gods, and the entertainments of the public, controllers of manners, judges, and generals. An aſſembly ſo conſtituted deſerved to be what they really were, the conquerors, and governors of the world.

XIV. As the military age commenced at the taking the manly gown, that is, at the age of ſeventeen; and, as ten years ſervice were neceſſary to qualify a perſon for the firſt office, that gave admittance into the ſenate, I mean, the quæſtorſhip; it follows that, if the ſenate happened to be called over the year after, the quæſtors, provided their names were not omitted, became ſenators, at the age of twenty eight years: This age, therefore, was the earlieſt any perſon, according to the common courſe, could become a ſenator; but, as the time for calling over the ſenate was only every fifth year, and, upon many accounts, was often poſtponed, it frequently happened that there was an interval of one, two, three, or four years, and ſometimes more, between the quæſtorſhip, and the election of the quæſtors into the ſenate.

XV. The ſame magiſtrates, who aſſembled the ſenate, whether conſuls, prætors, or tribunes of the people, ac-

XIV. Πολίτικην δε λαβειν αρχην μη εξεστι μηδενι πρότερον, εαν μη δεκα στρατειας ενιαυσιας η τετελεκως. Polyb. B. vi. Εξεβλευθαι μεν γαρ εφη δωδεκα ετη, των αλλων δεκα στρατευομενων εναναγκαις. Plut. Life of C. Gracchus.

XV. *Quum conſules, tumulto repentino coacti, ſenatum vocarent. Liv. B.* viii. *c.* 28. *P. Furius Philus, & M. Pomponius prætores, ſenatum in curiam Hoſtiliam vocaverunt. Id. B.* xxii. *c.* 55. *Nam, cum ſenatum a. d.* 13. *kalendas Januarias tribuni plebis vocaviſſent. Cic. B.* x. *Ep.* 28. *Publilius, penes quem faſces erant, dic, Spuri Poſtumi, inquit. Liv. B.* ix. *c.* 8. *Ac, poſt novam affinitatem, Pompeium primum rogare ſententiam cœpit; cum Craſſum ſoleret, eſſetque conſuetudo ut, quem ordinem interrogandi ſententias conſul kalendis Januariis inſtituiſſet, eum toto anno conſervaret.* Sueton. Life of Cæſar. *D. Junius Silanus primus ſententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore conſul deſignatus erat. Sall.*

quainted

quainted them with the reaſons, for which they were aſſembled: If the ſenate were ſummoned by the firſt, the conſul who then had the rods, asked the opinion of the ſenators upon what he had propoſed, beginning, generally, with the prince of the ſenate, and ſo on, according to their ranks; and, ſometimes, with a relation, or a friend; but, whatever order they purſued on the firſt of *January*, the day they entered upon their office, it was cuſtomary for them to obſerve the ſame afterwards, till the election of the conſuls for the next year, which, commonly, fell out in *July*, or *Auguſt*; from which time, the firſt conſul elect was firſt asked his opinion. Upon a diviſion, the conſul, or other magiſtrate, by whom the ſenate was aſſembled, directed thoſe, who were for the affirmative, to go to one ſide of the houſe, and thoſe, who were for the negative, to go to the other. This they often did, without delivering their opinions,

*Cat. conſp.* So that, what Suetonius calls *toto anno*, muſt be underſtood to ſignify only till the election of the conſuls for the inſuing year. *Quatenus de religione dicebat, cui rei quia jam obſiſti non poterat, Bibulo aſſenſum eſt: de tribus legatis, frequentes ierunt in omnia alia. Cic. B.* i. *Ep.* 2. *Ire in omnia alia* was, it ſeems, the ſenatorian language, implying *to divide for the negative*, and *cenſere omnia alia, to be of a contrary opinion. Qui hoc cenſetis, illuc tranſite; qui omnia alia, in hanc partem. Feſtus.* Theſe were the words made uſe of by the conſul, or other magiſtrate, who preſided upon that occaſion. In this manner, Thucydides ſays that Sthenelaïdas, one of the ephori, took the opinion of the Lacedæmonians upon that important queſtion, whether the thirty years truce with the Athenians was broken; in reality, whether they ſhould declare war againſt the Athenians, or not: His manner of putting the queſtion was very like That practiſed in the Roman ſenate; *Thoſe*, ſays he, *who are of opinion that the truce is broken, and that the Athenians have acted unjuſtly, let them riſe, and go to that ſide* (pointing to a certain place) *and thoſe, who are of a contrary opinion, to the other.* Upon which, the aſſembly roſe, and divided; and thoſe, who were of opinion that the truce was broken, carried it by a great majority. Ὁτῳ μεν ὑμων, ω Λακεδαιμονιοι, δοκουσι λελυσθαι αἱ σπονδαι, και οἱ Αθηναιοι αδικειν, αναϛητω ες εκεινα το χωριον· (δειξας τι χωριον αυτοις) ὁτῳ δε μη δοκουσιν, ες τα επι θατερα· αναϛαντες δε διεϛησαν, και πολλῳ πλειους εγενοντο οἱς εδοκουν αἱ σπονδαι λελυσθαι. Thuc. *B.* i. *c.* 87. διαψηφισεως δε επι τουτοις ϗ κατ' ανδρα (μη και δι' αιδω, η και φοβον τινα παρα τα δοκουντα

much

much leſs, their reaſons, if the queſtion happened to be of ſuch a nature, as to lay them under any reſtraint in delivering them. If one, or more tribunes of the people oppoſed the paſſing of any decree, the ſenſe of the houſe was, however, recorded, and, inſtead of a ſenatuſconſultum, was called an authority of the ſenate.

XVI. It was the opinion of a very wiſe man among the Romans, who has profeſſedly treated of the government of that commonwealth, that it would have added great weight to the authority of the ſenate, if they had voted by ballot; which I am not at all ſurpriſed at, ſince the laws, relating to the ballot, in which manner the people gave their votes upon all occaſions of importance, were ever looked upon as the ſource, and ſupport of liberty.

XVII. The ſenatorian cenſus, or fortune required to qualify a perſon for a ſeat in the ſenate, was eight hundred thouſand ſeſtertii, or 6458*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ſterling: This ſum AUGUSTUS raiſed to twelve hundred thouſand ſeſtertii, or 9687*l.*

σφισιν αποφηνωνται) αλλ' επι τωδε, και επ' εκεινα τα βουλευτηρια μεταστασει γενομενης. Dion Caſſ. B. xli. *Si quis intercedat ſenatuſconſulto, auctoritate ſe fore contentum. Liv. B.* iv. *c.* 57. This authority of the ſenate, as I have ſaid in the 27th annotation, Dion Caſſius applies to a law made by Auguſtus, but, at the ſame time, ſays, which is very true, that the diſtinction between an authority of the ſenate, and a ſenatuſconſultum was very exactly obſerved, for a long while, by the Romans of old, though, in his time, it was grown obſolete, τουτο τε αν ισχυρως επι πλειστον τοις παλαι τηρηθεν, εξιτηλον τροπον τινα ηδη γεγονε. B. lv. This authority of the ſenate differed from a ſenatuſconſultum in another reſpect; it was not, like that, ſubject to be defeated by the interpoſition of the tribunes of the people; *de his rebus, pridie quam ſcripſi, ſenatus auctoritas graviſſima interceſſit; cui, cum Cato, & Caninius interceſſiſſent, tamen eſt perſcripta.* Cic. B. i. Ep. 2. *Eaque, quæ de eâ perſcripta eſt, auctoritas, cui ſcis interceſſum eſſe—offenſionem eſſe periculoſam, propter interpoſitam auctoritatem—video.* id. B. i. Ep. 7.

XVI. *Duabus rebus poſſe confirmari ſenatum puto; ſi numerus auctus per tabellam ſententiam feret. Tabella obtentui erit, quo magis animo libero facere audeat.* Fragm. ſuppoſed of Salluſt to C. Cæſar. *Lex Caſſia tabellaria principium juſtiſſimæ libertatis.* Cic. in Cornel. *Tabella vindex tacitæ libertatis.* Id. 2d Agr.

10*s.* ſterling; which, if, by any accident, a ſenator had impaired, he loſt his ſeat in the ſenate.

XVIII. If a ſenator neglected to give his attendance in the ſenate, without being able to aſſign a lawful cauſe of abſence, he was liable to a fine, and obliged, immediately, to find ſecurity for the payment of it.

There are ſome other particulars relating to the conſtitution of the Roman ſenate, which I have not thought worth taking notice of; ſuch as the ſacrifices, and other religious ceremonies neceſſary to be performed previouſly to any deliberation; as alſo the robes peculiar to the dignity of a Roman ſenator: The firſt of theſe are rendered as ridiculous by our prejudices, as they were made venerable by theirs; and the other, though ſome learned men have thought fit to beſtow a great deal of criticiſm upon that inquiry, ſeems to be a ſubject rather of curioſity, than inſtruction.

XVII. *Senatorium cenſum ampliavit, ac pro octingentorum millium ſumma, duodecies H. S. taxavit.* Sueton. Life of Aug. I have followed Arbuthnot in reducing the ſeſtertii to ſterling money; he ſays, and I think with great probability, that *mille ſeſtertiûm* amounted to 8—1—5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ſterling; conſequently *centum millia ſeſtertiûm*, will amount to 807--5—10, *octingenta millia ſeſtertiûm*, the old ſenatorian cenſus, to 6458—6—8, and duodecies H. S. the Auguſtan cenſus, to 9687—10—0. *Curtius habet in Volaterrano poſſeſſionem—hoc autem tempore Cæſar eum in ſenatum legit, quem ordinem ille iſtâ poſſeſſione amiſſâ vix tueri poteſt.* Cic. *B.* xiii. *Ep.* 5.

XVIII. *Quis unquam tanto damno ſenatorem coegit? Aut quid eſt ultra pignus, aut multam?* Cic. Philip. 1. *Poſtquam citati non conveniebant, dimiſſi circa domos apparitores ſimul ad pignora capienda, ſciſcitandumque, num conſulto detrectarent?* Liv. *B.* iii. *c.* 38. *Senatori, qui non aderit, aut cauſa, aut culpa eſto.* Cic. *B.* iii. of Laws.

# ERRATA in VOL. I.

## To the PREFACE.

PAGE xx. line 17. for *megarenſes*. read *Megarenſes*.
P. xxi. l. 1. dele *of*.
P. xxxi. l. 17. f. *are*, r. *ſtand*.
P. xxxvi. l. 2. f. *in*. r. *of*.

### VOL. I.

P. 2. Note 2. Column 1. Line 11. f. character. read, characters.
Ibid. C. 2. L. 19. f. deſigns. r. deſign.
P. 3. L. 14. f. or. r. nor.
P. 4. L. 18. f. exceeded. r. ſurpaſſed.
P. 4. N. 8. f. As (in Roman) r. Ας (in Greek)
P. 5. N. 8. C. 2. L. 22. f. only ſhut. r. ſhut only.
Ib. L. 25. no comma after *ſhut*.
P. 6. N. 8. C. 1. L. 4. f. 744th. r. 743d year.
P. 9. N. 14. C. 1. L. 19. after Aſſyrians, dele under: and read, *And afterwards choſe for their king*.
P. 10. N. 14. C. 1. L. 16. f. Gonatus. r. Gonatas.
P. 11. N. 14. C. 1. L. 28. no comma after *power*.
P. 13. N. 15. C. 1. L. 5. f. contended. r. contend.
Ib. L. 12. f. ϖ. r. ὁτ.
P. 17. laſt line. f. conſideration. r. contemplation.
P. 19. N. 24. C. 1. L. 20. no punctum after *Dion*.
Ib. N. 25. C. 2. L. 17. f. pertius. r. peritus.
P. 20. C. 1. L. 7. f. 620th. r. 621ſt. year.
P. 21. N. 28. C. 2. L. 2. f. author. r. authors.
P. 23. N. 29. C. 1. laſt line. f. ην. ἡν.
Ib. N. 30. L. 11. f. Sicanians. r. Sicani.
P. 26. L. 5. no comma after *are*.
P. 29. C. 1. L. 12. after colony. r. which.
Ib. L. 18. f. Lycaon. r. Cecrops.
P. 30. N. 37. C. 1. L. 3. f. ῥήηεϛ. r. ῥήηεϛ
P. 31. L. 16. and 20. f. Oenotrians. r. Oenotri.
P. 37. L. 14. f. Amiterna. r. Amiternum.
P. 48. N. 60. f. ειδη and ειδος. r. ἰδη and ἰδος.
Ib. N. 61. f. *irreproachable*. r. *irreprochable*.
P. 49. N. 65. f. ϛην r. ϛην.
P. 56. L. 4. after *oracle*. r. *that*.
P. 63. L. 12. after *is*. ſtrike out *a*.
P. 83. N. 116. C. 2. L. 4. f. η. r. ἡ.
P. 85. L. 12. f. Celti. r. Celtæ.
P. 90. laſt line. no comma after *honors*.
P. 91. laſt line but one. f. ſuperintendance. r. ſuperintendence.
P. 96. L. 16. ſtrike out *being*.
P. 101. C. 1. L. 8. f. Jarba. r. Jarbas.
Ib. L. 30. after *made*. r. *her*.
Ib. L. 35. f. Amna. r. Amne.
P. 108. L. 14. no comma after *and*.
P. 109. N. 151. C. 1. L. 12. f. κολικμεν r. κομιμεν.
Ib. L. 22. f. *en*. r. ex.
P. 111. N. 155. L. 7. f. χρησμολογοιηδον. r. χρησμολογοι ηδον.
P. 113. laſt line. f. Battea. r. Batea.
P. 119. L. 11. no comma after *king*.
P. 121. C. 2. laſt line. f. then. r. than.
P. 125. laſt line but one. no commas before, or after *we have received*.
P. 133. C. 1. L. 33. f. Μυρμιδονος r. Μυρμιδονες.
P. 135. N. 201. f. υμας r. ὑμας.
Ib. N. 202. after ὑδιων ſtrike out των.
P. 136. L. 24. f. Delus. r. Delos.
P. 145. N. 212. between Αμαλη Τυρνος put a line.
P. 146. laſt line but one. no comma after *wine*.
P. 148. L. 5. f. palce. r. place.
P. 151. laſt line but one. f. of Trojan. r. of the Trojan.
P. 152. C. 1. laſt line but three. f. Simonides. r. Palamedes.
P. 161. C. 2. L. 10. f. Aaneas. r. Aeneas.
P. 162. L. 1. f. in which. r. at which.
P. 163. L. 5. f. Cephalon. r. Cephalo.
P. 168. L. 7. f. Syracuſian. r. Syracuſan.
P. 192. L. 18. f. While he entered. r. While he was entering.
P. 209. N. 274. L. 2. f. ἡ. r. η.
P. 211. L. 15. after *them* inſtead of a comma put a ſemicolon.
P. 229. L. 13. f. and, and of *dele the latter* and.
P. 243. L. 4. no comma after *perſon*.
Ib. C. 2. L. 18. f. three hundred. r. one hundred.
P. 245. L. 2. f. controle. r. controll.
Ib. N. 28. C. 2. L. 6. f. cenuries. r. centuries.
P. 246. C. 2. L. 28. f. the in. r. in the.
P. 253. L. 13. no comma before nor after *all*.
P. 255. N. 37. C. 2. L. 8. f. chaſtiſed. r. chaſtened.
P. 256. L. 10. f. every every. r. every.
P. 259. L. 4. f. tymbals. r. tymbrels.
P. 262. L. 6. f. adminiſtered, r. adminiſtred. and ſtrike out the comma after *thoſe*.
P. 263. L. 10. f. curia. r. curiæ.
Ib. C. 1. L. 3. f. καθωτιαλαι r. καθωτιαλι.
P. 265. L. 17. after *think* r. *it*.
P. 266. C. 1. L. 12. f. with eaſe. r. at eaſe.
P. 268. L. 7. no comma after *even*.
Ib. N. 51. L. 2. f. Farratia. r. Farracia.
P. 269. N. 52. C. 2. L. 7. f. Duillius. r. Duilius.
P. 270. C. 2. L. 2. f. PRESENTED. r. PRAESENTED.
Ib. L. 3. f. OLORUM. r. OLOROM.
Ib. L. 4. f. PUGNANDOD, r. PUCNANDOD.
P. 277. L. 18. no comma after *things*.
P. 283. L. 11. no comma after *walls*.
P. 285. L. 6. no comma after *called*.
Ib. N. 68. L. 1. f. κεκραμενναις r. κεκραμεναις.
P. 287. L. 25. no comma after *greatly*.
P. 296. L. 7. no comma after *obliged*.
P. 304. C. 2. L. 8. f. ΙΤΟΥΗΦΟΙ r. ΙΣΟΥΗΦΟΙ.
P. 308. L. 16. no comma after *dwelt*.
P. 311. L. 7. f. Pomentine. r. Pometine.
P. 316. laſt line. f. Cruſtumerini. r. Cruſtumeri.
P. 328. L. 1. f. in which. r. at which.
P. 330. L. 3. f. of. r. on.
P. 348. L. 10. f. LXVII. r. LXVIII.
P. 352. C. 1. L. 1. f. Χαλκημαις. r. Χαλκεαις.
P. 373. L. 12. after *ſpringing*. r. *and leaping*.
P. 365. L. 13. no comma after puniſhed.
In the title page to Polybius, dele Hyphen between Sixth-Book.
P. 375. L. 9. f. not only capable. r. capable not only.
P. 381. L. 15. after *it*. inſert a comma.
P. 396. L. 2. f. φυιλετι. r. φυιλα.
P. 407. N. 13. L. 5. f. miet. r. mit.
P. 414. L. 5. f. μονεδη. r. μονοειδη.
P. 416. C. 1. L. 7. ſtrike out *wonderful*.
P. 420. L. 11. f. ὑμων. r. ἡμων.
P. 443. §. IV. L. 8. f. nullus. r. nullis.

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